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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Editor cannot send forth the present volumes without acknowledging the great assistance which he has received from Baron Humboldt's invaluable Political Essay on New Spain. Before the learned Traveller's visit to those regions, little or nothing was known of their topography: and all the accounts given by geographers of the provincial divisions, are strangely inaccurate. Never did any traveller, in either civilised or semi-civilised regions, find the ground so completely unoccupied; and never did any writer who undertook to give an account of a country, leave so little to be done by those who should follow him. From his work our most recent Encyclopedias have drawn nearly the whole of the geographical and statistical information which they furnish relative to Mexico. We have had particular reason to regret, in common with the literary public, that the learned Traveller should have suffered five and twenty years to elapse without favouring us with that portion of his Personal Narrative which relates to this interesting country. His "Researches," relative to the ancient monuments of the Americans, have furnished, however, much interesting illustration.

The other Works to which the Editor has been chiefly indebted, are:

Notes on Mexico. By a Citizen of the United States. (Mr. Poinsett.)* Philadelphia. 1824.

Six Months' Residence in Mexico. By W. Bullock, F.L.S. 8vo. London. 1824.

Extracts from a Journal written on the Coast of Chili, &c. By Capt. Basil Hall, R.N. (4th edit.) Edinb. 1825. 2 vols. sm. 8vo.

Exploratory Travels in Louisiana, &c. By Capt. Zabulon Montgomery Pike. 4to.

Memoirs of the Mexican Revolution. By W. D. Robinson. 2 vols. 8vo. London. 1820.

Statistical History of the Kingdom of Guatimala. By Don Domingo Juarros. Translated by J. Baily, Lieut. R.M. 8vo. London. 1823.

The Editor is not without his suspicions that, in some instances, the longitudes and latitudes (especially those of places in the interior provinces of Mexico, and in Guatimala,) will be found an approximation only to the true position. But still, he has considered it as desirable to insert them as points to be verified by future travellers. The longitudes, given on the authority of Major Pike, are calculated universally from the meridian of Paris.

* Reprinted in this country, while the present work was in the course of publication.

London, May 1825.

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THE MODERN TRAVELLER,

ETC. ETC.

MEXICO.

[A state of North America, lying between lat. 38° N., and lat. 10° N.; bounded on the N., by unappropriated territory; on the E., by Louisiana, the Gulf of Mexico, and the Carribean sea; on the S., (including Guatimala,) by the Pacific Ocean and Colombia; on the W., by the Ocean.]

THE dominions of the crown of Spain, in the two Americas, extended from lat. 37° 48′ N., to 41° 43′ S.,* a space of seventy-nine degrees, equalling in length the whole of Africa, and surpassing in extent the immense countries in Asia subject to Great Britain and Russia. They were divided into nine distinct governments: the vice-royalty of Mexico, and the captain-generalships of Guatimala, Porto Rico, and Cuba, (the latter including Florida,) in North America; the vice-royalties of New Granada, Peru, and Buenos Ayres, and the captain-generalships of the Caraccas and of Chili, in South America. Mexico, or New Spain, was considered as the most valuable of

* That is, from the mission of San Francisco, on the coast of New California, to Fort Maullin, on the coast of Chili.

them all; and in point both of territorial wealth and of population, as well as in its advantageous position for commercial communications, this country must still rank as the first in importance among the new states which are asserting their independence in the western hemisphere. The name of Mexico has been conventionally given to all the Spanish provinces to the north of the isthmus of Panama, Florida excepted; and, in fact, the supreme military authority of the viceroy extended over the whole of this vast region. Guatimala, however, claims to be considered as a distinct territory. Exclusively of this, the kingdom of New Spain extended from the sixteenth to the thirty-eighth parallel of north latitude, over a tract upwards of six hundred leagues in a direction S.E. and N.W., and varying in breadth from 364 leagues to 45. To the north and east, its limits are vague and questionable. Arid savannahs, resembling the deserts of Tartary, separate what are called the *provincias internas*, or back settlements, from the territory of the United States.

"The north-west coast of America," says M. Humboldt, "furnishes to this day no other stable settlements than Russian and Spanish colonies. Before the inhabitants of the United States, in their progressive movement from east to west, could reach the shore between the latitude of 41° and 50°, that long separated the Spanish monks and the Siberian hunters, the latter had established themselves south of the river Columbia. Thus, in New California, the missionaries of San Francisco, men estimable for their morals and their agricultural activity, learnt with astonishment that Greek priests had arrived in their neighbourhood; and that two nations who inhabit the eastern and western extremities of Europe, were be-

come neighbours on a coast of America opposite to China." *

For a long time, the viceroys of Mexico looked upon the whole north-west coast of America as comprehended within their government, affecting to make New Spain border on Tartary and Greenland; † but, after considerable discussion, the Court of Madrid agreed to adopt Cape Mendocino, in lat. 40° 29′, as the definitive boundary towards the north. Eastward, the river Sabine, which flows directly southward into the Gulf of Mexico, has been held the boundary between the Spanish territory and that of the United States; but the Congress wish to make the basin of the Rio Bravo del Norte the eastern limit of Mexico.‡ On the south, its boundaries are the Pacific Ocean, and a line drawn from the port of Tehuantepec to the bay of Honduras, separating it from Guatimala. On the west, its shores are washed by the Great Ocean.

According to the ancient division of the territory, New Spain comprehended, 1. The kingdom of Mexico. 2. The kingdom of New Gallicia. 3. The kingdom of New Leon. 4. The colony of St. Andero. 5. The province of Texas. 6. The province of Cohahuila. 7. The province of New Biscay. 8. The province of Sonora. 9. The province of New Mexico. 10. & 11. The provinces of Old and New California.

* Humboldt's Pers. Narrative, vol. v. part i. p. 302.—In 1804, the little fortress at the bay of Jakutal belonging to the Russian company, was still 600 leagues distant from the most northern Mexican possessions.

† So late as the year 1770, M. Humboldt states, the Cardinal Lorenzana asserted, in a work published at Mexico, that New Spain, in the remotest confines of the bishopric of Durango, perhaps borders on Tartary and Greenland; by the Californias on Tartary, and by New Mexico on Greenland.

‡ As the Rio Bravo enters the Gulf in a S.E. direction, the disputed territory forms a *trapezium* of 47,469 square leagues.

But, in the year 1776, these old divisions were partly superseded by a new arrangement, which distributed them into twelve intendencies and three provinces, viz.

TO THE NORTH OF THE TROPIC.

1. The province of New Mexico, extending along the Rio del Norte.
2. The intendency of New Biscay, or Durango.
3. The province of New California.
4. ——— Old California.
5. The intendency of Sonora.
6. ——— San Luis Potosi, comprising Texas, Cohahuila, St. Andero, and New Leon.

TO THE SOUTH OF THE TROPIC.

7. The intendency of Zacatecas. } New Gallicia.
8. ——— Guadalaxara. }
9. ——— Guanaxuato. } Kingdom of Mexico.
10. ——— Valladolid. }
11. ——— Mexico. }
12. ——— Puebla. }
13. ——— Vera Cruz. }
14. ——— Oaxaca. }
15. ——— Merida or Yucatan. }

The first six divisions, almost entirely included within the temperate zone, were computed to contain, in 1805, a population of 677,000 souls, distributed over an extent of 82,000 square leagues, which gives a proportion of eight inhabitants to a square league. The latter nine intendencies, situated under the torrid zone, contained a population of 5,160,000 souls within an area of 36,500 square leagues, or 141 inhabitants to every square league; but four-fifths of this population were concentrated upon the ridge of the Cordillera, or on elevated plateaus.* The grand total was 118,478 square leagues, and 5,837,100 inhabitants.

* The intendency of Mexico contained 255 inhabitants to every square league; Guanaxuato, 568; Vera Cruz, only 38.

The civil government of these several provinces and intendencies was under the control of two supreme councils (*audienzas reales*); the *audienza* of Guadalaxara, which exerted its authority over the districts formerly known by the name of New Gallicia, and all to the northward; and the *audienza* of Mexico. In the Viceroy of Mexico was vested the supreme executive power, but the northern intendencies were formed into two distinct, though subordinate military governments. Sonora, New Biscay, New Mexico, and the Californias, constituted the western captaincy: Cohahuila, Texas, St. Andero, and New Leon, comprehending the greater part of the intendency of San Luis Potosi, the eastern captaincy. The commandant-general of the western provinces was also the head of the civil administration as regarded matters of finances; but part of the eastern captaincy, viz. Leon, St. Andero, and the districts of Charcas, Catorce, and Altamira, in the intendency of San Luis, (that is, the whole of that intendency except Texas and Cohahuila,) were under the immediate authority, in all civil affairs, of the Viceroy of Mexico. Although these complicated arrangements have been overturned by the revolution, it will be found necessary to be acquainted with the former divisions.

Mexico, then, it will be seen, is an appellation common to the capital, the ancient kingdom, the modern intendency, the vice-royalty, and, improperly, to the whole of the Spanish possessions formerly subordinated to the viceroy. It now designates an independent Republic, which already numbers eight millions of subjects. We must briefly retrace the history of the country.

HISTORY OF MEXICO.

TWENTY-SEVEN years had elapsed since Columbus discovered the first land in the new world,* and in the interval, Pinzon and Cabral had successively made the discovery of the southern peninsula, when, in 1519, Cortes landed on the coast of New Spain, in the character, not of a discoverer, but of an invader. He had been appointed to the command of the armament by the governor of Cuba; but the jealousy of Velasquez led him to revoke the commission, and to send orders for his arrest. Cortes had the address to defeat all his schemes, and having secured the allegiance of the soldiers, he resolved to prosecute the enterprise on his own responsibility. His fleet consisted of eleven vessels: the largest was of only 100 tons; three were of 70 or 80 tons, and the rest were open barks. He landed first on the island of Cozumel off the coast of Yucatan, which had been discovered two years before. Here he mustered his little army, which consisted of 508 soldiers, including 16 horsemen, with ten small field-pieces and four falconets, and 109 seamen or artificers. "With this slender and ill-provided train," says Dr. Robertson, "did Cortes set sail to make war upon a monarch whose dominions

* Columbus discovered the Bahama isles in 1492, and the islands of Cuba and Hispaniola in the same year. Pinzon made the coast of Brazil in Jan. 1500, and Cabral landed at Porto Seguro on Easter day following. Two years after, Columbus discovered the coast of the continent from Cape Gracias to Porto Bello. In 1510, the first Spanish settlement on the main land was begun at Santa Maria on the Gulf of Darien, by Vasco Nunez de Balboa. The peninsula of Yucatan was first discovered by Francisco Hernandez Cordova, an opulent planter in Cuba, in 1517; and the coast of New Spain, by Juan de Grijalva, in the year following.

were more extensive than all the kingdoms subject to the Spanish crown." On proceeding to the river Tabasco, where he hoped to meet with a friendly reception from the natives, as Grijalva had the preceding year, he was violently attacked by them. They advanced in great numbers, and with extraordinary courage, but they were routed in several successive actions with great slaughter, and at length were sufficiently intimidated to sue for peace, as the conditions of which they were induced to acknowledge the King of Castile as their sovereign, and granted Cortes a supply of provisions, with a present of cotton garments, some gold, and twenty female slaves. * This last proved the most valuable portion of the offering; for one of these slaves, who afterwards figured in the history of the New World, under the name of Donna Marina, was a native of Mexico, and her services as interpreter proved of the greatest importance. The Spaniards continued their course westward, and on entering the harbour of St. Juan de Ullua, they were met by an embassy from the authorities of the country, who addressed Cortes in a most respectful manner, but in a language unknown to Aguilar, his interpreter, on whose acquaintance with the Indian dialects Cortes had relied for establishing an intercourse with the natives. Fortunately, however, Donna Marina was able to explain their message in the Yucatan tongue, with which Aguilar was acquainted; and thus Cortes learned that the envoys were sent from the governor of the province and the military chief, to inquire what were his

* In the decisive action, De Solis attributes no small effect to the horses, the strangeness of which, he says, terrified the Indians, who had never seen any before, and imagined them to be fierce monsters, half man and half beast.

intentions in visiting the coast, and to offer him what assistance he might need in order to prosecute his voyage. Cortes, in reply, made professions of the most friendly nature, assuring them, that he came to propose matters of the utmost consequence to their prince and all his empire, which he would more fully unfold in person to the governor and the general. Next morning, without waiting for any answer, Cortes landed his troops, his horses, and his artillery, and began to erect huts for his men, and to fortify his camp. The natives, instead of opposing the entrance of these fatal guests into their country, assisted them with alacrity in these operations. They brought them also cotton cloths to spread over their huts, and supplied them with provisions, by order, it is said, of the governor.* In the best of the huts, Cortes, with that religious enthusiasm which singularly blended with ambition, avarice, and ferocity, in all these Spanish adventurers, set up an image of the Virgin Mary, with a large cross at the entrance, and mass was performed in celebration of Easter. † On the third day, Pilpatoe, the governor of the province, and Teutile, the commander of the forces, repaired to the Spanish camp with a numerous retinue, where they were received with the utmost ceremony: they were invited to attend the celebration of mass, and afterwards were feasted at a banquet. Cortes then proceeded to an-

* De Solis attributes this apparent generosity and simplicity of the natives to policy and fear; for they were terrified, he says, with the report of the success of the Spaniards at Tabasco, which had spread over all the country.

† The day on which he landed was Good Friday. Bernal Diaz and Herrera state, that mass was performed the same day; but De Solis expresses his surprise at their falling into such a mistake since the chaplains of Cortes must have known that mass could not be said on Good Friday

nounce, that he came as ambassador from Don Carlos of Austria, King of Castile, the greatest monarch of the East, and that he was intrusted with proposals of such moment, that he could impart them to none but the Emperor Montezuma himself; he therefore required them to conduct him into the presence of their master. The Mexican authorities could not conceal their uneasiness at this request; but, to soften their refusal, they first ordered the presents to be brought in, which they had prepared with a view to conciliate the good-will of the strangers. They consisted of fine cotton-cloth, plumes of various colours, and ornaments of wrought gold and silver. The display of these served only to stimulate in the Spaniards the lust of conquest; and when Teutile proceeded to dissuade Cortes from visiting the capital, he replied in a haughty and determined tone, that kings never refused to receive the embassies of other princes; and insisted on their acquainting Montezuma with his arrival. During this interview, some native artists had been diligently employed in delineating upon white cotton cloths, representations of the ships, horses, artillery, soldiers, and every thing else belonging to the strangers, which struck them as remarkable. Cortes, having notice of this, and learning that these pictures were to be despatched to Montezuma, resolved to give further employment to the skill of these painters, and to strengthen the impression made on the minds of the native chiefs, by the exhibition of a sham fight. Mounting his horse, he ordered the trumpets to sound an alarm, and the troops, forming into two bodies, skirmished in a martial manner. The Mexicans looked on in silent amazement, especially at the agility with which the cavalry performed their evolutions; for, "observing the obedient fierceness

of those beasts," says De Solis, "they began to think there was something more than natural in those men that managed them. But when, at a signal given by Cortes, the fire-arms, and then the artillery were discharged, some fell to the ground, others fled, and those who had most presence of mind, affected admiration to dissemble their fear." Cortes dismissed his guests with some trifling presents. To Montezuma himself, he sent some glass, a Holland shirt, a cap of crimson velvet adorned with a gold medal, and a tapestry chair. Though the capital was above 180 miles distant, the pictures and the presents were forwarded to the sovereign, and his answer returned in a few days. Montezuma, it seems, had couriers posted at convenient distances along the principal roads, by which means intelligence was transmitted to the capital with astonishing rapidity. His answer was a refusal to allow of the nearer approach of the foreigners; but this, too, was introduced with a conciliatory present to the Spanish general, expressive at once of the monarch's magnificence and his fears. It consisted of specimens of the manufactures of the country; cotton stuffs so fine and of so delicate a texture as to resemble silk; pictures of animals, trees, and other natural objects, formed with feathers of different colours most ingeniously disposed; two large circular plates, one of gold, representing the sun, the other of silver, representing the moon; with a variety of golden ornaments and precious stones.* Cortes received all these with an appearance of the profoundest respect, but, to the consternation of the Mexicans, represented that, with every wish to shew his obedience to their monarch, it

* According to one Spanish historian (Lopez de Gomara), this rich present had been prepared for Grijalva, when he touched at this place some months before, against his expected return.

was impossible for him to leave the country, consistently with his duty to his own sovereign, until he had been admitted into the presence of the prince whom he had been appointed to visit in his name.

"The firmness," says Dr. Robertson, "with which Cortes adhered to his original proposal, should naturally have brought the negotiation between him and Montezuma to a speedy issue, as it seemed to leave the Mexican monarch no choice, but either to receive him with confidence as a friend, or to oppose him openly as an enemy. The latter was what might have been expected from a haughty prince in possession of extensive power. The Mexican empire, at this period, was at a pitch of grandeur to which no society ever attained in so short a period. Though it had subsisted, according to their own traditions, only 130 years, its dominion extended from the north to the south sea, over territories stretching, with some small interruption, above five hundred leagues from east to west, and more than two hundred from north to south, comprehending provinces not inferior in fertility, population, and opulence, to any in the torrid zone. The people were warlike and enterprising; the authority of the monarch unbounded, and his revenues considerable. If, with the forces which might have been suddenly assembled in such an empire, Montezuma had fallen upon the Spaniards while encamped on a barren, unhealthy coast, unsupported by any ally, without a place of retreat, and destitute of provisions, it seems to be impossible, even with all the advantages of their superior discipline and arms, that they could have stood the shock, and they must either have perished in such an unequal contest, or have abandoned the enterprise.

"As the power of Montezuma enabled him to take

this spirited part, his own dispositions were such as seemed naturally to prompt him to it. Of all the princes who had swayed the Mexican sceptre, he was the most haughty, the most violent, and the most impatient of control. His subjects looked up to him with awe, and his enemies with terror. The former he governed with unexampled rigour, but they were impressed with such an opinion of his capacity, as commanded their respect; and by many victories over the latter, he had spread far the dread of his arms, and had added several considerable provinces to his dominions. But, though his talents might be suited to the transactions of a state so imperfectly polished as the Mexican empire, and sufficient to conduct them while in their accustomed course, they were altogether inadequate to a conjuncture so extraordinary, and did not qualify him either to judge with the discernment, or to act with the decision, requisite in such trying emergence.

"From the moment that the Spaniards appeared on his coast, he discovered symptoms of timidity and embarrassment. Instead of taking such resolutions as the consciousness of his own power, or the memory of his former exploits, might have inspired, he deliberated with an anxiety and hesitation which did not escape the notice of his meanest courtiers. The perplexity and discomposure of Montezuma's mind upon this occasion, as well as the general dismay of his subjects, were not owing wholly to the impression which the Spaniards had made by the novelty of their appearance and the terror of their arms. Its origin may be traced up to a more remote source. There was an opinion, if we may believe the earliest and most authentic Spanish historians, almost universal among the Americans, that some dreadful calamity was impending over their heads, from a race of formidable invaders

who should come from regions towards the rising sun, to overrun and desolate their country. Whether this disquieting apprehension flowed from the memory of some natural calamity which had afflicted that part of the globe, and impressed the minds of the inhabitants with superstitious fears and forebodings, or whether it was an imagination accidentally suggested by the astonishment which the first sight of a new race of men occasioned, it is impossible to determine. But, as the Mexicans were more prone to superstition than any people in the new world, they were more deeply affected by the appearance of the Spaniards, whom their credulity instantly represented as the instrument destined to bring about this fatal revolution which they dreaded. Under those circumstances, it ceases to be incredible that a handful of adventurers should alarm the monarch of a great empire, and all his subjects.

"Notwithstanding the influence of this impression, when the messenger arrived from the Spanish camp with an account that the leader of the strangers, adhering to his original demand, refused to obey the order enjoining him to leave the country, Montezuma assumed some degree of resolution, and, in a transport of rage, natural to a fierce prince unaccustomed to meet with any opposition to his will, he threatened to sacrifice those presumptuous men to his gods. But his doubts and fears quickly returned, and instead of issuing orders to carry his threats into execution, he again called his ministers to confer, and offer their advice. Feeble and temporising measures will always be the result, when men assemble to deliberate in a situation where they ought to act. The Mexican counsellors took no effectual measures for expelling such troublesome intruders, and were satisfied with

issuing a more positive injunction, requiring them to leave the country; but this they preposterously accompanied with a present of such value, as proved a fresh inducement to remain there."

In the mean time, Cortes used every method to secure the affections and confidence of the soldiery, as some of the officers began to have misgivings as to the prudence and feasibleness of persisting in the enterprise. On Teutile's return with the definitive orders of Montezuma for the Spaniards to leave the country, Cortes, instead of complying, coolly renewed his request of an audience, on which the Mexican turned from him abruptly, and quitted the camp with signs of resentment.

Next morning, none of the natives, who had been accustomed to frequent the camp in great numbers to barter with the soldiers and bring provisions, made their appearance. All friendly correspondence seemed at an end; and this turn in affairs, though an event that might have been foreseen, emboldened the male-contents to cabal against the general. One of the principal officers was deputed to remonstrate with him on the imprudence of prosecuting the enterprise with so inadequate a force, and to urge the necessity of returning to Cuba. Cortes, affecting to receive the remonstrance in good part, and to give way to the wishes of the army, issued orders that they should hold themselves in readiness to re-imbark the next day. As he had anticipated, the order was received by the soldiery with surprise and indignation; the ferment became general, and they demanded to see their leader. Cortes was not backward in appearing, and assured them that he had acted from a persuasion that it was their wish to abandon the enterprise; that now he was convinced he had been misinformed; and as he perceived

that they were animated with the spirit of true and loyal Spaniards, he would resume, with fresh ardour, his original plan of operation. For his own part, he was bent on immediately establishing a settlement on the coast, and on then endeavouring to penetrate into the interior; but he would have none for soldiers but volunteers, and he offered to provide vessels for all who thought fit to return to Cuba. Shouts of applause followed this declaration, and the malecontents joined in the acclamations.

Without allowing his men time to cool, Cortes set about carrying his design into execution. He assembled the chief persons in the army, and, by their suffrage, elected a council and magistrates in whom the government was to be vested, the instrument being framed in the king's name, without any mention of the governor of Cuba. The infant settlement received a name which, as Robertson remarks, the two principles of avarice and enthusiasm by which the Spaniards were prompted in all their enterprises, seem to have concurred in suggesting. Cortes called it *Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz*, the rich town of the true cross.*

To this new council of his own creation, Cortes formally resigned the commission he had received from Velasquez, the governor of Cuba, which had long been revoked; and he was now re-appointed captain-general and supreme magistrate of the colony in the king's name. With his new command he assumed greater dignity; and when the adherents of Velasquez exclaimed against these proceedings as illegal, he arrested three of the ringleaders, and sent them prisoners aboard the ships, loaded with chains. His end being

* The latter part of the title was chosen in commemoration of their having landed on Good Friday.

answered by the intimidation this decisive exercise of power produced, he suffered himself to be pacified after a few days, and he had the address to attach the culprits most firmly to his interests.

While affairs were in this position, a most fortunate event occurred. A deputation arrived at the camp with a proffer of friendship from the *cazique* of Zempoalla, a considerable town at no great distance, who, impatient of the Mexican yoke, caught at the prospect of deliverance afforded by the arrival of these mighty strangers. This intelligence was most welcome, as it shewed that the empire which they were about to invade was not a united one. Cortes dismissed the Indians with presents, and promised soon to visit their cazique. Zempoalla lay in the way to a village called Quiabislan, (properly Chiahuitzla,) about forty miles to the northward, which some officers whom Cortes had sent to survey the coast, had reported to be a more advantageous position for the settlement. Thither he determined to march, and the ships set sail for the same point. From the cazique of Zempoalla, by whom he was received in the most friendly and respectful manner, Cortes learned further particulars concerning the character of Montezuma.* He was a tyrant, the cazique told him, haughty, cruel, and suspicious, who treated his own subjects with arrogance, and ruined the conquered provinces by his extortions, often tearing from them their sons and daughters, the former to be offered as victims to his gods, the latter to be

* The town of Zempoalla is described as consisting of stone buildings covered with a sort of lime or plaster very white and shining, "which made a pleasing and noble view at a distance, insomuch that one of the scouts returned in haste, crying aloud, that the walls were of silver, which mistake made much sport in the army; and perhaps," adds De Solis, "some did then believe t, who afterwards made a jest of his credulity."

reserved as concubines for himself and his favourites. Cortes, in reply, artfully insinuated, that one great object of his arrival in that remote country was, to relieve the oppressed, and encouraged the hope of his powerful interposition in due time. He then continued his march to Quiahislan. The cazique of that place was equally well disposed towards the strangers, and, by his friendly aid, a town of huts, surrounded with mud-walls, was commenced on the spot selected by the officers. Every man in the army put his hand to the work, and this petty station, the parent of so many mighty settlements, was soon in a respectable state of defence against an Indian enemy. While thus occupied, some of Montezuma's officers arrived to demand, in addition to the usual tribute from the caziques, twenty Indians as a sacrifice to the gods, in expiation of their crime in presuming to hold intercourse with the strangers whom the emperor had commanded to leave his dominions. At the instigation of Cortes, these officers were seized and thrown into prison, and would have been put to death by the caziques, but for his interposition. Unwilling absolutely to break with Montezuma, he secretly released two of them, and sent them away by night with an amicable message to their master, making a merit of giving them their liberty. The caziques having now been pushed on to an act of open rebellion, had no hope of safety but in attaching themselves to their new allies, and formally acknowledged themselves vassals of the King of Castile. Their example was followed by the Totonaques, a tribe of fierce mountaineers, and thirty of their caziques are said to have offered their allegiance and their services.

Cortes had now been above three months in New Spain, and the time had been well improved; but he

now felt it necessary to take measures to procure the sanction of his authority and proceedings at court. He therefore directed a specious memorial to be drawn up by the council of the new colony, humbly requesting the sovereign to ratify what they had done in his name. The presentation of it was confided to two of the chief magistrates, together with the richest present for the king that had hitherto been transmitted from the New World, consisting of all the treasures that had been collected. While a vessel was preparing for their departure, a plot was formed by some of the disaffected, to seize one of the brigantines, and escape to Cuba, in time to give information to Velasquez, and enable him to intercept the treasure and despatches. On the point of execution, the conspiracy was betrayed; but it served to fill Cortes with disquietude, as shewing that a latent spirit of disaffection still lurked among his troops. One bold measure presented itself to his mind, as the only expedient for preventing all similar attempts in future, and for securing himself against either conspiracy or desertion: this was to destroy his fleet. The resolution was not more remarkable than the address with which he succeeded in bringing the soldiers to adopt this measure. With universal consent, the ships were drawn ashore, and, after being stripped of their sails, rigging, and iron-work, were broken up. "Thus," remarks the historian of America, "from an effort of magnanimity to which there is nothing parallel in history,* five hundred men voluntarily consented to be shut up in a hostile country, filled with

* Justin relates of Agathocles, that having landed his army on the coast of Africa, he burnt his vessels to deprive his soldiers of the means of flight. A similar act of heroism is related of Timarchus, an Etolian general, and of Q. Fabius Maximus. But De Solis justly remarks, that the merit of Cortes is not lessened by these ancient examples.

powerful and unknown nations; and having precluded every means of escape, left themselves without any resource but their own valour and perseverance."

Previously to this transaction, Cortes had exhibited a proof of his resolute character, by what Robertson terms an indiscreet sally of religious zeal, which on many occasions precipitated him into actions inconsistent with his characteristic prudence. "Though hitherto he had had neither time nor opportunity to explain to the natives the errors of their superstition, or to instruct them in the principles of the Christian faith, he commanded his soldiers to overturn the altars, and to destroy the idols in the chief temple of Zempoalla, and in their place to erect a crucifix and an image of the Virgin Mary." The account which De Solis gives of the circumstance, redounds, however, more to the honour of Cortes. It is stated, that the cazique of Zempoalla had offered his own niece in marriage to the Spanish general, with a view to strengthen the alliance between them; but Cortes had declined the proposal, on the ground that it was not lawful for the Spaniards to take wives of a different religion, and had attempted to convince the cazique of the evil of idolatry. "At this time happened one of the most solemn festivals of their idols; and the Zempoallans assembled (not without some circumspection on account of the Spaniards) in the principal of their temples, where they celebrated a sacrifice of human blood. Afterwards, the unhappy victims were sold, cut up in pieces, which were sought after and bought as sacred food. Some Spaniards happened to see part of this slaughter, who came and told Cortes how much they were scandalised; and he was so highly provoked at it, that the motives which obliged him to keep measures with those confederates,

gave way to a greater cause." Calling the caziques to attend him, he went to the temple at the head of a body of troops. The priests, jealous of the event, met him at the gate, and began to call on the Indians to defend their gods. At the same time appeared some armed guards, whom the priests had posted in the avenues. Cortes, with his usual presence of mind, told them, that on the first arrow they should let fly, he would cause the throat of their cazique to be cut. This threat, and the command of the cazique, induced them to lay down their arms. Cortes then harangued them on the monstrous character of their idolatry, and concluded by trying to persuade them to overthrow their idols with their own hands. When they refused to do this, he ordered his soldiers to do execution upon their gods; and the principal idol, together with those on each side, were speedily tumbled down from the top of a flight of steps, and came to the pavement all broken to pieces, followed by their own altars, and the detestable instruments of their adoration. "Great was the commotion and astonishment of the Indians: they beheld each other as expecting the punishment of heaven. But it soon happened that, seeing their gods thus debased without power to revenge themselves, they laid aside all fear, and became sensible of their weakness. The Zempoallans by this experiment became more easy to be persuaded, and more submissive to the orders of the Spaniards. For, if before they considered them as men of a superior nature, they now found themselves obliged to confess that they were more powerful than their gods." Affecting to be undeceived, they afterwards burnt the fragments of their idols, and quietly attended the celebration of mass, which was performed in the temple, not, however, before the

stains of human blood had been scraped from the walls, and a covering of plaster laid on.* If the conduct of Cortes on this occasion was indiscreet, it was a noble indiscretion, and the measure seems to have been far from impolitic. At least, to have permitted the continuance of human sacrifices and cannibal practices, would have been in the highest degree discreditable to his character. What had contributed greatly to raise him in the estimation of the natives, was the arrival of a third embassy and present from Montezuma, the mighty emperor who disdained to bend his knee in the presence of his own gods: it had been sent off in consequence of the report brought by the liberated officers. Cortes received the envoys with profound respect, delivered up the remaining captives, and sent them back with presents and a polite message, in which, however, he still intimated his unshaken intention to wait upon the emperor.

On the sixteenth of August, Cortes began his march into the interior, with 500 men, 15 horse, and 16 field-pieces, besides 400 Indian warriors, furnished by the caziques, and 200 slaves. 150 men were left in garrison at Vera Cruz. The army was well received in their first marches at the towns of Jalapa, Sochochima, and Texucla. The road to Mexico then lay for three days over bare and rugged mountains, and the army underwent great suffering in the march. By the cazique of Zocothlan, they were received with a forced civility; and after halting to refresh his troops, Cortes advanced towards Tlascala. The warlike inhabitants of this province were

* De Solis, vol. i. pp. 201-6. Robertson mentions this occurrence as posterior to the burning of the ships, but De Solis (as apparently the primary authorities) relates that it took place some time before.

implacable enemies of the Mexicans; and Cortes resolved to send four of the Zempoallans to negotiate an amicable passage of the troops through their territory. But the Tlascalans resolved on opposing their progress, and, seizing the ambassadors, prepared to sacrifice them to the gods. Cortes, after waiting some days for their return, advanced with caution, and had soon to sustain a fierce encounter with the natives, in which two soldiers and five horses were wounded. The next day, they came in sight of the main army, consisting, the Spanish historians tell us, of above 40,000 men,* who were repulsed with great slaughter, at the cost of nine or ten Spaniards wounded, and some Indians killed, and with the loss of another horse, whose head was borne off in triumph by the Tlascalans as a trophy. In a third engagement, in which the enemy brought 50,000 men into the field, the Spaniards, though thrown into disorder, lost only one soldier, but had

* No circumstance in the history of the conquest of Mexico, Dr. Robertson remarks, is more questionable than the account of the numerous armies brought into the field against the Spaniards. Cortes himself states the number of the Tlascalans in the first battle at 6000; in the second battle, 100,000; in the third, 150,000. Gomara, his chaplain after his return to Spain, follows, with a slight variation, this monstrous estimate. But Bernal Diaz, an eye-witness, with somewhat more modesty, reduces these numbers to 3000, 6000, and 50,000. Still, the disparity is left so great, that the inconsiderable loss of the Spaniards can be rendered credible, only by taking into account the imperfection of the offensive weapons employed against them, their admirable defensive armour, consisting of quilted jackets and bucklers, the terror spread by their fire-arms and horses, and the anxiety manifested in the heat of battle by the Indians to carry off their dead, to prevent their being devoured. After they had discovered the horse and his rider to be distinct, they still believed that the horses devoured men in battle, and, when they neighed, thought that they were asking for their prey.

twenty wounded, while the Tlascalans had great numbers slain. They now began to consider these strangers as either divinities or magicians, and the priests were consulted as to the best means of overcoming their spells. The oracle delivered this response: That the strangers were the offspring of the sun; that by day, therefore, they were invincible, but, when his parental influence was withdrawn, they would be found disheartened and feeble. On receiving this welcome information, Xicotental, the Tlascalan general, resolved on attacking them with a strong body, after sunset. The Spanish centinels were, however, on the alert, and the powerful and unlooked-for resistance which the assailants met with, convinced them that their priests had deluded them, and increased their awe of the Spaniards. Though repulsed with great loss, they yet meditated a second night attack, and forty Indians, disguised as peasants, with provisions, were sent to examine the Spanish entrenchments; but these spies were detected by the Zempoallans, and Cortes sent them back with their hands cut off, or mutilated, to tell Xicotental that he was waiting for him. The apparent power of divination which had led to the discovery, together with the dismay produced by this act of severity, decided the Tlascalans on suing for peace. Their proposals were not unwelcome to Cortes and his army, to whom a suspension of hostilities had become, indeed, necessary. Many were wounded, and others, among whom was Cortes himself, laboured under distempers brought on by the climate, of which several had died since they set out. Notwithstanding the supplies which they obtained from the Tlascalans, they were often in want of provisions, as well as of other necessaries; and they are stated to have had no salve to dress their

wounds, but what was composed of the fat of the Indians whom they had slain. Worn out with intolerable hardships, many of the soldiers began to murmur, and more were ready to despair. But the submission of the Tlascalans, followed by their own triumphant entry into the city, where they were received with the reverence paid to beings of a superior order, banished at once from the minds of the Spaniards all memory of past sufferings, and inspired them with the conviction that there was not any power in America able to withstand their arms. They entered Tlascala on the 23d of September, 1519.

Cortes remained here twenty days, to allow his troops an interval of repose, during which he so far gained the confidence of the natives, that they readily engaged to accompany him in his march to Mexico. But his religious zeal had again well nigh precipitated him into fresh hostilities. In a conference which he held with some of their chiefs on the subject of their idolatrous rites, he had brought them to consent to discontinue their human sacrifices, and to set at liberty the captives who were being fattened for the next festival; but the Tlascalans begged that he would speak no more of their changing their religion, lest the gods should punish them for listening to the impious proposal. Cortes, enraged at their obstinacy, or presuming upon the success of his bold experiment at Zempoalla, proposed to his men to attack the idols; "as if," says De Solis, "it had been the same thing to undertake such an affair in a town that was so much better peopled. But Father Bartolome de Olmedo (the chaplain to the expedition) soon brought him to reason, telling him, with a resolution becoming his character, "That he was not without some scruples concerning the

violence offered to the people of Zempoalla; that persecution and the gospel did ill agree; and that, in effect, it would only overturn their altars, and leave the idols in their hearts; that before the worship of God could be introduced, the devil must be banished—a war of a different kind, and which required a different sort of arms.'" Cortes deferred to the authority of the ecclesiastic, and restrained, for this time, his impetuous zeal, satisfying himself with the promises of the Tlascalans to desist from offering human victims.*

At length, the troops being fit for service, Cortes resolved to continue his march towards Mexico. Montezuma had meanwhile consented to admit the Spaniards into his presence, and his envoys had informed Cortes, that quarters would be provided for him at Cholula, through which his road lay. This town, which the Tlascalans had strongly advised him to avoid, was the holy city of the Mexicans, the chief seat of their gods, to which pilgrims resorted from every province, and a greater number of human victims were offered in its principal temple, than even in that of Mexico. Cortes himself says, that he counted above four hundred temple-towers. Montezuma seems to have invited the Spaniards thither, either from some superstitious hope that the gods would not suffer this their sanctuary to be violated, without pouring down their wrath on the impious intruders, or from a belief that he could there cut them off with more certain success, under the immediate protection of his divinities. Cortes, being now joined by 6000 Tlascalans, found himself at the head of a considerable army. He was

* Dr. Robertson remarks on this incident: "One is astonished to find a Spanish monk of the sixteenth century among the first advocates against persecution, and in favour of religious liberty."

received, with his Spaniards, into Cholula, with much apparent cordiality;* but the Tlascalans were not allowed to enter the town, being enemies of the Mexican nation. Several suspicious circumstances had caught the vigilant attention of Cortes, but he found it prudent to dissemble his distrust. The situation in which he had placed himself was, indeed, most critical; but the singular good fortune which attended him throughout this most extraordinary enterprise, again saved him. Donna Marina received information from an Indian woman of distinction, whose confidence she had gained, that the destruction of her friends was concerted; that a body of Mexican troops lay concealed in the town; that some of the streets were barricadoed, and in others pits or deep trenches had been dug, and slightly covered over, as traps for the horses; that large quantities of stones were collected

* An old translation of Gomara's History, cited in the notes to "Madoc," gives the following description of their entrance into this city:—"The nexte day, in the morning, the Spaniards came to Chololla, and there came out near ten thousand Indians to receyve him, with their captaynes, in good order. Many of them presented unto him bread, foules, and roses; and every captayne, as he approached, welcomed Cortes, and then stood aside, that the rest in order mighte come unto him; and when he came entering into the citie, all the other citizens receyved him, marvelling to see such men and horses. After all this came out all the religious menne, as priests and ministers to the idols, who were many and straunge to behold, and all were clothed in white, lyke unto surplices, and hemmed with common threede. Some brought instruments of musicke like unto cornettes, others brought instruments made of bones; others an instrument like a ketel covered with skin; some brought chafing-dishes of coals with perfumes; others brought idols covered; and finally, they all came singing in their language, which was a terrible noyse, and drew neere Cortes and his company, sensing them with sweete smelles in their sensers. With this pomp and solemnitie, which truely was great, they brought him into the citie."

on the tops of the temples and houses; and that the fatal hour was now at hand. Scarcely had Cortes received this intelligence, when two of the Tlascalans, who had found means to enter the city in disguise, brought word from their chiefs, that they had observed the women and children retiring by night into the neighbouring villages, and that ten children had been sacrificed in the chief temple; a rite which certainly indicated the approaching execution of some military enterprise. Not a moment was to be lost. Cortes secretly arrested three of the chief priests, from whom he extorted a confession which confirmed this intelligence. Orders were then given to the Tlascalans to draw near the city by day-break, and at the first discharge of fire-arms, to enter it with all speed. The Spaniards and the Zempoallans were drawn up under arms in a large court which had been allotted for their quarters, near the centre of the town. As soon as it was day, Cortes sent for the magistrates and chief citizens, and reproached them with their treachery. Before they could recover from their confusion, the signal being given, his troops rushed out on the Mexicans, and at the same time the Tlascalans closed with their rear. The streets were filled with carnage. The temples, in which the priests and some of the principal citizens took refuge, were set on fire, and they all perished in the flames. This scene of horror continued two days, during which the city was pillaged by the Tlascalans; and above six thousand Cholulans fell in the massacre, without the loss of a single Spaniard. "In truth," says De Solis, "it was a chastisement, rather than a victory." At length, orders were issued to put a stop to the carnage, and Cortes, commanding the magistrates and priests whom he had imprisoned to be brought into his presence, told them that, as justice

was appeased, he forgave their crime; and he required them to recal the fugitives, and re-establish order in the city. Scarcely able to believe that they were at liberty, they kissed the earth in acknowledgment of his clemency; and such was the ascendancy which Cortes had now acquired over their minds, that the tumult was at once converted into obedience and security. The city was in a few days repeopled; the traders again displayed their wares, and amid the ruins of their sacred buildings, the Cholulans yielded respectful service to men whose hands were stained with the blood of their relatives and fellow-citizens. Cortes succeeded also in establishing a treaty of peace and alliance between the two hostile cities of Tlascala and Cholula.

On the 29th of October, Cortes advanced towards Mexico, distant twenty leagues. In every place through which he passed, he was received with the homage due to a superior being, and every where complaints were made to him of the tyranny under which the country groaned. In descending from the mountains of Chalco, the vast plain of Mexico opened to their view. "When they first beheld this prospect, one of the most striking and beautiful on the face of the earth; when they observed fertile and cultivated fields stretching further than the eye could reach; when they saw a lake resembling the sea in extent, encompassed with large towns, and discovered the capital city rising upon an island in the middle, adorned with its temples and turrets; the scene so far exceeded their imagination, that some believed the fanciful descriptions of romance were realised, and that its enchanted palaces and gilded domes were presented to their sight; others could hardly persuade themselves that this wonderful spectacle was any thing more than a dream. As they

advanced, their doubts were removed, but their amazement increased. They were now fully satisfied, that the country was rich beyond any conception which they had formed of it, and flattered themselves, that at length they should obtain an ample recompense for all their services and sufferings.

"Hitherto they had met with no enemy to oppose their progress, though several circumstances occurred, which led them to suspect that some design was formed to surprise and cut them off. Many messengers arrived successively from Montezuma, permitting them one day to advance, requiring them on the next to retire, as his hopes or fears alternately prevailed; and so wonderful was this infatuation, which seems to be unaccountable on any supposition but that of a superstitious dread of the Spaniards as beings of a superior nature, that Cortes was almost at the gates of the capital, before the monarch had determined whether to receive him as a friend, or to oppose him as an enemy. But, as no sign of open hostility appeared, the Spaniards, without regarding the fluctuations of Montezuma's sentiments, continued their march along the causeway which led to Mexico through the lake, with great circumspection and the strictest discipline, though without seeming to suspect the prince whom they were about to visit.

"When they drew near the city, about a thousand persons, who appeared to be of distinction, came forth to meet them, adorned with plumes, and clad in mantles of fine cotton. Each of these in his order passed by Cortes, and saluted him according to the mode deemed most respectful and submissive in their country. They announced the approach of Montezuma himself, and soon after his harbingers came in sight. There appeared first, two hundred persons in

a uniform dress, with large plumes of feathers, alike in fashion, marching two and two, in deep silence, barefooted, with their eyes fixed on the ground. These were followed by a company of higher rank, in their most showy apparel, in the midst of whom was Montezuma, in a chair or litter richly ornamented with gold, and feathers of various colours. Four of his principal favourites carried him on their shoulders; others supported a canopy of curious workmanship over his head. Before him marched three officers with rods of gold in their hands, which they lifted up on high at certain intervals, and at that signal all the people bowed their heads, and hid their faces, as unworthy to look on so great a monarch. When he drew near, Cortes dismounted, advancing towards him with officious haste, and in a respectful posture. At the same time, Montezuma alighted from his chair, and, leaning on the arms of two of his near relations, approached with a slow and stately pace, his attendants covering the street with cotton cloths, that he might not touch the ground. Cortes accosted him with profound reverence, after the European fashion. He returned the salutation according to the mode of his country, by touching the earth with his hand, and then kissing it. This ceremony, the customary expression of veneration from inferiors towards those who were above them in rank, appeared such amazing condescension in a proud monarch, who scarcely deigned to consider the rest of mankind as of the same species with himself, that all his subjects firmly believed those persons, before whom he humbled himself in this manner, to be something more than human. Accordingly, as they marched through the crowd, the Spaniards frequently, and with much satisfaction, heard themselves denominated *Teules*, or divinities.

Nothing material passed in this first interview. Montezuma conducted Cortes to the quarters which he had prepared for his reception, and immediately took leave of him, with a politeness not unworthy of a court more refined. 'You are now,' says he, 'with your brothers in your own house; refresh yourselves after your fatigue, and be happy until I return.' The place allotted to the Spaniards for their lodging, was a house built by the father of Montezuma. It was surrounded by a stone wall, with towers at proper distances, which served for defence as well as for ornament; and its apartment and courts were so large, as to accommodate both the Spaniards and their Indian allies. The first care of Cortes was to take precautions for his security, by planting the artillery so as to command the different avenues which led to it, by appointing a large division of his troops to be always on guard, and by posting sentinels at proper stations, with injunctions to observe the same vigilant discipline as if they were within sight of an enemy's camp.

"In the evening, Montezuma returned to visit his guests, with the same pomp as in their first interview, and brought presents of such value, not only to Cortes and to his officers, but even to the private men, as proved the liberality of the monarch to be suitable to the opulence of his kingdom. A long conference ensued, in which Cortes learned what was the opinion of Montezuma with respect to the Spaniards. It was an established tradition, he told him, among the Mexicans, that their ancestors came originally from a remote region, and conquered the provinces now subject to his dominion; that after they were settled there, the great captain who conducted this colony, returned to his own country, promising that at some

future period his descendants should visit them, assume the government, and reform their constitution and laws; that, from what he had heard and seen of Cortes and his followers, he was convinced that they were the very persons whose appearance the Mexican traditions and prophecies taught them to expect; that accordingly he had received them, not as strangers, but as relations of the same blood and parentage, and desired that they might consider themselves as masters in his dominions; for both himself and his subjects should be ready to comply with their will, and even to prevent their wishes. Cortes made a reply in his usual style, with respect to the dignity and power of his sovereign, and his intention in sending him into that country; artfully endeavouring so to frame his discourse, that it might coincide as much as possible with the idea which Montezuma had formed concerning the origin of the Spaniards. Next morning, Cortes and some of his principal attendants were admitted to a public audience of the emperor. The three subsequent days were employed in viewing the city; the appearance of which, so far superior in the order of its buildings, and the number of its inhabitants, to any place the Spaniards had beheld in America, and yet so little resembling the structure of an European city, filled them with surprize and admiration."*

The capital of Montezuma,† the proper name of which was Tenochtitlan, was built on a group of islands in the midst of a lake which, at that period, occupied a considerable part of the valley of Mexico. It was founded in 1325. Its appearance in 1520 is thus described by Cortes himself, in a letter to the

* Robertson's America, book v.

† His true Mexican name was Moteuczoma.

Emperor Charles V.: "The province in which the residence of this great lord, Muteczuma, is situated, is circularly surrounded with elevated mountains, and intersected with precipices. The plain contains near seventy leagues in circumference, and in this plain are two lakes which fill nearly the whole valley; for the inhabitants sail in canoes for more than fifty leagues round. Of the two great lakes of the valley of Mexico, the one is fresh, and the other salt water. They are separated by a small range of mountains" (the conical and insulated hills near Iztapalapan); "these mountains rise in the middle of the plain, and the waters of the lakes mingle together in a strait between the hills and the high Cordillera" (undoubtedly the eastern declivity of Cerros de Santa Fe). "The numerous towns and villages constructed in both of the two lakes* carry on their commerce by canoes, without touching the continent. The great city of Temixtitan† (Tenochtitlan) is situated in the midst of the salt-water lake, which has its tides like the sea; and from the city to the continent there are two leagues, which-ever way we wish to enter. Four dikes lead to the city: they are made by the hand of man, and are of the breadth of two lances. The city is as large as Seville or Cordova. The streets, I merely speak of the principal ones, are very narrow and very large; some are half dry and half occupied by navigable

* The general speaks only of two lakes, because he knew but imperfectly those of Zumpango and Xaltocan, between which he hastily passed in his flight from Mexico to Tlascala before the battle of Otumba.

† Temistitan, Temixtitan, Tenoxtitlan, Temihtitlan, are all corruptions of the true name of Tenochtitlan. The Aztecs, or Mexicans, called themselves also *Tenochques*, whence the denomination of their capital is derived.

canals, furnished with very well-constructed wooden bridges, broad enough for ten men on horseback to pass at the same time. The market-place, twice as large as that of Seville, is surrounded with an immense portico, under which are exposed for sale all sorts of merchandise, eatables, ornaments made of gold, silver, lead, pewter, precious stones, bones, shells, and feathers; delft ware, leather, and spun cotton. We find hewn stone, tiles, and timber fit for building. There are lanes for game, others for roots and garden fruits; there are houses where barbers shave the head (with razors made of obsidian); and there are houses resembling our apothecary shops, where prepared medicines, unguents, and plasters are sold. The market abounds with so many things, that I am unable to name them all to your highness. To avoid confusion, every species of merchandise is sold in a separate lane; every thing is sold by the yard; but nothing has hitherto been seen to be weighed in the market. In the midst of the great square is a house which I shall call l'Audiencia, in which ten or twelve persons sit constantly for determining any disputes which may arise respecting the sale of goods. There are other persons who mix continually with the crowd, to see that a just price is asked. We have seen them break the false measures which they had seized from the merchants."

The access to the city from the continent was by three great dikes or causeways, formed of stones and earth, about thirty feet in breadth. That of Tlapocan (Tacuba), on the west, extended a mile and a half; that of Tepeyacac, on the north-west, three miles; that of Coyohuacan (or Iztapalapan), on the south, six miles. On the east there was no causeway, owing to the great depth of the lake in that direction, and the

city could be approached only by canoes. In each of these causeways were openings at proper intervals, through which the waters flowed; and over these were laid beams of timber covered with earth. The city was divided into four quarters, called Teopan or Xochimilca, Atzacualco, Moyotla, and Tlaquechiuchan or Cuepopan. The old division is still preserved in the limits assigned to the quarters of St. Paul, St. Sebastian, St. John, and St. Mary. "Adorned with numerous temples, the summits of which resembled so many minarets, surrounded with water and dikes, founded on islands covered with verdure, and receiving hourly in its streets thousands of boats, which gave life to the lake, the ancient Tenochtitlan, according to the accounts of the first conquerors, must have resembled some of the cities of Holland, China, or the Delta of Lower Egypt." The enormous magnitude of the market-place, the boundaries of which are still discernible, proves the great population of the ancient city. From forty to fifty thousand persons are stated to have assembled there. The Indians shew here an elevation surrounded by walls, the site of one of the Mexican theatres, on which Cortes erected his famous catapulta a few days before the end of the siege. The *Teocalli*, or great temple of Mexitli, was a truncated pyramid 120 feet high, and 318 feet square at its base, situated in the midst of a vast enclosure of walls, and consisting of five stories, like some of the pyramids of Saccara. When seen from a distance, it appeared an enormous cube, with small altars, covered with wooden cupolas, on the top. The point where these cupolas terminated, was 177 feet above the pavement of the enclosure. The material of which the pyramid was built, is supposed to have been clay, faced with a porous stone resembling

pumice-stone, hard and smooth, but easily destructible.* The public buildings and houses of the nobles

* Humboldt considers the *Teocalli* as bearing a strong resemblance in form to the mausoleum of Belus, which was only a pyramid, dedicated to Jupiter Belus. All the edifices consecrated to Mexican divinities were truncated pyramids, which class with the pyramidal monuments and tumuli of Asia. Robertson calls the temple of Mexitli, "a solid mass of earth of a square form, partly faced with stone," and observes, that "such structures convey no high idea of progress in art and ingenuity." This may be true; but the analogy they present to the primitive monuments of other nations, is not the less interesting. De Solis gives the following description of this edifice, on the authority chiefly of Acosta:—"The first part of the building was a great square, with a wall of hewn stone, wrought on the outside with various knots of serpents intertwisted, which gave a horror to the portico, and were not improperly placed there. At a little distance from the principal gate was a place of worship, not less terrible: it was built of stone, with thirty steps of the same, which went up to the top, where was a kind of long flat roof, and a great many trunks of well-grown trees fixed in it, in a row, with holes bored in them at equal distances, and through which, from one tree to another, passed several bars run through the heads of men who had been sacrificed, of whose number (which cannot be repeated without horror) the priests of the temple took exact account, placing others in the room of those which had been wasted by time. A lamentable trophy, in which the enemy of mankind displayed his rancour, and which these barbarians always had in view, without the least remorse! for inhumanity put on the mask of devotion, and custom had rendered death in all its terrors familiar to their eyes. The four sides of the square had as many gates opening to the four winds. Over each of these gates were four statues of stone, which seemed to point the way, as if they were desirous to send back such as approached with an ill disposition of mind. These were presumed to be threshold gods, because they had some reverences paid them at the entrance. Close to the inside of the wall, were the habitations of the priests, and of those who, under them, attended the service of the temple, with some offices; which altogether took up the whole circumference, without retrenching so much from that vast square, but that eight or ten thousand persons had sufficient room to dance in it upon their solemn festivals. In the centre of this square stood a pile of stone, which in the open air exalted its lofty head, overlooking all the towers of the city,

were of stone; those of the common people were mere

gradually diminishing till it formed a half pyramid; three of its sides were smooth, the fourth had stairs wrought in the stone; a sumptuous building, and extremely well proportioned. It was so high that the stair-case contained a hundred and twenty steps, and of so large a compass, that on the top it terminated in a flat forty feet square: the pavement was beautifully laid with jasper stones of all colours: the rails, which went round in nature of a balustrade, were of a serpentine form, and both sides covered with stones resembling jet, placed in good order, and joined with white and red cement, which was a very great ornament to the building. On the opening of the rails, where the stairs ended, were two marble statues, which supported, in a manner that admirably well expressed the straining of the arms, two huge candlesticks of an extraordinary make. A little further was a green stone, five spans high from the ground, which terminated in an angle, and whereon they extended on his back the miserable victim they were about to sacrifice, and opened his breast to take out his heart. Beyond this stone, fronting the staircase, stood a chapel of excellent workmanship and materials, covered with a roof of precious timber. Here the idol was placed on a high altar, behind curtains: it was of human figure, sitting in a chair which had some resemblance of a throne, sustained by a blue globe, which they called heaven, from the sides whereof came four rods, with their ends resembling the heads of serpents, which the priests placed upon their shoulders, when they exposed their idol to public view. It had on its head a helm composed of plumes of various colours, in form of a bird, with a bill and crest of burnished gold: its countenance was severe and horrible, and still more deformed with two blue bands, which bound its forehead and its nose. In the right hand it held a curling serpent, which served for a staff, and in the left, four arrows, which they venerated as a present from heaven, and a shield with five white plumes placed in the form of a cross: and concerning these ornaments, these ensigns and colours, they related many remarkable extravagances, with a seriousness deserving to be pitied. On the left hand of this chapel was another of the same make and bigness, with an idol called Tlaloch, in every respect resembling his companion. They were esteemed brothers and friends to such a degree, that they divided between them the patronage of war, equal in power, and unanimous in inclination; for which reasons the Mexicans addressed them both with the same prayers, the same sacrifices, and the same thanksgivings. The ornaments of both chapels were of inestimable value; the walls were hung, and the altars covered with jewels and precious stones, placed on

huts, but regularly disposed. * The population is variously stated: De Solis makes it amount to 60,000 families. Other estimates carry the number up to a million and a half of inhabitants.†

At the period of Cortes's expedition, the Mexican empire had subsisted for only about 130 years. According to the native annals, the Aztec emigration

feathers of various colours: and they had eight temples in the city of almost the same architecture, and of equal wealth. Those of a smaller size amounted to two thousand, and were dedicated to as many idols, of different names, forms, and attributes. There was scarce a street without its tutelar deity; nor was there any calamity incident to nature without its altar, to which they might have recourse for a remedy. In a word, their gods were derived from their fears; nor did they reflect how they lessened the power of some by what they attributed to others. Thus did the devil continually enlarge his dominion, and exercise a most deplorable tyranny over rational creatures, in the possession of which he remained for so many ages, by the incomprehensible permission of the Most High."

* "The low houses," says Humboldt, "like those of Pekin and China, were partly constructed of wood, and partly of *tetzontli*, a spongy stone, light and easily broken. The palace of Montezuma occupied the very same site on which at present stands the hotel of the Duke de Monteleone, vulgarly called *Casa del Estado*, in the *Plaza Mayor*. This palace, like those of the Emperor of China, described by Sir G. Staunton and Mr. Barrow, were composed of a great number of spacious, but very low houses." The edifice in which Cortes and his little army were lodged, had formerly been the palace of King Axajacatl. "It was probably," adds Humboldt, "a vast enclosure, which contained several edifices; for nearly 7000 men were quartered there. The ruins of the city of Mansiche, in Peru, give us a clear idea of this species of American construction. Every habitation of a great lord formed a separate district, in which the courts, streets, walls, and ditches were distinguished. We still perceive inconsiderable remains of these quarters of the Spaniards, in the ruins behind the convent of Sta. Theresa, at the corner of the streets of Tacuba and del Indio Triste."—*Pol. Essay*, vol. ii. pp. 43, 53, 55.

† Robertson says, "at least 60,000 inhabitants."—See Humboldt's Political Essay, vol. ii. pp. 8—22, and 60; Robertson's America, book v.; De Solis, vol. i. book iii. chap. 13.

from Aztlán took place about A.D. 1160; but they did not reach the Vale of Mexico till 1216. For another hundred years, they remained an inconsiderable tribe in a state of subjection. The city of Tenochtitlan was founded in 1325. Up to 1352, the Mexicans were governed by a species of aristocracy; but a monarch was then elected, whose whole dominions, however, were comprehended in the city. At his death, in 1389, his son was chosen his successor. Montezuma I., the fifth monarch, was the greatest conqueror of which they could boast: he successively defeated a number of the petty sovereigns of the surrounding districts, and annexed their territories to his empire. He began to reign in 1436. In the reign of Ahuitzotl, the eighth king, and the immediate predecessor of Montezuma II., the Mexican empire reached its utmost extent. He completed the great temple which had been begun by his brother Tizoc; and so great was the number of workmen employed, that it was finished in four years. During the time that the building was going forward, the king employed himself in making war upon different nations, reserving all his prisoners for victims to solemnise the dedication of his infernal temple. The number sacrificed on that occasion (A.D. 1486) is stated by Torquemada at 72,324; by other historians at 64,000. The same year, another temple, built by a feudatory lord, was dedicated with the sacrifice of a vast number of prisoners.* Montezuma II., surnamed *Xocojotzin*, (i.e. the younger, to distinguish him from Montezuma *Huehue*, or the elder,) acceded to the

* It is a remarkable coincidence, that the Inquisition, in its modern form, was established in Spain about this same period (1481). Torquemada, the first inquisitor-general, was appointed in 1483. The total of his victims, during the eighteen years of his administration, was more than 10,000 committed to the flames,

throne by unanimous election in 1502. He was esteemed a person of great bravery, and was likewise a priest. His first care was, to procure victims for the barbarous sacrifices to be made at his coronation, by making war upon the people of *Atlixco*; and the ceremony was performed with greater pomp than had ever before been witnessed in Mexico. No sooner was it over, than he began to display the pride and arrogance of his natural temper, which he had hitherto artfully concealed under a show of extraordinary modesty and austere gravity. The first action by which he manifested his pride, was the discarding of all the officers and attendants of the royal household, as of too low a rank to serve him; and he would have none but nobles to perform even the most menial offices. "Besides those who constantly lived in it, every morning six hundred feudatory lords and nobles came to pay court to him. They passed the whole day in the antechamber, where none of their servants were permitted to enter, conversing in a low voice, and waiting the orders of their sovereign. The servants who accompanied those lords were so numerous as to occupy three small courts of the palace, and many waited in the streets. The women about the court were not less in number, including those of rank, servants, and slaves. All this numerous female tribe lived shut up in a kind of seraglio, under the care of some noble matrons, who watched over their conduct; as these kings were extremely jealous, and every piece of misconduct which happened in the palace, however slight, was severely

nearly 7000 burnt in effigy, and upwards of 97,000 sentenced to confiscation, perpetual imprisonment, or infamy. During the forty-three years of the administration of the first four inquisitors-general, it is calculated that above 18,000 were burnt in person, and more than 200,000 were subjected to various penances.

punished. Of these women, the king retained those who pleased him; the others he gave away, as a recompense for the services of his vassals. All the feudatories of the crown were obliged to reside for some months of the year at the court; and, at their return to their states, to leave their sons or brothers behind them, as hostages, which the king demanded as a security for their fidelity; on which account they were required to keep houses in Mexico.

"The forms and ceremonials introduced at court, were another effect of the despotism of Montezuma. No one could enter the palace, either to serve the king, or to confer with him on any business, without pulling off his shoes and stockings at the gate. No person was allowed to appear before the king in any pompous dress, as it was deemed a want of respect to majesty; consequently, the greatest lords, excepting the nearest relations of the king, stripped themselves of the rich dress which they wore, or at least covered it with one more ordinary, to shew their humility before him. All persons, on entering the hall of audience, and before speaking to the king, made three bows, saying at the first, lord; at the second, my lord; and at the third, great lord. They spoke low, and with the head inclined, and received the answer which the king gave them, by means of his secretaries, as attentively and humbly as if it had been the voice of an oracle. In taking leave, no person ever turned his back upon the throne.

"The audience-hall served also for his dining-room. The table was a large pillow, and his seat a low chair. The table-cloth, napkins, and towels were of cotton, but very fine, white, and always perfectly clean. The kitchen utensils were of the earthenware of Chollula; but none of these things ever served him more than

once, as immediately afterwards, he gave them to one of his nobles. The cups in which they prepared his chocolate and other drinks of the cocoa, were of gold, or some beautiful sea-shell, or naturally formed vessels curiously varnished, of which we shall speak hereafter. He had gold plate, but it was used only on certain festivals, in the temple. The number and variety of dishes at his table amazed the Spaniards who saw them. The conqueror Cortez says, that they covered the floor of a great hall, and that there were dishes of every kind of game, fish, fruit, and herbs of that country. Three or four hundred noble youths carried this dinner in form; presented it as soon as the king sat down to table, and immediately retired; and, that it might not grow cold, every dish was accompanied with its chafing-dish. The king marked, with a rod which he had in his hand, the meats which he chose, and the rest were distributed among the nobles who were in the antechamber. Before he sat down, four of the most beautiful women of his seraglio presented water to him to wash his hands, and continued standing all the time of his dinner, together with six of his principal ministers, and his carver.

"As soon as the king sat down to table, the carver shut the door of the hall, that none of the other nobles might see him eat. The ministers stood at a distance, and kept a profound silence, unless when they made answer to what the king said. The carver and the four women served the dishes to him, besides two others who brought him bread made of maize baked with eggs. He frequently heard music during the time of his meal, and was entertained with the humorous sayings of some deformed men whom he kept out of mere state. He shewed much satisfaction in hearing them, and observed that, amongst their jests, they frequently

pronounced some important truth. When his dinner was over, he took tobacco mixed with liquid amber, in a tube or reed beautifully varnished, and with the smoke of it put himself to sleep.

"After having slept a little, upon the same low chair, he gave audience, and listened attentively to all that was communicated to him, and answered every one by his ministers or secretaries. After giving audience, he was entertained with music, being much delighted with hearing the glorious actions of his ancestors sung. At other times he amused himself with seeing various games played. When he went abroad, he was carried on the shoulders of the nobles in a litter covered with a rich canopy, attended by a numerous retinue of courtiers; and wherever he passed, every person stopped with their eyes shut, as if they feared to be dazzled with the splendour of majesty. When he alighted from the litter, to walk on foot, they spread carpets, that he might not touch the earth with his feet.

"The grandeur and magnificence of his palaces, houses of pleasure, woods, and gardens, were correspondent to this majesty. The palace of his usual residence was a vast edifice of stone and lime, which had twenty doors to the public squares and streets; three great courts, in one of which was a beautiful fountain; several halls, and more than a hundred chambers. Some of the apartments had walls of marble and other valuable kinds of stone. The beams were of cedar, cypress, and other excellent woods, well finished and carved. Among the halls there was one so large that, according to the testimony of an eye-witness of veracity, it could contain three thousand people. Besides this palace he had others, both within and without the capital. In Mexico, besides the

seraglio for his wives, there was lodging for all his ministers and counsellors, and all the officers of his household and court; and also accommodation for foreign lords who arrived there, and particularly for the two allied kings.

"Two houses in Mexico he appropriated to animals; the one for birds which did not live by prey; the other for those of prey, quadrupeds, and reptiles. There were several chambers belonging to the first, and galleries supported on pillars of marble all of one piece. These galleries looked towards a garden, where, in the midst of some shrubbery, ten fish-ponds were formed, some of them of fresh water for the aquatic birds of rivers, and others of salt water for those of the sea. In other parts of the house were all sorts of birds, in such manner and variety as to strike the Spaniards with wonder, who could not believe there was any species in the world wanting to the collection. They were supplied with the same food which they fed upon while they enjoyed their liberty, whether seeds, fruits, or insects. For those birds who lived on fish only, the daily consumption was ten Castilian *pesos* of fish, (according to the testimony of the conqueror Cortez, in his letters to Charles V.,) which is more than three hundred Roman pounds. Three hundred men, says Cortez, were employed to take care of those birds, besides their physicians, who observed their distempers and applied timely remedies to them. Of those three hundred men, some procured them their food, others distributed it, others took care of their eggs at the time of their incubation, and others picked their plumage at certain seasons of the year; for, besides the pleasure which the king took in seeing so great a multitude of animals collected together, he was principally careful of their feathers, not less for

the sake of the famous mosaic images, than of the other works which were made of them. The halls and chambers of those houses were so many in number, as the conqueror above mentioned attests, that they could have accommodated two great princes with all their retinue. This celebrated house was situated in the place where, at present, the great convent of St. Francis stands.

"The other house, appropriated to the wild animals, had a large and handsome court, with a checquered pavement, and was divided into various apartments. One of them contained all the birds of prey, from the royal eagle to the kestrel, and many individuals of every species. These birds were distributed, according to their species, in various subterraneous chambers, which were more than seven feet deep, and upwards of seventeen in length and breadth. The half of every chamber was covered with flat stones; and stakes were fixed in the wall, on which they might sleep, and be defended from rain. The other half of the chamber was only covered with a lattice, through which they enjoyed the light of the sun. For the support of these birds were killed, daily, nearly five hundred turkeys. In the same house were many low halls, filled with a great number of strong wooden cages, in which lions, tigers, wolves, cayatos, and wild cats, were confined, and all other kinds of wild beasts; which were fed upon deer, rabbits, hares, techichis, and other animals, and the intestines of human sacrifices.

"The King of Mexico not only kept all the species of animals which other princes do for state, but likewise such as by nature seem exempted from slavery—namely, crocodiles and serpents. The serpents were kept in large casks or vessels; the crocodiles in ponds, which were walled round. There were also various

ponds for fish, two of which, that are remaining and still beautiful, we have seen in the palace of Chapoltepec, two miles from Mexico.

"Montezuma, who was not satisfied with having every sort of animal in his palace, also collected there all irregularly formed men, who, either from the colour of their hair or of their skin, or some other deformity in their persons, were oddities of their species. A humour this, however, not unattended with beneficial consequences, as it gave maintenance to a number of miserable objects, and delivered them from the inhuman insults of their other fellow-creatures.

"All his palaces were surrounded with beautiful gardens, where there was every kind of beautiful flower, odoriferous herb, and medicinal plant. He had likewise woods, enclosed with walls and furnished with variety of game, in which he frequently sported. One of these woods was upon an island in the lake, known at present, among the Spaniards, by the name of Pinon.

"Of all these palaces, gardens, and woods, there is now remaining the wood of Chapoltepec only, which the Spanish viceroys have preserved for their pleasure. All the others were destroyed by the conquerors. They laid in ruins the most magnificent buildings of antiquity, sometimes from an indiscreet zeal for religion, sometimes in revenge, or to make use of their materials. They neglected the cultivation of the royal gardens, cut down the woods, and reduced the country to such a state, that the magnificence of its former kings could not now find belief, were it not confirmed by the testimony of those who were the causes of its annihilation.

"Not only the palaces, but all the other places of pleasure, were kept in exquisite order and neatness,

even those which were seldom or never visited; as there was nothing in which he took more pride, than the cleanliness of his own person, and of every thing else which was his. He bathed regularly every day, and had baths, therefore, in all his palaces. Every day he wore four dresses; and that which he once put off, he never after used again; these were reserved as largesses for the nobles who served him, and the soldiers who behaved gallantly in war. Every morning, according to the accounts given by some historians, upwards of a thousand men were employed by him in sweeping and watering the streets of the city.

"In one of the royal buildings was an armoury, filled with all kinds of offensive and defensive arms which were made use of by those nations, with military ornaments and ensigns. He kept a surprising number of artificers at work, in manufacturing these and other things. He had numerous artists constantly busied likewise, namely, goldsmiths, mosaic workmen, sculptors, painters, and others. One whole district consisted solely of dancing-masters, who were trained up to entertain him."

Such is the marvellous account which the Abbé Clavigero gives of the more than oriental pomp of this barbaric Sultan of Tenochtitlan. The enormous expenses of his establishment of necessity entailed grievous burdens upon his subjects; and a sort of poll-tax was levied throughout his dominions with so much rigour, that the poorest person was compelled to furnish some contribution in kind to the treasury. These violent practices rendered his tyranny odious. At the same time, he is said to have shewn generosity to the necessitous, and to have made provision for his old servants and invalids. He took the command in person of his armies,

on several occasions when rebellion broke out in the tributary provinces; and none of them were able to dispute his supremacy, except the states of Tlascala, Mechoacan, and Tepeaca. "And he was wont to say," adds De Solis, "that he did not subdue them, because he wanted those enemies to supply him with captives for the sacrifices of his gods." *

Montezuma had reigned fourteen years over the Mexicans, when Heaven,

> "Making blind Zeal and bloody Avarice
> Its ministers of vengeance, sent among them
> Th' heroic Spaniard's unrelenting sword."

Cortes made his first entry into Tenochtitlan on the 8th of November, 1519. No sooner had he leisure to reflect on the situation in which he had placed himself, than he saw it was one which it would be equally difficult to maintain, and perilous, as well as disgraceful, to abandon. On the precarious favour or respect of Montezuma, depended his safety. It is difficult, indeed, to believe that Cortes had not foreseen the exigencies and dangers of the situation, and had not already decided on the daring expedient which he now

* De Solis makes the Aztec empire of Montezuma II. extend from Panama to New California; but Clavigero reduces it to more moderate dimensions, making its boundaries towards the eastern coast, the rivers Guasacualco and Tuspan, and towards the western coast, the plains of Soconusco and the port of Zacatula. According to these limits, it included the modern intendencies of Vera Cruz, Oaxaca, la Puebla, Mexico, and Valladolid. M. Humboldt estimates its area at 15,000 square leagues. Besides the Aztec empire, the small republics of Tlaxcallan (or Tlascala) and Chololla (or Cholula), the kingdoms of Tezcuco (or Acolhoacan) and Mechuacan, which comprised part of the intendency of Valladolid, were included in the ancient Anahuac,—the denomination of all the country between the 14th and 21st parallels of latitude.—See Humboldt's Political Essay, vol. i. pp. 11, 12.

proposed to his officers as the only means of security. This was no other than to seize Montezuma in his palace, and carry him prisoner to the Spanish quarters. The audacity of the measure startled the more timid, and objections were raised by many, but they were soon overruled by the more pressing considerations of necessity. Nor was Cortes without a pretence for this act of hostility. Advices had been brought him by two Tlascalan messengers,* that Qualpopoca, one of Montezuma's generals on the frontier, had insulted the colony at Vera Cruz; and that in an engagement which ensued, though the Spaniards were victorious, Escalante, the commander of the garrison, with seven of his men, had been mortally wounded, his horse killed, and one Spaniard had been surrounded and taken prisoner; that the head of this unfortunate captive, after being carried in triumph to different cities, in order to convince the people that their invaders were not immortal, had been sent to Mexico. No intelligence could be more mortifying or alarming; and if Cortes persisted in his march to Mexico after receiving the tidings, it gives the character of singular rashness and imprudence to his proceedings. His manner of putting into execution this crowning achievement, is thus related by Robertson:

"At his usual hour of visiting Montezuma, Cortes went to the palace, accompanied by Alvarado, Sandoval, Lugo, Velasquez de Leon, and Davila, five

* De Solis states, that this information reached him at Mexico, and that "it forced him upon resolutions less pacific." Robertson apparently cites Cortes himself for the statement, that he had received the information before he set out from Cholula. Yet, Bernal Diaz affirms, that he and some other officers advised the imprisonment of Montezuma, some days before they had received any intelligence of what had happened at Vera Cruz. This again is contradicted by other historians.

of his principal officers, and as many trusty soldiers. Thirty chosen men followed, not in regular order, but sauntering at some distance, as if they had no object but curiosity; small parties were posted at proper intervals, in all the streets leading from the Spanish quarters to the court; and the remainder of his troops, with the Tlascalan allies, were under arms, ready to sally out on the first alarm. Cortes and his attendants were admitted without suspicion; the Mexicans retiring, as usual, out of respect. He addressed the monarch in a tone very different from that which he had employed in former conferences, reproaching him bitterly as the author of the violent assault made upon the Spaniards by one of his officers, and demanded public reparation for the loss which they had sustained by the death of some of their companions, as well as for the insult offered to the great prince whose servants they were. Montezuma, confounded at this unexpected accusation, and changing colour, either from consciousness of guilt, or from feeling the indignity with which he was treated, asserted his own innocence with great earnestness, and, as a proof of it, gave orders instantly to bring Qualpopoca and his accomplices prisoners to Mexico. Cortes replied, with seeming complaisance, that a declaration so respectable left no doubt remaining in his own mind, but that something more was requisite to satisfy his followers, who would never be convinced that Montezuma did not harbour hostile intentions against them, unless, as an evidence of his confidence and attachment, he removed from his own palace, and took up his residence in the Spanish quarters, where he should be served and honoured as became a great monarch. The first mention of so strange a proposal bereaved Montezuma of speech,

and almost of motion. At length indignation gave him utterance, and he haughtily answered, ' That persons of his rank were not accustomed voluntarily to give up themselves as prisoners; and were he mean enough to do so, his subjects would not permit such an affront to be offered to their sovereign.' Cortes, unwilling to employ force, endeavoured alternately to soothe and to intimidate him. The altercation became warm, and having continued above three hours, Velasquez de Leon, an impetuous and gallant young man, exclaimed with impatience, ' Why waste more time in vain? Let us either seize him instantly, or stab him to the heart.' The threatening voice and fierce gestures with which these words were uttered, struck Montezuma. The Spaniards, he was sensible, had now proceeded so far, as left him no hope that they would recede. His own danger was imminent, the necessity unavoidable. He saw both, and, abandoning himself to his fate, complied with their request.

" His officers were called. He communicated to them his resolution. Though astonished and afflicted, they presumed not to question the will of their master, but carried him in silent pomp, all bathed in tears, to the Spanish quarters. When it was known that the strangers were conveying away the emperor, the people broke out into the wildest transports of grief and rage, threatening the Spaniards with immediate destruction, as the punishment justly due to their impious audacity. But as soon as Montezuma appeared, with a seeming gayety of countenance, and waved his hand, the tumult was hushed; and upon his declaring it to be of his own choice that he went to reside for some time among his new friends, the multitude, taught to revere every in-

timation of their sovereign's pleasure, quietly dispersed.

"Thus was a powerful prince seized by a few strangers in the midst of his capital, at noon-day, and carried off as a prisoner, without opposition or bloodshed. History contains nothing parallel to this event, either with respect to the temerity of the attempt, or the success of the execution; and were not all the circumstances of this extraordinary transaction authenticated by the most unquestionable evidence, they would appear so wild and extravagant, as to go far beyond the bounds of that probability which must be preserved even in fictitious narrations.

"Montezuma was received in the Spanish quarters with all the ceremonious respect which Cortes had promised. He was attended by his own domestics, and served with his usual state. His principal officers had free access to him, and he carried on every function of government as if he had been at perfect liberty. The Spaniards, however, watched him with the scrupulous vigilance which was natural in guarding such an important prize, endeavouring at the same time to soothe and reconcile him to his situation, by every external demonstration of regard and attachment. But from captive princes the hour of humiliation and suffering is never far distant. Qualpopoca, his son, and five of the principal officers who served under him, were brought prisoners to the capital, in consequence of the orders which Montezuma had issued. The emperor gave them up to Cortes, that he might inquire into the nature of their crime, and determine their punishment. They were formally tried by a Spanish court-martial; and though they had acted no other part than what became loyal subjects and brave men, in obeying the orders of their

lawful sovereign, and in opposing the invaders of their country, they were condemned to be burnt alive. The execution of such atrocious deeds is seldom long suspended. The unhappy victims were instantly led forth. The pile on which they were laid, was composed of the weapons collected in the royal magazine for the public defence. An innumerable multitude of Mexicans beheld, in silent astonishment, the double insult offered to the majesty of their empire; an officer of distinction committed to the flames by the authority of strangers, for having done what he owed in duty to his natural sovereign; and the arms provided by the foresight of their ancestors for avenging public wrongs, consumed before their eyes.

"But these were not the most shocking indignities which the Mexicans had to bear. The Spaniards, convinced that Qualpopoca would not have ventured to attack Escalante without orders from his master, were not satisfied with inflicting vengeance on the instrument employed in committing that crime, while the author escaped with impunity. Just before Qualpopoca was led out to suffer, Cortes entered the apartment of Montezuma, followed by some of his officers, and a soldier carrying a pair of fetters; and approaching the monarch with a stern countenance, told him, that as the persons who were now to undergo the punishment which they merited, had charged him as the cause of the outrage committed, it was necessary that he likewise should make atonement for that guilt; then, turning away abruptly, without waiting for a reply, commanded the soldier to clap the fetters on his legs. The orders were instantly executed. The disconsolate monarch, trained up with an idea that his person was sacred and inviolable, and considering this profanation of it as the

prelude of immediate death, broke out into loud lamentations and complaints. His attendants, speechless with horror, fell at his feet, bathing them with tears; and, bearing up the fetters in their hands, endeavoured with officious tenderness to lighten their pressure. Nor did their grief and despondency abate, until Cortes returned from the execution, and, with a cheerful countenance, ordered the fetters to be taken off. As Montezuma's spirits had sunk with unmanly dejection, they now rose into indecent joy; and, with an unbecoming transition, he passed at once from the anguish of despair to transports of gratitude and expressions of fondness towards his deliverer.

"The rigour with which Cortes punished the unhappy persons who first presumed to lay violent hands upon his followers, seems accordingly to have made all the impression that he desired. The spirit of Montezuma was not only overawed, but subdued. During six months that Cortes remained in Mexico, the monarch continued in the Spanish quarters, with an appearance of as entire satisfaction and tranquillity, as if he had resided there, not from constraint, but through choice. His ministers and officers attended him as usual. He took cognizance of all affairs; every order was issued in his name. The external aspect of government appearing the same, and all its ancient forms being scrupulously observed, the people were so little sensible of any change, that they obeyed the mandates of their monarch with the same submissive reverence as ever. Such was the dread which both Montezuma and his subjects had of the Spaniards, or such the veneration in which they held them, that no attempt was made to deliver their sovereign from confinement; and though Cortes, relying on this ascendant which he

had acquired over their minds, permitted him not only to visit his temples, but to make hunting excursions beyond the lake, a guard of a few Spaniards carried with it such a terror as to intimidate the multitude, and secure the captive monarch."

Cortes was now the ruler of the empire in the name of Montezuma, and he availed himself of his power to send emissaries into different parts of the country, accompanied with Mexicans of distinction, to survey the soil, examine the productions, pitch upon stations for future colonies, and endeavour to prepare the people for submitting to the Spanish yoke. By the same authority, he degraded some of the principal officers in the empire, substituting in their place persons who, he imagined, would prove obsequious to his will. One thing, however, was still wanting to complete his security. He wished to have such a command of the lake as might ensure a retreat, if, either from levity or disgust, the Mexicans should take arms against him, and break down the bridges or causeways, in order to enclose him in the city. In order to obtain this without giving disgust to the emperor or his court, Cortes artfully inflamed the curiosity of the Indians with accounts of the Spanish shipping, and those floating palaces that moved with such velocity on the water, without the assistance of oars; and when he found that the monarch himself was extremely desirous of seeing such a novelty, he gave him to understand, that nothing was wanting to his gratification besides a few necessaries from Vera Cruz, for that he had workmen in his army capable of building such vessels. The bait took with Montezuma; and he gave immediate orders that all his people should assist Cortes in whatever he should direct concerning the shipping. By

this means, in a few days, two brigantines were got ready, full rigged and equipped; and Montezuma was invited on board, to make the first trial of their sailing, of which he could form no idea. Accordingly he embarked for this purpose, and gave orders for a great hunting upon the water, in order that all his people might be diverted with the novelty presented by the Spaniards. On the day appointed, the royal equipage was ready early in the morning; and the lake was covered with a multitude of boats and canoes loaded with people. The Mexicans had augmented the number of their rowers on board the royal barges, with an intention to disgrace the Spanish vessels, which they regarded as clumsy, unwieldy, and heavy. But they were soon undeceived; a fresh gale starting up, the brigantines hoisted sail, to the utter astonishment of all the spectators, and soon left all the canoes behind; while the monarch exulted in the victory of the Spaniards, without once considering that now he had effectually rivetted his own chains.

Cortes having obtained this important point, resolved to put the condescension of the emperor to a trial still more severe. He urged Montezuma to acknowledge himself a vassal to the crown of Castile; to hold his crown of him as superior, and to subject his dominions to the payment of an annual tribute. With this requisition, humiliating as it was, Montezuma complied. He called together the chief men of his empire, and, in a solemn harangue, reminded them of the traditions and prophecies which led them to expect the arrival of a people sprung from the same stock with themselves, in order to take possession of the supreme power; he declared his belief that the Spaniards were this promised race; and that therefore he recognised the right of their monarch to govern

the Mexican empire, would lay his crown at his feet, and obey him as a tributary. While uttering these words, Montezuma discovered how deeply he was affected in making such a sacrifice. Tears and groans frequently interrupted his discourse. The first mention of such a resolution struck the assembly dumb with astonishment. This was followed by a sullen murmur of sorrow mingled with indignation, which indicated some violent eruption of rage to be near at hand. This Cortes foresaw, and seasonably interposed to prevent it, by declaring that his master had no intention to deprive Montezuma of the royal dignity, or to make any innovation upon the constitution and laws of the Mexican empire. This assurance, added to the dread of the Spanish arms, and the authority of their monarch's example, extorted the consent of the assembly; and the act of submission and homage was executed with all the formalities which the Spaniards were pleased to prescribe.

Montezuma, at the request of Cortes, accompanied this profession of fealty and homage with a magnificent present to his new sovereign; and, after his example, his subjects brought in very liberal contributions. The Spaniards then collected all the treasure which had been either voluntarily bestowed upon them at different times by Montezuma, or had been extorted from his people under various pretences; and having melted the gold and silver, the value of these amounted to 600,000 pesos. The soldiers were impatient to have it divided; and Cortes complied with their desire. A fifth of the whole was set apart as the tax due to the king. Another fifth was allowed to Cortes as commander. The sums advanced by the governor of Cuba, who had originally fitted out

the expedition, were then deducted. The remainder was then divided among the army, including the garrison of Vera Cruz, in proportion to their different ranks; and, after so many deductions, the share of a private man did not exceed 100 pesos. This sum fell so far below their sanguine expectations, that it required all the address, and no small exertions of the liberality of Cortes, to prevent an open mutiny.

It was not long, however, before Cortes found, that it was an easier achievement to gain an empire, than to keep one; and, forgetful of the wise advice, or disregarding the remonstrances of Father Bartholomew, his rash zeal again precipitated him into an act of aggression which had well nigh proved his utter ruin. Pliant as Montezuma was in other matters, on the point of his religion he remained inflexible. Cortes at length, losing all patience at his obstinacy, led out his soldiers in a transport of zeal, to throw down the idols in the great temple by force. But the priests took up arms, and the whole city, at their instigation, rose in defence of their gods; and he was compelled, in order to appease the tumult, to desist from the attempt, after dislodging the idols from one of the shrines, and placing in their stead an image of the Virgin.* From that moment the

* De Solis, who treats this account as incredible, demands, "What prudence could there be in undertaking so unseasonable an affair against the inclination of Montezuma? Was it fit to begin the conversion and undeceiving of idolaters by destroying their idols;—to regard an unprofitable outside show as the triumph of religion; to place *the holy images* in a place unclean and detestable, leaving them to the disposal of pagan priests, exposed to irreverence, profaneness, and sacrilege; and lastly, to celebrate, among the representations of the devil, the ineffable sacrifice of the mass?" Robertson, however, has shewn, that not only does the character of Cortes afford no ground for this writer's

Mexicans, who had permitted the imprisonment of their sovereign, and submitted to the exactions of the Spaniards without a struggle, began to meditate how they might avenge on their heads the insult offered to their deities. Half-measures are always dangerous, and Cortes had obviously been defeated. This conviction no doubt emboldened the priests, as much as his unsuccessful attempt had enraged them; and it accounts for the new spirit of determination which the humbled monarch assumed. The greater degree of liberty which had been conceded to him, enabled him to hold frequent consultations with the priests; and the result of their machinations was soon manifested by his sending for Cortes into his presence, to communicate to him, as a message from his gods, that he and his followers should instantly depart from the empire. Cortes, deeming it prudent to feign a compliance with the requisition, replied with composure, that he had already begun to prepare for returning to his own country; but, as he had destroyed the vessels in which he arrived, some time was requisite for building other ships. This appeared reasonable, and a number of Mexicans were sent to Vera Cruz to cut down timber, while some Spanish carpenters were appointed to superintend the work. The object of Cortes was to gain time; but, while he remained in this delicate predicament, unwelcome tidings from the coast hastened his departure from the capital. A hostile armament, fitted out by his old enemy the governor of Cuba, had landed near San Juan de Ullua; and the commander, Narvaez, had spread among the Mexicans the most unfavourable

incredulity, but his own despatches to the emperor relate this exploit, which is also mentioned by Bernal Diaz, Gomara, and Herrera.—See Hist. of America, *notes*.

representations of the character and actions of Cortes, which had even reached the ears of Montezuma. Several of the provinces had, in consequence, shewn a disposition to revolt. After in vain endeavouring to conciliate Narvaez by negotiation, Cortes saw that no resource was left, but to march against him. Leaving a hundred and fifty men under Pedro de Alvarado, an officer of distinguished courage, to guard the capital and the captive emperor, he left Mexico with the remainder of his forces, which, after they had been reinforced by the garrison of Vera Cruz, did not exceed 250 men. During his march to Zempoalla, of which Narvaez had taken possession, he made repeated overtures towards an accommodation with his opponent, availing himself of the opportunity thus afforded to gain over his officers by liberal presents. The Mexican gold wrought wonders among the troops, but Narvaez, enraged at discovering their pacific temper, set a price on the head of Cortes, and advanced from Zempoalla to offer him battle. The more wary and experienced general watched his opportunity, attacked Narvaez in the dead of night, and entirely defeated him, taking him prisoner, and compelling all his troops to transfer their allegiance to himself. Only two soldiers were killed on the side of Cortes, and two officers with fifteen privates of the adverse party. The vanquished, on finding themselves treated as countrymen and friends, almost unanimously ranged themselves under the standard of the man whom they were sent to annihilate, and who thus, from being on the edge of destruction, found himself at the head of 1000 Spaniards, ready to follow wherever he should lead them.

Nothing could be more seasonable than the accession of strength thus unexpectedly obtained. Only a few

days after, a courier arrived from Mexico with the disagreeable intelligence, that the capital had revolted against his garrison, in consequence of an act of aggression equally rash and barbarous. Alvarado, with a view to strike terror into those who were secretly conspiring against the Spaniards, had attacked the inhabitants during one of their solemn festivals, in the very court of their great temple, and massacred great numbers. This atrocious outrage had raised the whole population against them. The Mexicans had seized and destroyed the two brigantines which commanded the lake, and attacking the Spaniards in their quarters, had killed several, wounded more, reduced to ashes their magazine of provisions, and threatened them with utter extermination at once by slaughter and famine. Yet, strange to say, uninstructed in the science of war, they had neglected to break down the causeways and bridges, by which means they might have insulated their capital; and Cortes, at the head of his Spaniards and two thousand Tlascalans, marched without opposition to their capital. By Alvarado and his companions he was received with transports of joy; but the Mexicans had lost their veneration and fear of the strangers, and, irritated afresh by the haughty conduct which Cortes observed on his return, they renewed their assault on the Spanish quarters with undaunted courage and implacable ferocity. Though the artillery swept off multitudes at every discharge, and every blow of the Spanish weapons fell with mortal effect, the attack was continued till sunset with unabated impetuosity, and more than once they were on the point of forcing their way into the fortifications. In a sally which Cortes made in person the next day, he was compelled at length to retire before overwhelming numbers,

with the loss of twelve soldiers killed, and above sixty wounded. Another sally, made with greater force, was not more effectual, and the general himself was wounded in the hand. Too late he perceived his error; but, in this urgent extremity, his fertile mind suggested one resource. When the Mexicans approached the next morning to renew the assault, they beheld their captive sovereign, who, in his royal robes, advanced to the battlements, and, while every tongue was silent, addressed them on behalf of the Spaniards, and exhorted them to cease from hostilities. A sullen murmur of disapprobation succeeded to his discourse, which at length suddenly broke out into the most furious rage: flights of arrows and volleys of stones were poured on the ramparts; and before the Spanish soldiers appointed to guard Montezuma had time to cover him with their shields, he was wounded with two arrows, and a stone, which struck him on the temple, brought him to the ground. On seeing their monarch fall, the Mexicans, horror-struck, fled with precipitation. Montezuma, scorning to survive this last humiliation, tore from his wounds the bandages which the Spaniards had applied to them, and with Indian constancy refused all nourishment, till death speedily terminated his sufferings. His tragical end might excite pity, could we forget the diabolical atrocities with which he commenced his reign, and the tyranny by which it was signalised.

The death of their captive rendered a retreat on the part of the Spaniards a measure indispensable. But they had first to sustain fresh conflicts. The Mexicans had taken possession of a high tower in the great temple, which commanded their quarters, and not a Spaniard could stir without being exposed to their missile weapons. A detachment of chosen soldiers

which was sent to dislodge them, was twice repulsed; and Cortes, ordering a buckler to be tied to his wounded arm, rushed forth among the thickest of the combatants. Encouraged by the presence of their general, the Spaniards returned to the charge with such vigour, that they gradually forced their way up the steps, driving the Mexicans before them to the platform on the summit, where a dreadful carnage began. Having become masters of the tower, they set fire to it, and continued their preparations for the retreat unmolested. *

At midnight,† the army commenced its retreat in silence along the causeway leading to Tacuba,

* This tower, which was set fire to, would seem to have been of wood, whereas the temple itself was of clay faced with stone. Probably, what was burnt, was a building on the top of the pyramid of which the temple properly consisted. Humboldt speaks of cupolas which were elevated 56 feet above the pyramid itself, which would make two-thirds of the whole height consist of the wooden superstructure described as a tower.—See page 35. Robertson relates, on the authority of Herrera and Torquemada, that after the Spaniards had gained the platform, two young Mexicans, approaching Cortes in the posture of suppliants, suddenly seized him, and hurried him away to the parapet, over which they threw themselves headlong, thinking to drag Cortes with them. But he, with preternatural strength and agility, extricated himself from their grasp, while they perished in the unsuccessful attempt. Clavigero, however, rejects the story as apocryphal.

† De Solis tells us, that Cortes was against this night-march, but gave way to the majority in the council held on the occasion. He admits, however, a singular fact, mentioned by the historians, that the mind of this extraordinary man was biassed by the vain prediction of an astrologer, a private in the army, who had advised him to march away that very night, "for that he should lose the greater part of his army if he suffered a certain favourable constellation to pass into another aspect." This man, known in the army by the name of the Necromancer, was among the slain.

which was chosen as the shortest, and as being in an opposite direction to the road they were expected to take. The Mexicans had broken down the causeways in several places, or rather removed the wooden bridges over the canals, with a view to intercept their communication with the main land; but Cortes had prepared a portable bridge of timber to be laid over these breaches. They reached the first without molestation, hoping that their retreat was undiscovered; but, while intent upon placing their bridge, they were suddenly alarmed with a tremendous sound of warlike instruments, and a general shout from an immense multitude, who assailed them from their canoes on every side with showers of arrows and stones. Unfortunately, the wooden bridge was wedged so fast in the sand by the weight of the artillery, that it was found impossible to remove it; and the Spaniards advanced with precipitation towards the second breach. Here, crowded on a narrow causeway, their discipline was of little avail; the darkness of night added to the confusion, and, unable to sustain the weight of the multitudes which pressed upon them, they began to give way. The disorder and flight soon became universal. Cortes, with about a hundred soldiers and a few horse, forced his way over the two remaining breaches in the causeway, the bodies of the dead serving to fill up the chasms, and reached the main land. As soon as he could form this shattered remnant of his army, he returned to assist the rest in their retreat. He met with a party who had broken through, but found more overwhelmed by their assailants, or perishing in the lake, while the piteous lamentations of others reached his ears, who were being carried off in triumph to be sacrificed

to the gods. Before day, all who had escaped assembled at Tacuba; but, when morning dawned, Cortes could not repress his tears at discovering his troops reduced to less than half their number,* while all the artillery, ammunition, and baggage were lost, the greater part of the horses and above 1000 Tlascalans were killed, and only a very small portion of the treasure which they had amassed was saved. It was some consolation, that Aguilar and Marina, whose services as interpreters were of so essential importance, were among those who had made their escape. This night (July 1, 1520) is still distinguished in New Spain by the name of *Noche Triste*, the Melancholy Night.

They were now on the western side of the lake,

* Cortes states his own loss in this disastrous retreat at 150 men, but it was his interest to conceal its full extent. De Solis rates it at 200; Gomara, at 450; Bernal Diaz, at 870, affirming, that only 440 escaped; and Robertson inclines to think, that the loss could not fall short of 600 men. Two of the sons of Montezuma are stated to have been among the slain. Another son survived, who embraced the catholic religion, and was ennobled by the King of Spain. It is from this son, called Tohualicahuatzin, and after baptism, Don Pedro Motezuma, that the Counts of Motezuma and Tula, in Spain, are descended. De Solis states, that the king left also three daughters, who were afterwards converted, and married Spaniards. Humboldt says: "The *Cano* Motezuma, the *Andrade* Motezuma, and, if I am not mistaken, even the Counts of Miravalle at Mexico, trace back their origin to the beautiful princess Tecuichpotzin, the youngest daughter of Motezuma II. The descendants of this king did not mingle their blood with the whites till the second generation."—"Some of my readers," he adds in a subsequent note, "will perhaps be interested in knowing, that a descendant of Christopher Columbus, and a descendant of King Motezuma, were among the viceroys of New Spain. Don Pedro Nuno Colon, Duke de Veraguas, made his entry at Mexico in 1673, and died six days afterwards. The viceroy Don Joseph Sarmiento Valladares, Count de Motezuma, governed from 1697 to 1701."—HUMBOLDT'S *Pol. Essay*, vol. ii. pp. 54, 79, *notes*.

and had to turn round its northern end to regain the road to Tlascala, which lay about sixty-four miles to the east. A soldier of that nation acted as their guide, conducting them through a country in some places marshy, in others mountainous, and affording hardly any provisions, so that they were reduced to feed on berries, roots, and the stalks of green maize.* For six days, they marched with little respite, under continual alarms, skirmishing at times with hovering detachments of the Mexicans, and suffering the aggravation of fatigue produced by hunger and thirst. Amid these complicated distresses, their commander preserved an unshaken fortitude, the foremost in every danger, and sharing all their hardships with cheerfulness; and the soldiers, animated by his example, continued to follow him with unabated confidence. On the sixth day, they arrived near Otumba, which lay in the main road. Early next morning, as they advanced towards the eminence which commanded the plain of that name, Marina remarked, that several parties of Mexicans who hung on their rear, exclaimed, "Go on, robbers, to the place where vengeance awaits you!" The meaning of this obscure threat was explained when they reached the summit of the pass, and beheld a vast army covering the valley as far the eye could reach. The Mexicans, knowing that the Spaniards must pass this way, had here collected all their forces. In the midst was seen the great standard of the empire, which was borne only before the monarch or his captain-general. At the sight of this immense multitude, the boldest were ready to despair; but

* De Solis mentions, that one of the wounded horses died on this march, and was divided as a particular regale.

Cortes allowed them no time for reflection. Briefly reminding them, that no alternative remained but either to conquer or to die, he instantly led them to the charge. The Mexicans were never able to stand the attack of the compact battalion of the Spaniards, and whichever way they moved, the undisciplined mass was penetrated and dispersed; but so immense were the numbers, that they soon closed again over the bodies of the slain, and the Spaniards were ready to sink under exertions to which there seemed no end. At this crisis, Cortes recollected to have heard, that on the fate of the royal standard depended the whole fortune of their battles. Assembling all the horse that remained capable of service, he resolved to dash at it, though in a distant part of the field, heading the charge in person. The Indians gave back before the cavalry, who soon arrived at the spot where the standard was guarded by a chosen band of nobles. These were soon broken, and Cortes, with a stroke of his lance, brought the Mexican general to the ground. On seeing him fall, one of the Spanish officers, Juan de Salamanca, leaped from his horse, and, despatching the wounded general, seized the standard, and delivered it to Cortes. The moment their leader fell, and the standard disappeared, a universal panic seized the Mexicans, and, throwing away their weapons, they all fled with precipitation. A terrible destruction ensued among the fugitives, till at length the over-wearied Spaniards returned to collect the spoils of the field, which were so valuable as almost to compensate for the wealth they had lost at Mexico.*

* The Spanish historians represent this as the greatest victory in the annals of the American conquests. 20,000 Mexicans are said to have been slain. "And if," says De Solis, "it were cer-

The next day (July 8th), to their great joy, they entered the Tlascalan territory, where, notwithstanding their reverses, they were received with unabated cordiality.

All but Cortes now thought only of abandoning a country, to the conquest of which they had found themselves unequal; but his mind, as eminently distinguished by perseverance as by enterprise, was still bent on accomplishing his original purpose. With this view, while his army were reposing after their hardships, their leader, by a judicious distribution among the Tlascalan chiefs of the rich spoils of Otumba, secured the future services of the republic. His other preliminary measures were, to draw a small supply of ammunition and two or three field-pieces from his stores at Vera Cruz, and to despatch a confidential officer, with four ships of Narvaez's armament, to Hispaniola and Jamaica, in order to engage adventurers, and purchase horses and military stores. Moreover, knowing that it would be in vain to attempt the reduction of Mexico, unless he could secure the command of the lake, he gave orders to prepare, in the mountains of Tlascala, materials for building twelve brigantines, so that they might be carried there in pieces, ready to be put together, and launched when he stood in need of them. As soon, however, as the soldiers discovered the intentions of Cortes, they began at first to murmur, and at length openly to remonstrate against being committed to all the perils and hardships of another campaign; and those more especially who had followed Narvaez, could not be won over by either arguments, entreaties, or

tain that St. James the Apostle fought visibly for the Spaniards, as some prisoners affirmed, the slaughter of these people would appear more credible."

presents, further than to delay their departure till it should be convenient to send them home to Cuba. Beguiled by this promise, they were without difficulty induced to march against the people of Tepeaca, who had some time before cut off a detachment of their comrades that were marching from Zempoalla to Mexico. Cortes took the command in person, supported by a numerous body of Tlascalans, and in a few weeks, after a great slaughter of the Tepeacans, reduced that province to subjection. By this and various other expeditions against the adjacent provinces, all of which were crowned with success, his men again became accustomed to victory, while the Tlascalan warriors acquired the habit of acting in conjunction with the Spaniards, and the Mexican power was weakened. All these efforts, however, would have been of little avail, had he not unexpectedly obtained reinforcements. Two small ships, containing a supply of men and stores which the governor of Cuba had sent to support Narvaez, were decoyed into the harbour of Vera Cruz, and seized, the soldiers being easily persuaded to join their countrymen. Soon after, three other ships, belonging to an armament fitted out by the governor of Jamaica, after a disastrous attempt to make a descent on the northern provinces, were compelled by want of provisions to touch at Vera Cruz; and these troops also were soon persuaded to follow the standard of Cortes. About the same time, a merchant vessel arrived from Spain, freighted by some private adventurers with military stores, which Cortes eagerly purchased; and the crew, following the general example, joined him at Tlascala. It is not a little remarkable, that the two individuals chiefly instrumental in furnishing him with these

supplies, should be, the one an avowed enemy, the other an envious rival.

From these various quarters, the army of Cortes was augmented with 180 men and 20 horses, which made him feel strong enough to dismiss such of the soldiers of Narvaez as were most troublesome and discontented. After their departure, he still mustered 550 infantry, of whom fourscore were armed with muskets or cross-bows, forty horsemen, and nine field-pieces. At the head of these, together with 10,000 Indians, he began his march to Mexico on the 28th of December, six months after his disastrous retreat from that city.

In the meantime, the Mexicans had not been idle. On the death of Montezuma, they had raised his brother Quetlavaca* to the throne, under whose direction those spirited measures were adopted, which had issued in the expulsion of the Spaniards. Besides making every effort to put his capital and kingdom into a state of defence, he had laboured to detach the Tlascalans from the Spanish interest, by representing that their allies were avowed enemies of their gods, and would not fail at last to subject them to the same yoke they sought to impose on the Mexicans. It required all the address of Cortes to counteract the impression made by these representations. But, in the midst of his sagacious arrangements, Quetlavaca was cut off by the small-pox.† In his stead, the Mexicans elected

* So he is styled by the European historians, but his real name, Humboldt says, was Cuitlahuatzin.

† This distemper is said to have been unknown in that quarter of the globe, until introduced, in 1520, by a negro slave of Narvaez, when it carried off half of the inhabitants of Mexico, and, among others, the sovereign.—See Humboldt's Pol. Essay, vol. i. p. 118.

Guatimozin (Quauhtemotzin), his nephew and the son-in-law of Montezuma, who, by his bravery, sufficiently justified their choice.

On entering the Mexican territories, Cortes discovered that various preparations had been made to obstruct his progress; but his troops forced their way with little difficulty to Tezcuco, the second city in the empire, situated on the banks of the lake, about twenty miles from Tenochtitlan. Here he determined to establish his head-quarters, as the most proper station for launching his brigantines, and to await the result of his negotiation in Hispaniola. In order to render his residence the more secure, he deposed the cazique of that place, who was represented to have usurped the authority, and restored the nominal government to the rightful heir of that dignity, by which act he attached the new cazique and his adherents inviolably to his interests. He then proceeded to attack, successively, several of the towns situated round the lake, compelling them to submit to the Spanish crown, or reducing them to ruins. Other towns he prevailed upon by conciliatory measures and liberal promises, to shake off the Mexican yoke, and acknowledge the King of Castile as their sovereign. While, by these dexterous measures, he was daily circumscribing the Mexican power within narrower limits, all his schemes had well nigh been defeated by a conspiracy to assassinate him, set on foot by some of the secret partisans of Velasquez. On the very evening before the day appointed for perpetrating the crime, one of Cortes's ancient followers who had been seduced into the conspiracy, touched with compunction, went privately to his general, and disclosed the whole. Cortes, accompanied by some of his trusty officers, instantly repaired to the quarters of the ringleader, and, while his at-

tendants seized the traitor, he snatched from his bosom a paper containing the signatures of all the conspirators. This list he suffered no one to see: the historians tell us, that it contained names which filled him with surprise and sorrow, which is possible; but he chose to give out, that Villefagna, the traitor, had destroyed it, and, under the severest tortures, had refused to reveal the names of his accomplices. The next morning, Villefagna was seen hanging before the door of his lodging; and Cortes was satisfied to have extinguished the conspiracy, while the important discovery he had made as to the extent of the disaffection, he prudently confined to his own breast.

The materials for building the brigantines were at length finished, and waited only for a body of Spaniards to conduct them to Tezcuco. The Tlascalans furnished 3000 *Tamenes*, a servile caste, to carry the materials on their shoulders, and 15,000 warriors as an armed escort. The command of this convoy Cortes entrusted to Sandoval, a favourite officer, at the head of 200 foot-soldiers, fifteen horse, and two field-pieces. The service was not less singular than important: the beams, planks, masts, cordage, sails, iron-work, and other materials requisite for the construction of thirteen brigantines, were to be carried sixty miles overland through a mountainous country. In some places, where the road lay through forests, or along the ridge of mountains, the line of march extended above six miles. Parties of hostile Indians frequently shewed themselves, hovering around them, yet not daring to make an attack; and Sandoval had the credit of conducting the whole of this numerous body in safety to Tezcuco. In the meantime, reinforcements had arrived at Vera Cruz from Hispaniola, consisting of 200 soldiers, 80 horses, two battering cannon, and a con-

siderable supply of arms and ammunition. On the 28th of April, the brigantines were launched with military and religious ceremonies. Although of inconsiderable bulk, rudely constructed, and manned chiefly with landsmen, they were yet formidable to a people who possessed no vessel larger than a canoe. Nevertheless, the first effort of the Mexicans was directed against them, and hoping to supply by numbers what they wanted in force, their navy of boats rowed on boldly to the attack. The brigantines, becalmed, could scarcely advance to meet them; but, as the enemy drew near, a breeze sprang up, and filled the sails of the Spanish vessels, which now broke through the Mexicans in all directions, running down the canoes, and soon dissipated the whole armament. From this time, Cortes remained master of the lake.

The brigantines were now formed into three divisions, in order to second and cover the several attacks which Cortes directed to be carried on from three different quarters; from Tezcuco on the east side of the lake, Tacuba on the west, and Cuayocan towards the south. Dear-bought experience, however, had taught the Spaniards the necessity of cautious movements, and Cortes is said to have been moreover anxious to preserve the city from being destroyed. However this might be, for above a month he adhered to a system strikingly at variance with his former policy, contenting himself with destroying the aqueducts, and skirmishing with the Mexicans day by day, without attempting to make a lodgement in the city. His troops began at length to be wearied and dispirited with the length and difficulties of the siege; and on the 3d of July, he ordered a general assault to be made with a view to take the city by storm. To secure a retreat in case of need, he appointed the cap-

tain of the troops he had received from Hispaniola, to fill up the breaches and gaps in the causeway. That officer, deeming it inglorious to be thus employed, while his companions were engaged in the heat of action, is said to have neglected the important charge committed to him, and to have hurried on to mingle with the combatants. To this circumstance the Spanish historians attribute the disastrous repulse which Cortes sustained in this day's action, admitting, at the same time, that Cortes was out-manœuvred by the Mexicans, who contrived to attack the Spaniards and auxiliaries at once in front and rear. The account given of the circumstances is very confused; thus much, however, is clear, that the rout of the Spaniards was complete; nor were the brigantines able, owing to the shoal water, to protect the fugitives from the armed canoes. Above twenty Spaniards were killed, and twice that number were taken prisoners. While endeavouring to save his men, Cortes himself was laid hold of by some Mexicans, who were hurrying him off in triumph, when two of his officers rescued him at the expense of their own lives; but he received several dangerous wounds before he could break loose.

The approach of night, though it brought a respite from the fatigues and dangers of the combat, ushered in, what was hardly less grievous, the noise of barbarous triumph on the part of the victors. The Spanish historians paint the horrors of the scene in vivid colours, telling us, that the whole city was illuminated, so that the Spaniards could plainly see in the great temple, the preparations made for sacrificing their companions; that they heard their dying shrieks, and thought they could distinguish each unhappy victim by his voice. The imagination, no doubt,

might suggest all this.* In the morning, information was brought, that the heads of the slaughtered Spaniards had been distributed among the adjacent states, with the oracular intimation, delivered by the god of war himself in an audible voice, that in eight days, the invaders should be finally destroyed.

This explicit prediction, delivered under such circumstances, and accompanied with so satisfactory a pledge, gained universal credit among the superstitious Indians. Cortes now found himself deserted by his auxiliaries: even the fidelity of the Tlascalans was shaken. Never had his situation been more dispiriting. But in this exigency, he again shewed himself the master of fortune. Finding it in vain to combat superstitious fears with arguments, he resolved to suspend all military operations during the period imprudently specified by the priests. Under cover of the brigantines, his troops lay in safety, and the fatal term expired without any fresh disaster.

When his allies found that the gods of the Mexicans had deceived them, Cortes again rose in their estimation; and whether inspired by shame or by revenge, they flocked to his standard in such numbers, that, if we may believe his own account, he soon found himself at the head of 150,000 Indians. And now he

* Cortes himself states, that they could distinctly observe what passed when their countrymen were sacrificed. Bernal Diaz describes the impression which the spectacle made upon him:—"Before I saw the breasts of my companions opened, their hearts, yet fluttering, offered to an accursed idol, and their flesh devoured by an exulting enemy, I was accustomed to enter a battle, not only without fear, but with high spirit. But, from that time, I never advanced to fight the Mexicans without a secret horror and anxiety: my heart trembled at the thoughts of a death I had seen them suffer."—ROBERTSON'S *America, notes.*

resolved, we are told, to adopt a new system of attack, which one is surprised that he did not follow from the first. As the Spaniards pushed forward, the Indians regularly repaired the causeways behind them. As soon as they got possession of any part of the town, the houses were levelled to the ground.* Day by day, the Mexicans were hemmed in within more contracted limits; and while war wasted them from without, famine began to consume them within the city. The stores which Guatimozin had laid up, were exhausted by the multitudes who had crowded into the capital to defend their sovereign and the temples of their gods; and the brigantines rendered it almost impossible to convey to the besieged any supply. Infectious distempers now attacked the crowded and famished population, and filled up the measure of their sufferings. Yet still, the haughty spirit of the Mexican monarch rejected with scorn every overture of peace; and every inch of ground was disputed with the invaders, till three fourths of the city had been laid in ruins. Not before then, was Guatimozin persuaded to attempt his escape. To facilitate this measure, they endeavoured to amuse Cortes with overtures of submission; but Sandoval had orders to watch every motion of the enemy. Observing some large canoes rowing across the lake with extraordinary rapidity, he instantly gave the signal to chase,

* Cortes relates, that the Indians, to revenge themselves for the oppressions which they had suffered from the Aztec kings, flocked in great numbers, even from the remotest provinces, when they learned that the destruction of the capital was going on. The rubbish of the demolished houses served to fill up the canals. The streets were made dry to allow the Spanish cavalry to act. "More than 50,000 Indians assisted us," says Cortes, "that day, when, marching over heaps of carcases, we at length gained the great street of Tacuba, and burned the house of king Guatimucin."

and the swiftest-sailing brigantine soon overtook them, and was preparing to fire, when at once the rowers dropt their oars, while all on board with loud cries conjured him to forbear, as the emperor was there. The Spaniards eagerly seized their prize, who preserved a dignified composure, and, when conducted to Cortes, manifested in his deportment, neither the sullen fierceness of a barbarian, nor the dejection of a suppliant. The historians have put into his mouth on this occasion, a speech breathing the Roman heroism. "I have done what became a monarch. I have defended my people to the last extremity. Nothing now remains but to die. Take this dagger," (laying his hand on one which Cortes wore,) "plant it in my breast, and put an end to a life which can no longer be of use."*

As soon as the fate of their monarch was known, the resistance of the Mexicans ceased, and on the 13th of August,† Cortes took possession of what remained of Tenochtitlan. Thus terminated this memorable siege, which had continued seventy-five days, hardly one of which passed without an action. In no part of the New World did the Europeans meet with such determined and effective resistance; and the fall of Mexico was, after all, brought about by the jealousy of the neighbouring states, and the revolt of its own subjects, as much as by the valour of the Spaniards. The fate of

* Cortes's account is, that he made him sit down, and treated him with confidence; "but the young man," he adds, "put his hand on the poniard which I wore at my side, and exhorted me to kill him, because, since he had done all that his duty to himself and his people demanded of him, he had no other desire than death."

† St. Hypolitus's day, which was still celebrated at Mexico by a procession of the viceroy and *oidores* round the city, up to the revolution.

the capital decided that of the empire, the provinces submitting one after another; and thus, by the daring adventure of a private individual, unauthorized by his sovereign, nay, regarded and treated as an undutiful and seditious subject,* was Mexico annexed to the crown of Castile.

The exultation of the Spaniards was at first excessive, but it was quickly damped by the smallness of the booty which was found amid the ruins of the city. To account for this, it was supposed that Guatimozin had ordered the greater part of his wealth to be thrown into the lake, or otherwise concealed; the Indian auxiliaries also, were suspected to have carried off the most valuable part of the spoil, while some accused Cortes and his confidential officers with having secretly appropriated more than their share of the expected treasure. To check the growing spirit of discontent, Cortes had recourse to a measure which stains the glory of all his great achievements. He subjected the captive monarch and his chief favourite to torture,† in order to force from them a disclosure of the place where it was supposed they had concealed their treasure. The minister, overcome by the agony, is said to have besought his master for permission to reveal the secret. Guatimozin sternly replied, "Am I re-

* Owing to the representations of Velasquez, and the intrigues of his partizans, the conduct of Cortes had been declared by the council of the Indies, an irregular usurpation; and a few weeks after the reduction of Mexico, Christoval de Tapia arrived at Vera Cruz, commissioned to supersede Cortes, to seize his person, and confiscate his effects. Cortes had the address to elude this danger, and to prevail on Tapia to abandon the province; and he was ultimately appointed captain-general and governor of New Spain. Charles subsequently created him marquess del Valle de Guaxaca, (or Oaxaca) a title still borne by his descendants.

† He is said to have caused the soles of his feet to be exposed to a slow fire, after having soaked them in oil.

posing on a bed of flowers?" Awed by this reproach, the favourite persisted in his silence, and expired; on which the royal victim was released from the torture, to undergo fresh indignities. His end was the same as that of the caziques of Tezcuco, (or Acolhuacan) and Tacuba. On the suspicion or pretended charge of having secretly conspired to excite a revolt, they were all three hung on the same tree, and according to a hieroglyphic painting seen by Humboldt, they were hung by the feet, to lengthen out their torments. This act of cruelty in Cortes, excited murmurs among the very soldiers. Bernal Diaz says, "The death of the young king was a very unjust thing; and it was accordingly blamed by us all." Nor was this the only act of atrocious cruelty and injustice by which, in the wantonness of power, Cortes and his followers revenged themselves for their past sufferings. In almost every district of the Mexican empire, the progress of the Spanish arms was tracked with blood. In the country of Panuco, sixty caziques and four hundred nobles were burnt at one time, in the presence of their wives and children. This unexampled act of barbarity was committed by Sandoval, with the consent, if not at the command of Cortes. His example, and that of his principal officers, encouraged persons of subordinate rank to venture on the commission of still greater excesses; and Nuño de Guzman, in particular, distinguished himself by deeds of peculiar rigour and enormity, in various expeditions which he conducted.

After the fall and destruction of the capital, Cortes remained for four or five months at Cojahuacan, a place for which he constantly displayed a strong predilection, being undetermined whether he should rebuild the city on the old site, or some other spot.

He at last decided on the old situation, "because the city of Temixtitlan (Tenochtitlan) had acquired celebrity, because its position was delightful, and because in all times it had been considered as the head of the Mexican provinces." It cannot, however, admit of a doubt, Humboldt remarks, that, on account of the frequent inundations suffered by both old and new Mexico, it would have been better to rebuild the city to the east of Tezcuco, or on the heights between Tacuba and Tacubaya. The magnificent plan on which Cortes began at length to rebuild the capital, was worthy of his grand and daring conceptions. So immense was the concourse of native artisans who wrought for him, that, in 1524, the new city of Mexico already numbered, according to his own statement, 30,000 inhabitants. Cortes continued to exercise all the powers of a governor till, in 1522, he was invested with that appointment by the emperor. The court of Spain manifested, however, their distrust of his loyalty, and jealousy of his abilities, by the most ungenerous and vexatious proceedings. In 1528, Cortes eluded a commission of inquiry, only by returning to Spain; and though he succeeded in re-instating himself in the emperor's favour, and obtained as the reward of his services, the title of marquess, the order of St. Jago, and the grant of an extensive territory in New Spain, he came back to Mexico, in 1530, with diminished authority. The civil jurisdiction was now separated from the military command, for the evident purpose of diminishing and controlling the absolute power of this too formidable subject; and while he was allowed to retain the situation of commander-in-chief, the civil affairs were henceforth administered by the *audienza real*. In 1535, Cortes undertook to conduct in person, a voyage of discovery, in search of the

grand *desideratum* of navigators—some strait which might afford an outlet from the Atlantic into the great ocean. After astonishing the world with his martial exploits, he displayed an energy of character not less admirable in his maritime undertakings; and the emperor was well pleased to see him engage in employments which removed him from the theatre of his brilliant career. An expedition, undertaken at his private expense, had discovered the coast of California the preceding year. Cortes coasted both sides of the gulf then known by the name of the Sea of Cortes, and was pursuing with unabated ardour his discoveries, when the report of his death was spread in Mexico.* It was during his stay at the bay of Santa Cruz, called afterwards the Port de la Paz, or of the Marquess de Valle, that the mortifying news reached him, of the arrival of the first viceroy at New Spain. After encountering a thousand perils, Cortes anchored safely at Acapulco. He employed Francisco de Ulloa to pursue, at his own expense, the career of discovery, but returned to Europe in 1540, where his posthumous appearance appears to have been far from welcome to his ungrateful sovereign. By Charles he was treated with cold civility; by his ministers with insolent neglect. He survived however, seven years, in affluence, if not in the enjoyment of all the honours he had fairly earned; and at his death, which took place Dec. 2, 1547, in the sixty-second year of his age, he left to his sons a very considerable fortune.

The whole interest of the *colonial* history of Mexico, terminates with the life and administration of this

* This was so far believed, that Juana de Zuñiga, his spouse, fitted out two vessels and a caravel, to ascertain the truth of the intelligence.

extraordinary man, of whose vast capacity, brilliant faculties, and romantic achievements, it is difficult to speak in terms of just eulogy and admiration, without seeming to palliate deeds of atrocity, and to justify the doubtful or criminal motives by which he was actuated. When he first landed in New Spain, it was in the character of a lawless adventurer; for, the commission under which he acted being revoked, his conduct, from that moment, was no better than piracy. The boldness and vastness of his enterprise make us forget that it was founded on injustice, and carried on by deceit and violence. Yet, the constant loyalty of his pretensions, and his solicitude to obtain the sanction of his sovereign, in whose name and for whose benefit the whole enterprise was carried on, give the semblance of patriotism, and even of disinterestedness to his conduct. Moreover, when we reflect on the odious character of the tyranny which he overthrew, and the still more infernal nature of the abominations practised by the Mexican priests—on the bloody wars, the human sacrifices, and the cannibal feasts which had long cried to heaven for the exterminating sword of vengeance—we seem to see in Cortes the unconscious minister of the Divine wrath, and are half reconciled to the desolation which swept away the Aztec empire. Nothing, indeed, can justify the violent methods which Cortes resorted to, in the name of religion, to extinguish their idolatry, in order that he might substitute a creed and a worship less corrupt and depraved indeed, but still blind and idolatrous. Had he contented himself with every where putting a stop to human sacrifices and cannibal practices, had he sought to deliver the people from the yoke of a diabolical priestcraft, instead of inciting them to make common cause with their priests, by insulting their

temples, he would have had the secret dictates of the conscience even in those idolaters, to second his authoritative persuasions; he would have had the popular feeling on his side, already alive to the intolerable nature of the regal tyranny and the sacerdotal exactions. Nor is it, perhaps, going too far to suppose, that he would thereby have secured the visible sanction of a Divine protector, in an enterprise which would have assumed the aspect of a most humane and benevolent interposition on behalf of an oppressed nation. But Cortes was a soldier, the worst of all missionaries; and though he might have learned wisdom of his chaplain, it is not surprising, that while the ecclesiastics of Spain were kindling the fires of the Inquisition for Jewish and Protestant heretics, he, a simple layman, should be acquainted with no better means of converting idolaters, than fire and the sword.

From 1535 to 1808, Mexico continued to be governed by viceroys, nominated by the Court of Spain. Of the fifty individuals who filled this high office, it is remarked, that one only was an American. This was Don Juan de Acuna, Marquess de Casa Fuerte, a native of Peru, who governed Mexico from 1722 to 1734; "a disinterested man, and good administrator." It has already been mentioned, that a Count de Motezuma, descended from the Sultan of Tenochtitlan, held the office (from 1697 to 1701); but he was a Spaniard, as was the Duke de Veraguas, a descendant of Columbus, who made his entry at Mexico in 1673, and died six days afterwards. Almost the only bright spot in the page of the colonial annals, is the administration of the viceroy Count de Revillagigedo, during the last twenty years of the eighteenth century. Under his direction, good roads leading from the

capital to different parts, were laid out; the streets of the principal cities were paved and lighted, and a good police established; the first authentic statistical account of the country was drawn up; and, in fact, almost every salutary law and regulation in existence prior to the Revolution, may be traced to his enlightened and disinterested administration.

We have now arrived at a more delicate and difficult part of our task, which is to give a sketch, so far as our materials will serve us, of the Mexican Revolution.

Mexico, like Chili, has been twice revolutionised. The first struggle commenced in September 1810, and was carried on with various success till July 1819, when the cause of the patriots was almost annihilated. The second originated with Iturbidé in February 1821, and has happily terminated in the establishment of the national independence. In order to form an adequate idea of the causes and consequences of the Revolution, it will be necessary to take a general view of the colonial system which it has abolished.

COLONIAL SYSTEM OF SPAIN.

"SPAIN," it has been remarked by an able writer, "formed her colonial establishments in America at that dark period which preceded by more than a century the date of the English plantations. The excitement which the incipient reformation of religion had created in the north of Europe, was scarcely felt in Spain, or was suppressed by that horrible tribunal the Inquisition, or counteracted by that strange mixture of superstition and chivalry which produced the crusades, and

which had been kept alive in the Peninsula by the re-iterated and ultimately successful efforts to extirpate the Moorish power. Their religion, and the feelings which it excited, constituted a species of knight-errantry, which led them to fight for the beauty of a mistress, the honour of St. Jago, or the immaculate conception of the Holy Virgin, with equal pertinacity and ferocity. Imbued with such feelings to an intensity now scarcely conceivable, the expeditions to America were composed of soldiers, stimulated, in addition, by an ardent thirst for that gold in which the newly-discovered countries were represented to abound; they spread devastation wherever they marched, and inflicted on the simple and uncultivated natives, tortures and sufferings, differing little, except in duration, from those pains which the priests who accompanied them announced as awaiting the wretched victims in another world.

"As the Spaniards brought with them from Europe few or no females, they speedily formed connections with the wives or daughters of those whom they had sacrificed. Hence has arisen a race proud of the imagined dignity of their male ancestors, and uniting with it much of the apathy and want of sensibility which distinguished the aborigines of America. Spain became early aware of the kind of population which was thus scattered over its boundless dominions. It sent them troops of priests to continue among the emigrants, and to propagate among the natives, that blind submission in spiritual matters, which she fancied would equally secure civil dependence. Few of the colonists were allowed to carry arms; hence, after the lapse of more than a century, the settlers were so little prepared for defence, that they became the easy prey of those bands of sanguinary and lawless ruffians,

known by the name of Buccaneers, who looked only to plunder, and thought of no permanent establishments.

" The same anxiety to retain subjection, which had induced the court of Spain to leave the colonies defenceless, was extended to every branch of policy. Not only were viceroys and other chief governors sent from Europe, but all the judges, supreme and subordinate— all the administrators of revenue and expenditure— the members of the municipal corporations—the officers of the police—the inquisitors and their inferiors or familiars, were nominated by Spain. Thus, whilst the natives were not likely to be called upon to exercise any public functions, they had no inducements, even if they had enjoyed the means of instruction, to qualify themselves for the discharge of the lowest public services in society. The laws were unknown to all but the Europeans who presided in the courts of judicature; and by the Americans were supposed to be strained or interpreted in such a way as to favour those natives of the Peninsula who were settled amongst them.

" The only institutions they venerated were those of a superstitious nature. The only object to which they looked up with respect, was Spain and its monarch. The only subject of pride which they dwelt upon with complacency, was that they were Spaniards. They believed, for it had been artfully and sedulously impressed on their minds, that the King of Spain was the chief monarch of the universe, in whose dominions the sun never set; and that France, England, Italy, and the other countries of Europe, were tributaries to the nation of which they formed a part. The lowest of the Creoles, if but a tenth part of the blood that circulated in their veins was of Spanish origin, would

exclaim, *somos Espanioles*, with a tone and emphasis that bespoke a sense of the dignity which they imagined to be derived from that nation.

" The portions of literature and science that existed in the Peninsula were very insignificant. From the reign of Charles V. down to the present day, whilst England, France, Germany, and even Italy, had been steadily advancing in every species of knowledge, and in every art that contributed to promote the comforts, the enjoyments, and the wealth of their several communities, the sluggish pace which Spain maintained, kept her at a constantly increasing distance behind them. Of the scanty portion of knowledge scattered in the Peninsula, a few faint sparks alone have ever illuminated the gloom of their transatlantic dominions.

" The settlements were mostly formed in a warmer climate than the districts occupied by the English colonists. In such climates, the sea-shores are generally found to be unhealthy, and hence the thickest peopled parts of the Spanish dominions were on the elevated plains, at a distance from the sea. The cities of Mexico, Guadalaxara, Guanaxuato, Bogota, Quito, Cuzco, and St. Jago, are in the interior of their respective provinces ; and the communication between them and Europe was difficult, hazardous, and protracted, even without noticing the various impediments and restrictions which the European metropolis interposed to favour the commercial monopolies of a few of her favoured cities. The intercourse between the several provinces of America was so restricted and guarded, that any knowledge or discoveries originating in one, could scarcely be communicated to the others, and the commodities furnished by some, were not

allowed to be supplied to their brother colonists, who might require them.

"Such, with a few variations, and with slight exceptions, had been the condition of Spanish America from the first year of its settlement, till the moment when, by the treachery of France, and the folly of the Junta of Spain, it was set loose from all existing government, and left to itself to construct, with such wretched materials as the country could furnish, the edifice of social society."*

The Spanish American possessions were never considered in the light of colonies, strictly speaking, but rather as forming a separate kingdom held in fief by the Crown in virtue of a grant from the Pope; governed by the monarch, assisted by a special board named the Council of the Indies; and having its separate code of laws.† Each viceroyalty or captain-generalship was independent of the others, and all were immediately under the King and the Council of the Indies. The viceroy was nominally controlled by the council called the *Audienza*, the members of which were European Spaniards, who were not allowed to hold lands or to marry in the country. This body had the privilege of remonstrating with the

* Quarterly Review, No. lxi. pp. 4—6.

† Hence the Kings of Spain assumed the title of King of the Indies. The "laws of the Indies" enacted by Charles V. were, for the most part, wise and equitable; and the regulations relating to the Indians were framed in the spirit of humanity. The aborigines were to be considered as free men and vassals of the crown. It was also enacted, that the discoverers, the settlers, their posterity, and *those born in the country*, should be preferred before all others, in all appointments, civil and ecclesiastical. These laws have never, we believe, been formally repealed, but they were never acted upon; the policy of the government having led to the adoption of a system diametrically opposite from the very first.

viceroy and of corresponding directly with the Council of the Indies; but its efficiency as a check was wholly neutralised by the inordinate power of the viceroy. The principle on which the whole complex fabric of the government rested, was, that no single department should be allowed to act without being checked by some other. With this view, the number of official authorities in every department of administration was multiplied beyond example, for every new office required the creation of a dozen other appointments to watch it. Neither worth nor talent was thought of in nominating to these appointments. The colonial offices were sold in Madrid, and the proceeds formed, at one time, no inconsiderable item in the royal revenues. All public offices and employments were confined to Spaniards; for although Americans were not excluded by the laws, they very rarely succeeded in obtaining appointments, and even then, not without satiating the cupidity of the court of Spain by enormous sums of money. It has been already mentioned, that, of fifty viceroys of Mexico, only one was an American. The manifesto put forth by the Congress of Buenos Ayres, states, that, of one hundred and seventy viceroys that had governed in Spanish America, four only were Americans; and of six hundred and ten captains-general and governors, all but fourteen were Spaniards. The same took place in every post of importance; and even among the common clerks of office, it was rare to meet with Americans.

"Every thing," it is added, "was disposed on the part of Spain, in America, to effect the degradation of her sons. It did not suit the policy of Spain, that sages should rise up amongst us; fearful lest men of genius should remind them of advancing the condition

of their country, and of improving the morals and excellent capacities with which its sons have been gifted by their Creator. It was her policy incessantly to diminish and depress our population, lest one day we should imagine aught against her domination, guarded by a force too contemptible for keeping in subjection regions so various and vast. Commerce was exclusively confined to herself, from a mean suspicion that opulence would make us proud, and render us capable of aspiring to free ourselves from so many vexations. The growth of industry was checked, in order that the means of escaping from our wretchedness and poverty might be denied us; and we were excluded from all participation in public employments, in order that the natives of the Peninsula might have entire influence over the country, so as to form the inclinations and habits necessary for retaining us in a state of dependence, that would neither permit us to think nor to act but in conformity to the modes dictated by the Spaniards.

"This system was acted upon with the utmost rigour by the viceroys. Each of them was invested with the authority of a vizier: their power was sufficient to annihilate all those who dared to displease them. However great the vexations they practised, we had to bear them with patience, while these were compared by their satellites and worshippers to the effects of the wrath of God. The complaints which were addressed to the throne were either lost in the distance of many thousand leagues, over which they had to pass, or they were smothered in the offices at Madrid by the protectors of those who tyrannised over us. Not only was this system not softened, but there was no hope of its moderating in the course of time. We had no voice, direct or indirect, in legis-

lating for our country: this was done for us in Spain, without conceding to us the privilege of sending delegates or counsellors, to be present, and to state what would be suitable or otherwise, as is practised by the cities of Spain. Neither did we possess such influence in the government set over us, as might serve to temper the severity of its administration. We knew that there was no remedy for us but to bear with patience; and that for him who could not resign himself to every abuse, death was considered as too light a punishment: for, in such cases, punishments have been invented of unheard-of cruelty, and revolting to every sentiment of humanity."

Not only did the Spanish Government thus exclude the natives from every office of trust, and bar up all the avenues to honourable distinction, but it opposed or discouraged their engaging in any branch of productive industry, while literature and every species of knowledge were rigorously interdicted. "It was forbidden," says the same manifesto, "to teach us the liberal sciences: we were permitted only to learn the Latin grammar, the philosophy of the schools, civil and ecclesiastical jurisprudence. The viceroy Don Joaquim Pinto gave great offence by permitting a nautical school at Buenos Ayres; and in compliance with a mandate from the court, it was ordered to be shut. At the same time, it was strictly prohibited to send our youth to Paris for the purpose of studying the science of chemistry, in order to teach it on their return." The natives were forbidden, upon pain of death, to trade with foreigners, none of whom were allowed to visit the country. Spaniards themselves could not set foot in the colonies without special permission, and for a limited time; and even the inhabitants of the different provinces were denied, as far as it was pos-

sible, all intercourse with one another, lest by mutual communication they should increase their knowledge. No South American could own a ship, nor could a cargo be consigned to him. No capital, not Spanish, was permitted to be in any shape employed in the colonies. Orders were given that no foreign vessel, on any pretence whatsoever, should touch at a South American port; and even ships in distress were ordered to be seized as prizes, and the crews imprisoned, in conformity to the royal ordinance of Nov. 1692.* Agriculture was subjected to the most arbitrary and injurious restrictions. The Americans were prevented by severe penalties from raising flax, hemp, or saffron. The cultivation of the olive, the mulberry, and the vine, if not formally interdicted by the laws, was indirectly frustrated by the same injurious policy. During M. Humboldt's stay at Mexico in 1802, the Viceroy received orders from the Court of Madrid to root up all the vines in the northern provinces, because the merchants of Cadiz complained of a diminution in the consumption of Spanish wines. "Happily," says that traveller, "this order, like many others issued by the ministers, was never executed. It was judged that, notwithstanding the extreme patience of the Mexican people, it might be dangerous to drive them to despair, by laying waste their property, and forcing them to purchase from the monopolists of Europe, what the bounty of nature produces on the Mexican soil."

* The rigour with which this inhuman law was enforced, is proved by a curious state paper which fell into the hands of the patriots at Lima. In this document, the viceroy expresses his high displeasure against the governor of the island of Juan Fernandez for *not* seizing a Boston trader which had touched there in distress, having lost one of her masts, sprung her rudder, and run short of water and firewood.—See Capt. Basil Hall's Journal, vol. i. p. 306. (3d edit.)

Captain Basil Hall was informed when at Tepic, that a measure of a similar description had been actually carried into effect in New Galicia, in the case of some extensive and flourishing tobacco plantations.* At Buenos Ayres, indeed, they were allowed to cultivate grapes and olives, by special permission, but only in sufficient quantity for the table. The commerce of wines and of indigenous oils was tolerated in Peru and Chili; but this apparent exception to the general policy was dictated by fear: those colonies, situated beyond Cape Horn, were frequently ill provisioned from Europe, and the effect of vexatious measures was dreaded in provinces so remote. A system of the most odious prohibitions was obstinately adhered to, in all the colonies bordering on the Atlantic.†

Such principles as prescribe the rooting up of the vine and the olive, are not calculated to favour manufactures. "The new colonies," remarks M. Humboldt, "were not established among people altogether barbarians. Before the arrival of the Spaniards, the Indians were already clothed, in the cordilleras of Mexico, Peru, and Quito. Men who knew the process of weaving cotton, or spinning the wool of the llamas and vicunas, were easily taught to manufacture cloth; and this manufacture was established at Cuzco in Peru, and Tezcuco in Mexico, a few years after the conquest of those countries, on the introduction of European sheep into America." The Court of Madrid

* In New Spain, the manufacture of tobacco was a royal right.

† "There exists," says Humboldt, "but a single olive plantation in all New Spain, the beautiful one of the Archbishop of Mexico, two leagues S.E. of the capital." Yet, were the Mexicans to be at complete liberty in the cultivation of the soil, he tells us, they would in time be able to dispense with the oil, wine, hemp, and flax of Europe.

was compelled to relax its prohibitory system with regard to these manufactures, amd to tolerate what it was unable to prevent. M. Humboldt states, however, that the Government, so far from encouraging manufactures, even employed indirect means to prevent the establishment of those of silk,* paper, and crystal, although no decree of the *Audienza* prohibited them. "Only half a century ago," he says, "the Count de Gijon and the Marquis de Maenza conceived the project of bringing over to Quito, a colony of workmen and artizans from Europe. The Spanish ministry affected to applaud their zeal; but they contrived so to fetter the proceedings of these two enterprising individuals, that they at last perceived that secret orders had been given to the Viceroy and the *Audienza* to ruin their undertaking, which they voluntarily renounced." Thus, to the interests of a few maritime towns in Spain, the ministry never scrupled to sacrifice the interests of a whole continent.†

* The cultivation of the mulberry, and the rearing of silkworms, were introduced by the care of Cortes, a few years after the siege of Tenochtitlan. There is a mulberry-tree on the ridge of the Cordilleras, peculiar to the equinoctial regions. The white mulberry of China had become common in Mexico about the middle of the sixteenth century. A considerable quantity of silk was then produced in the intendency of Puebla, in the environs of Panuco, and in the province of Oaxaca, where several villages of the *Misteca* still bear the names of *Tepeze de la Seda* (silk), and *San Francisco de la Seda*. Excellent taffeta was there manufactured with Mexican silk. "But," says Humboldt, "the policy of the Council of the Indies, constantly unfavourable to the manufactures of Mexico, on the one hand, and, on the other, the interest which the Philippine Company have in selling the Asiatic silk to the Mexicans, seem to be the principal causes of the gradual annihilation of this branch of colonial industry."—*Pol. Essay*, vol. iii. p. 57.

† Notwithstanding all these obstacles, manufactures had not been prevented, we are told, from making some progress in Mexico

"The sole purpose for which the Americans existed," says the intelligent English traveller already cited, "was held to be that of collecting together the precious metals for the Spaniards. If the wild horses and cattle which overrun the country could have been trained to perform the same office, the inhabitants might have been altogether dispensed with, and the colonial system would have been perfect. Unfortunately, however, for this system, the Spanish Americans, notwithstanding the net-work of chains by which they were enveloped, had still some sparks of humanity left; and, in spite of all their degradation, longed earnestly for the enjoyments suitable to their nature; and, finding that the Spaniards neither could nor would furnish them with an adequate supply, they invited the assistance of other nations. To this call other nations were not slow to listen; and, in process of time, there was established one of the most extraordinary systems of organised smuggling which the world ever saw. This was known under the name of the contraband or forced trade, and was carried on in armed vessels, well manned, and prepared to fight their way to the coast, and to resist, as they often did with effect, the *guarda-costas*, or coast-blockades, of Spain. This singular system of warlike commerce was conducted by the Dutch, Portuguese, French, English, and, latterly, by the North Americans. In this way, goods to an immense value were distributed over South America;

during three centuries: Biscayans, Catalonians, Asturians, and Valencians, have settled in the New World, carrying thither the industry of their native provinces. M. Humboldt estimates the value of the produce of manufacturing industry in New Spain (in 1802) at above a million and a half sterling; but the capital thus employed was Spanish, not Mexican.

and although the prices were necessarily high, and the supply precarious, that taste for the comforts and luxuries of European invention was first encouraged, which afterwards operated so powerfully in giving a steady and intelligible motive to the efforts of the patriots in their struggles with the mother country. Along with the goods which the contraband trade forced into the colonies, no small portion of knowledge found entrance, in spite of the increased exertions of the Inquisition, and church influence, aided by the redoubled vigilance of Government, who enforced every penalty with the utmost rigour. Many foreigners, too, by means of bribes and other arts, succeeded in getting into the country, so that the progress of intelligence was gradually encouraged, to the utter despair of the Spaniards, who knew no other method of governing the colonies but that of force, unsupported by the least shadow of opinion or good-will." *

The civil, fiscal, and criminal administration corresponded to the other parts of the political system.

* Captain B. Hall's Journal, vol. i. pp. 311-13. The author's remarks were intended to apply more particularly to South America; but the same system produced similar effects in all the Spanish colonies. The bad state of the eastern coast, the want of ports, and the inconvenience of landing, rendered the contraband trade more difficult to be carried on with Mexico, than with the coast of Terra Firma or Peru; and it was consequently confined almost entirely, Humboldt says, to the ports of Vera Cruz and Campeachy. Still it was very considerable, especially in time of war, when, the communication with the mother country being interrupted, the government was compelled to relax its prohibitory system, and to allow of commerce with neutrals. "During the last rupture with England," it is added, "the mother country could not introduce, from 1796 to 1801, at an average, more than 2,804,000 piasters worth of national and foreign commodities; and yet, in Mexico, the warehouses were encumbered with India muslins and English manufactures." — *Pol. Essay*, vol. iv. p. 95.

The exactions in the shape of taxes, duties, and tithes, were levied with a degree of severity unknown in any country, except, perhaps, in Spain. "The horrible *alcavala*, the most vexatious of taxes, as it is levied *ad infinitum* upon every transfer of goods, pressed heavily upon all classes. Nothing escaped the tithes; and every individual in the country was compelled annually to purchase a certain number of the pope's bulls, under a penalty of forfeiting various important advantages. A man, for instance, who had not in his possession the *Bula de Confesion*, could not receive absolution on his death-bed; his will became invalid, and his property was confiscated. Every stage of legal proceedings was in the most deplorable state that can possibly be conceived. The administration of justice had scarcely any existence whatsoever. There were forms enough, and writings enough, and long imprisonments without number; but," adds Captain Hall, "I never yet met with a single individual, either Spanish or American, in any of those countries, who did not freely admit, that substantial justice was in no case to be looked for, even where the Government had no interest in the event. What chance any one had when his cause involved a political question, it is needless to say. Imprisonment, that bitter torture, was the grand *recipe* for every thing. 'Sir,' said a man to me, who knew well, from long experience, what it was to be engaged in a South American law-suit, 'they put you into prison, whatever the case be — they turn the key, and never think more of you.' At the capture of Lima, the dungeons were found filled with prisoners long forgotten by the courts, and against whom no charge was upon record." *

* Hall's Journal, vol. i. pp. 300—302.

What was the state of the prisons, it is needless to say. The filth, the diet, the lodging — the naked ground, the irons, were all the same as in Spain, or, if possible, worse. In obscure, humid, infected dungeons, men and women, young and old, guilty and innocent, the hardened in crime and the first offender, the debtor and the robber, the patriot and the murderer, — all were confounded together. The *alcalde*, generally taken from the dregs of the people, was a kind of sultan, from whose decrees there was no appeal. Occasionally, torture was introduced, to wring from the unhappy prisoner the confession of a supposed, perhaps an imaginary crime; and in all the prisons, corporal punishment was allowed.*

In the treatment of foreigners, it could not be expected that any regard should be paid to either justice or humanity. An apprehension of the resentment of other governments alone prevented the strict enforcement, in every case, of the law which made it a capital offence for any foreigner to enter the Spanish dominions without a license; but the same end was answered by the most barbarous imprisonments. Sometimes the intruders, after being long confined in the colonial prisons, were sent to Spain, whence they were remitted to Ceuta, and were seldom heard of more. Sometimes they were sent as convicts to Malaga, or some other Spanish port, where they were forced to work in chains. "When the Spanish general Morillo captured Carthagena, he seized all the British and foreign merchants, threw them into dungeons, and would unquestionably have shot them all for a breach of the laws of the Indies, had it not

* Biblioteca Americana, No. 3, cited by Captain Hall. On this subject, Humboldt is dumb.

been for the timely interference of the British admiral on the West India station."* What would be the horrors attendant on a revolutionary struggle in countries thus circumstanced, it required no supernatural foresight to anticipate. Too often has civil war been found to suspend altogether the influence of the laws, and seemed to set men loose from every religious obligation. But here the laws, so far as regarded any moral influence, were a nullity; and such was the character of the religion, that both the principles and the manners of the Spanish Americans are thought to have received their deepest stain from this source. When once, therefore, the single restraint of fear was removed, no controlling principle was left. It was the struggle of the tyrant and the slave, in which no generous feeling, no relenting, no compromise can have place: one party must be exterminated. The Mexican revolution is, indeed, a tale of horror and of crime, but it has terminated well for the interests of mankind.†

* Hall's Journal, vol. i. p. 292.

† The above description of the colonial system is given on the authority chiefly of Humboldt, who dedicates his work to the King of Spain; of Captain Basil Hall; and of the Buenos Ayres manifesto. It may be proper to notice, that Captain Hall's statement has been termed exaggerated by a writer in the Quarterly Review, who apologises for the system on the ground that England, France, Holland, and Portugal, like Spain, excluded their colonies from all commercial intercourse with other countries. "The governors, commanders of the forces, and other elevated officers, were as generally chosen from Europe by those governments, as by the court of Madrid. It was the weak policy of the parent states to discourage the production of such commodities in the colonies as they imagined would rival their own. And if the old principle, that 'the colonies existed only for the benefit of the mother country,' *was not acted up to as extensively by others as by the Spaniards*, we must make some allowance for those who had

HISTORY OF THE FIRST REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

THE immediate occasion of the first revolutionary movements in Mexico, as at Buenos Ayres,* was the invasion of Spain by Napoleon. On the first intelligence, no other sentiment was excited, than a general burst of indignation against the French, and Ferdinand was proclaimed with every demonstration of ardent loyalty. After the occurrences at Bayonne, and the occupation of Madrid by the French, a strong party was formed among the European Spaniards in favour of King Joseph, whose emissaries spread themselves over the colonies; but the Creoles universally remained faithful to the legitimate monarch, and publicly burned the proclamations inviting them to transfer their allegiance to the French. The first rising of the colonists was dictated by this very feeling; and it was in consequence of the determination expressed by the Americans of the Caraccas to hold their country for their rightful sovereign, that the Cadiz Regency declared war against that captain-generalship

suffered severely from the buccaneers, and whose chief productions, gold and silver, were peculiarly calculated to excite the activity of numerous adventurers. In those particulars in which the Spanish colonial system *was worse than that of other nations*, the excess of evil may be traced to the religious feelings created and upheld in Spain by the abominable institution (the Inquisition) which bound in chains of darkness the minds of the court, the nobility, the army, the clergy, and even the inquisitors themselves." (*Quart. Review*, No. lx. p. 445.) The reader will not fail to perceive, that this statement confirms in every important particular the accuracy of Captain Hall's representation, which is, indeed, substantiated by Humboldt himself. The writer goes further indeed, by admitting that the Spanish colonial system was worse even than that of the Portuguese or of the Dutch.

* Mod. Traveller. Brazil and Buenos Ayres, vol. ii. p. 316.

in August 1810. The Viceroy of Mexico at this critical period was Don Jose Iturrigaray, who is universally characterised as a just and good man, and he is still spoken of with respect by the Mexicans. The contradictory orders which he received from the King, from Murat, and from the Council of the Indies, together with the violence of the opposite factions, placed him in so embarrassing a situation, that he proposed, as the best means of preserving the country from the horrors of anarchy, to call a *junta*, to be formed by a representation from each province, in order to frame a provisional government in which the people might have confidence. The purity of his intentions is generally acknowledged, and he was cordially supported by the *cabildo;* but the Europeans in the capital viewed the scheme with great jealousy, as it tended to place the Creoles upon an equal footing with themselves in the government of the country, and they determined to frustrate it by a bold measure. Privately arming themselves, they arrested the unsuspecting viceroy in his palace, on the night of the 15th of September, 1808, and sent him and his family prisoners to Spain, assuming themselves the reins of government.* This act excited universal indignation among all classes of Americans, but it

* It is stated by a writer in the Quarterly Review, who stigmatises Iturrigaray as a feeble and vacillating old man, that the conspirators issued a proclamation against him accusing him of heresy; while the charge transmitted with him to the Junta of Seville, was not heresy, but a design to establish himself on an independent throne. "He was committed to one of the dungeons of that city without trial and without examination. At the end of three years, he was liberated by a general amnesty." — *Quart. Review*, No. lix. p. 172.

met with high approbation from the Spanish Government; and the new viceroy, Venegas, brought with him rewards and distinctions for those who had been most conspicuous in this revolt against the authority of Iturrigaray. These circumstances, together with the subsequent massacre of several distinguished Americans, and the arrest and banishment of others, on the charge of having espoused the late viceroy's plans, deeply incensed the nation; and a conspiracy was formed against the new governor, which is said to have extended to every part of the kingdom, many of the most distinguished ecclesiastics and lawyers being engaged in it. It had nearly reached maturity, when the whole plan, together with the names of the conspirators, was disclosed by Iturriaga, a canon of Valladolid, on his death-bed, to a priest of Queretaro. In consequence of this disclosure, the corregidor of that city, who was included in the denunciation, was arrested in the night. This act spread the alarm among the principal conspirators, and hastened the execution of the plot, or rather, left no alternative but submission or open rebellion. Unhappily, the first individual who raised the standard of revolt, was a man wholly incompetent to direct the popular movement. He was a priest, named Hidalgo, the rector of Dolores, in the province of Guanaxuato; a man of some talent, an enthusiast in the cause of independence, and possessing an unbounded influence over the Indians. From this last circumstance arose the criminal rashness and fatal impolicy of his first proceedings, to which the eventual failure of the revolutionists may in a great measure be ascribed. The war-cry of his followers was, "Destruction to the *Gachupins*,"—a word of contempt, said to be as old

as the days of Cortes;* and their first steps were marked by horrid excesses. It seemed that the old Mexican quarrel was about to be renewed, and that the spirit of Guatimozin had returned to earth, to lead them to revenge. In every place they passed through, all the European Spaniards that fell into their hands, and many Creoles, were massacred. A large portion of the half-cast population, who were as zealous as Hidalgo and his party for the emancipation of their country, were consequently led to tremble for their personal safety, and sought protection at the hands of their ancient oppressors. Nevertheless, the forces of Hidalgo continued rapidly to increase. He had been joined at Dolores by Captain Don Ignacio Allende, who commanded a small body of the king's troops at San Miguel el Grande. On the night of the 10th of September, 1810, the tocsin of revolt was sounded. They first marched from Dolores to San Miguel, where the Indians pillaged the houses of the Spaniards; and thence proceeded to Zelaya, where they were joined by the garrison and an immense throng of Indians, armed with clubs, slings, and other rude weapons. Hidalgo's army (if such a name may be applied to a heterogeneous mob without order or discipline) now consisted of 20,000 men, at the head of which he marched forward against the populous and wealthy city of Guanaxuato. Here, too, the garrison joined the insurgents, and the only opposition which

* The Spaniards say, that it means a man with two heads, and that it originated in the exclamation of the Indians on first discovering that the horse was a distinct animal from his rider. The story is, that one of Cortes's officers being slain, they expressed their surprise on a close examination of the phenomenon, by exclaiming *Gatzopin*. The Indians, however, deny the truth of the tale, and say that the word means robber.

was made, was by the Intendant, who shut himself up with some of the inhabitants, and a large amount of treasure, in the *Alhondiga*, a large, circular building in the centre of the city, which is used as a granary. Riana, the Intendant, was killed during the first attack, and the inhabitants soon after surrendered. By this capture, Hidalgo acquired five millions of dollars, besides the plunder which fell into the hands of his followers, who sacked the city, and slaughtered all the Spaniards.* He is said to have now paid his soldiers a dollar a day each.

From Guanaxuato, Hidalgo marched to Valladolid, gathering hourly an accession of Indians and some few royalist deserters. The revolt had by this time spread with electric rapidity, over the whole country north of Queretaro. Even in the city of Mexico, Puebla de los Angeles, and other places, the Spaniards began to tremble for their safety. It was a critical moment. "The forces of the government," Mr. Robinson says, "were entirely Creole; and if any conspicuous officer in either the city of Mexico or of Puebla, had then declared in favour of Hidalgo, the revolution would have succeeded. But the Creoles beheld with alarm their fate depending on an ignorant and infuriated body of Indians, from whom all

* Mr. Robinson, in his "Memoirs of the Mexican Revolution," states, that Hidalgo offered the Intendant and his party humane terms, but they refused to surrender, and the place was carried by storm. "The unfortunate Spaniards and all who adhered to them, were sacrificed by the infuriated Indians. In vain Hidalgo interposed to prevent the slaughter. The sacking of the city continued for three days, and the plunderers were loaded with doubloons, dollars, and ingots of gold and silver. The precious metals were found in some private houses, as well as in the public buildings, piled in vast heaps. The Indians afterwards offered their doubloons for sale at four reals each (half a dollar), conceiving that they were only gilt medals." — *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 28.

classes of whites had as much to fear as the Spaniards, and it became their interest to rally round the vice-roy."

On the 24th of October, Hidalgo was proclaimed generalissimo of the Mexican armies, on which occasion he threw aside his priest's robes, and appeared in uniform. From Indeparapeo, where this ceremony took place, the insurgent army marched towards the capital, and on the 27th entered Toluca, a town not more than twelve leagues west of the capital. In this extremity, the European authorities resorted to the spiritual weapons of the church. Hidalgo, his army, and all who espoused the cause of independence, were solemnly excommunicated by the archbishop. This act did not produce all the effect that was expected from it upon the immediate followers of Hidalgo. Being a priest himself, he easily persuaded his troops, that an excommunication pronounced by their enemies could not avail against them; but the people who were at a distance, abandoned a cause to which was attached so dreadful a penalty; and these fulminations are believed to have had a powerful tendency to paralyse the operations of the revolutionists. After some skirmishing between Toluca and Lerma, the independents, on the 31st of October, shewed themselves on the heights of Santa Fe. The royalists, not more than 2000 men, were drawn up to defend the city, when, to the astonishment of every one, Hidalgo withdrew his troops, taking the route to Guanaxuato. "This extraordinary movement," says the writer whose historical sketch we follow in this statement, "so fatal to the cause of the patriots, has never been accounted for." *

* Notes on Mexico. By a Citizen of the United States. 8vo. Philadelphia, 1824. Mr. Robinson states, that an action had

This retreat was attended with some confusion; and Don Felix Maria Calleja, who was actually on his march for the relief of the city at the time, at the head of 6000 men, now pursued Hidalgo so closely, as to bring on an action at Aculco. The Indians evinced a degree of valour entirely unexpected on the part of the royalists. They rushed with their clubs on the bayonets of the columns of the enemy, and fell in heaps. They were so ignorant of the effects of artillery, that, in the height of their enthusiasm, they fearlessly ran up to the cannon, and with their *sombreros de petate* (flag hats) endeavoured to stop up the muzzles of the guns. But the discipline of the royal troops prevailed; and Calleja, in his despatches, exults that the insurgents lost 10,000 men, of whom 5000 were deliberately put to the sword. Hidalgo retreated on Guanaxuato, whence he fell back upon the populous city of Guadalaxara, leaving Allende with

taken place between Hidalgo and a detachment of the city troops under Truxillo, at a place called Las Cruces, about eight leagues from the capital, in which the latter was compelled to retreat upon the city with the loss of his artillery and a number of troops. That Hidalgo then advanced to the *hacienda* of Quaximalpa, only five leagues distant from the capital, whence, instead of advancing to the assault, by which he might have decided the fate of the empire in twenty-four hours, he sent a summons to the viceroy to surrender the city. That to this demand no answer was returned, and Venegas contrived by emissaries to impress Hidalgo with the opinion, that the preparations for defence had rendered the city almost impregnable to a disorderly multitude without fire-arms. That Hidalgo was struck with a panic, and resolving to abandon the project of attacking the city, commenced a retreat, after remaining two or three days in sight of Mexico. The Quarterly Reviewer states, (without giving his authority,) that the viceroy, "besides the forces under Truxillo, had sent two detachments, one of which passed to the right, the other to the left, of the insurgent forces;" and that "the knowledge of their junction in his rear induced Hidalgo to retreat on Guanaxuato, to secure his resources."

the rear-guard to defend the defile of Marfil. Here he sustained an impetuous attack from Calleja, but, after an obstinate resistance, was compelled to retire with the remains of his troops upon Hidalgo. Calleja now entered Guanaxuato as a conqueror, and he determined to "purge the city of its rebellious population." Men, women, and children, were driven, by his orders, into the great square, where, to the number of several thousands, they were butchered in the most barbarous manner. Calleja states in his despatches, that it would have wasted too much powder and ball to have shot them, and therefore their throats were cut.*

This was only the commencement of a series of atrocious barbarities, committed by Calleja and his subalterns, in all the towns and villages of the Baxio. In the meantime, the royalists, under General Cruz, defeated the independents at Zamora, and recovered possession of Valladolid, where the inhabitants were treated with great cruelty.

Hidalgo's army, though he had lost at least 30,000 men in killed, prisoners, and deserters, was still nearly 80,000 strong. The heavy guns from the works at San Blas had been conveyed to Guadalaxara, and lines were thrown up which at least bore the appearance of fortifications. He drew up his army in an advantageous position at the *Puente* (bridge) *de Calderon*, eleven leagues from the city, and here resolved to wait the attack of Calleja. An obstinate battle was fought on the 17th of January, 1811, which ended in the total defeat and dispersion of the inde-

* Robinson, vol. i. p. 38.—The Quarterly Reviewer says, Calleja "retook Guanaxuato *by storm*, which was delivered up to *indiscriminate vengeance*." It appears to have been incapable of resistance.

pendents. Hidalgo, with some of his chief officers, escaped, and took the road for the internal provinces. After remaining a short time at Zacatecas, he retreated to San Luis Potosi, intending to retire to the Texas, and there re-organise his army. He was closely followed by Calleja, and by a division of Spanish troops which had arrived at Altamira. At the same time, the governor of the western internal provinces despatched a body of troops, under the command of Ochoa, to intercept his retreat. Thus hemmed in on all sides, he was betrayed by Bustamante, one of his own officers, and made prisoner with all his staff. They were suddenly attacked at Acatita de Bajan, near the Saltillo, on the 21st of March, and being taken by surprise, were easily vanquished. Fifty of his officers were executed on the field of battle. Hidalgo and Allende, with eight or ten others, were removed to Chihahua, where, after the form of a trial, Allende was shot on the 20th of June; Hidalgo, having previously been deprived of his priest's orders, on the 27th of July.

The command of the army left by Hidalgo was assumed by Rayon, a lawyer, who soon found himself at the head of 40,000 men. He attempted to negotiate, but the reply of Calleja rendered the attempt abortive. He formed a junta at Zitaquaro, and endeavoured to introduce some order and subordination among the independents, but was attacked here by Calleja, who, after an engagement which lasted three hours, succeeded in driving the parties from their posts, and in carrying the place. By a "solemn decree," the property of the inhabitants of this town was confiscated, and the town itself razed to the ground.

Notwithstanding these losses, the independents continued to carry on a desultory warfare. The junta

took refuge in Zultepec. The Cadiz Regency, at the end of November 1811, despatched a body of European troops to Mexico; but these were soon destroyed by the partisan warfare carried on by the Creoles and Indians. At length, the intendencies of Guanaxuato, Valladolid, Guadalaxara, Zacatecas, and parts of those of La Puebla, Vera Cruz, Mexico, and San Luis Potosi, were so far under the control of the patriots, that the royalists were penned up in a few fortified cities, and could not move beyond their walls, except with considerable armies. Still, though spread over a vast space of territory, the patriots were disunited: they were without any form of government that deserved the name, and each provincial chief acted as his judgement or interest dictated. They were miserably ignorant of the military art, destitute of artillery, their finances were under no regulation, and they were totally cut off from foreign intercourse. Things were in this state when Don Jose Maria Morelos began his military career by raising a body of troops in the western part of the province of Valladolid, bordering on the Pacific. This extraordinary man was a parish priest in one of the most populous districts in the neighbourhood of Acapulco. Whether he was the originator of this insurrection or not, does not appear, but he was soon declared its chief; and during nearly five years, he discovered talents in the exercise of his office, which extorted the applause of all to whom he was opposed. His standard was joined by many distinguished Creoles, and by numbers of deserters from the European troops. He had some tolerable officers, and succeeded, by great activity and perseverance, in organising and partially arming a body of 7000 men, well clothed, and more formidable from their discipline than even from their numbers. With this force,

he alarmed the Spaniards infinitely more than Hidalgo had done with his heterogeneous mass of a hundred and ten thousand. He had been victorious in several actions, when Calleja marched against him, and at length succeeded in driving him from Quautla Amilpa, a town which he had strongly fortified, but which the independents were compelled by famine to evacuate. They were closely pressed and harassed in their retreat by Calleja, who says, in his despatches to the viceroy, that "an extent of seven leagues was covered with the dead bodies of the enemy." The principal sufferers were the unarmed inhabitants of the town, who, warned by the fate of Zitaquaro, were eager to escape from the vindictive cruelties of the blood-thirsty Calleja. Such, however, was the unconquered spirit of the people, that Morelos was soon able again to act on the offensive. In the battle of Textla, he defeated the army sent against him under General Fuentes; after which he overran the whole southern and western parts of the kingdom, captured successively the towns of Chilapa, Tehuacan, Orizava, Oaxaca, Acapulco,* and, in fact, every important place in the viceroyalty,

* The population of Oaxaca received him with open arms, and thousands here joined his army. The head town soon fell into his hands, together with immense wealth. Acapulco was not reduced till after a siege of *fifteen months*. "Such was the cramped and distracted situation of the royalists at that time, that they could not command a force sufficient to attempt the relieving of Acapulco. Several Spanish officers have expressed their opinion, that the most critical epoch of the Revolution was just after Morelos had captured Acapulco."—ROBINSON, vol. i. p. 48. But Morelos does not appear to have been competent to improve his advantages. Had he at this crisis opened the ports to foreign commerce, he might easily have obtained a supply of arms and ammunition. But he had become too sanguine; he neglected alike to fortify the passes, and to secure the ports, and prematurely gave up his authority to a Mexican congress, who thwarted him, and ruined the cause.

except the capital, Vera Cruz, and Puebla de los Angelos. Guerillas under Guadalupe Victoria, extended over the whole country between Xalapa and Vera Cruz, occupying all the strong holds in that part of the country. Don Manuel Mier y Teran had a respectable force in the intendency of Puebla; Ossourno, with another division, was spreading terror and confusion in that of Mexico; while a priest named Coss, together with Rayon and other officers, occupied a great part of the intendencies of Guanaxuato, Valladolid, Zacatecas, and Guadalaxara. During these military transactions, the work of havoc never ceased. No quarter was given by either party.*

While the Europeans had military possession of the towns, which frequently changed masters, the open country was desolated by small bands of guerillas, who, if they owned, obeyed no superiors, who lived

* Mr. Robinson (who does not, however, conceal his leaning to the Revolutionists,) contends, that "the disgraceful and barbarous mode of warfare adopted in Mexico, had its origin solely in the outrageous decrees of the Spanish government, and in the conduct of the Spanish officers sent to execute those sanguinary decrees. All the offers of Hidalgo, Morelos, and other chiefs, to regulate an exchange of prisoners, and to prosecute the war according to the usages of civilised nations, were invariably treated with contempt by the royalists." The outrages and massacres committed by Hidalgo's Indians in the first rising, cannot, however, have the benefit of this apology. The Quarterly Reviewer, on the other hand, compiling his narrative chiefly from Spanish accounts, slurs over the cold-blooded massacres of the defenceless population executed by Calleja, and represents the slaughter and devastation committed by the insurgents as exceeding *in enormity* every thing that history has recorded. One fact, however, stated by Robinson, if authenticated, would turn the scale: "Hundreds of European Spaniards are now living in Mexico, who were taken prisoners on the field of battle" (by Hidalgo and Morelos); "but there breathes scarcely a *single insurgent* taken under similar circumstances." The manifesto of the first Mexican congress makes also strongly in their favour, by the spirit which it breathes.

on the plunder of the country, and, without the least compunction, massacred every European that fell in their way. The royal troops, on their part, wherever they passed, marked their track by thousands of Indians hung on the trees by the sides of the road, and by the smoking ruins of the plantations they had burned. In many parts, the neglect of cultivation caused a scarcity of food, and epidemic diseases in no small degree contributed, by their extent, and aided by the numerous privations, to increase the sufferings and diminish the population of the country. The viceroy, in the capital, was scarcely able to correspond with the officers commanding the different bodies of troops in the provinces; his communication was frequently cut off from Vera Cruz, and sometimes for five or six months together; so that the arrival of stores from that place was not possible. The symptoms of insurrection within the capital became alarming, in spite of a police, which forbade more than three persons to meet together beyond the members of each family; and the Creoles and Indians within the viceregal residence, discovered by their insolent gestures their triumph at every success of the insurgents.

In the midst of his military successes, Morelos, anxious to divide a responsibility to which he felt unequal, convened a congress with a view to the formation of a civil government. It was composed of forty members, Don Jose Maria Liceaga president, and assembled at Apatzingan, in the intendency of Valladolid. A constitution was framed, which was accepted by the provinces in possession of the independents; and they shortly after made proposals to the royalists to suspend hostilities, and to enter into a treaty, which were rejected with scorn and insult. In this manifesto, as given by Mr. Robinson, it is remarkable, that the independ-

ents unequivocally profess their allegiance to Ferdinand VII., but demand a national congress, adopting the very principles of the Spanish Cortes, and claiming simply an independent representation as an integral but equal part of the same monarchy. They propose that, if the sword must decide the dispute, the rights of nations and of war, inviolable even among the most infidel and savage people, should in future be respected by both parties; that no prisoners should be killed in cold blood; that defenceless towns should not be devastated by fire and sword, nor the innocent be confounded with the guilty. As the independents were at this time the stronger party, the proposal of an armistice and a negotiation came from them with every appearance of sincerity. But the infamous Calleja was now appointed viceroy, with the title of Conde de Calderon; and the war was prosecuted against the independents with circumstances of the most barbarous and refined cruelty.

Morelos soon found that, by delegating the authority to a congress at this critical period, he had incalculably augmented the difficulties of his situation. Some intercepted despatches are said to have disclosed to him the weakness or treachery of several distinguished individuals. It is obvious, how wide a scope was given for the secret operations of intrigue among the members of such a legislative body. But, whether there was treachery or not, jealousies inevitably ensued. The general's military plans were made a matter of discussion in congress, and if not betrayed, they were frustrated. All confidence between the civil and military authorities was thus destroyed; and from this time, the latter were unfortunate, and the former became contemptible.

During the whole of the year 1813, though Calleja

received continued re-inforcements, they were insufficient to enable him to make head against Morelos. His attention had been in some measure drawn towards the northern intendencies, which had been invaded by Toledo, who had been a member of the Cortes in Cadiz; he was, however, defeated, and the remnant of his forces having fled to the United States, tranquillity in that quarter was for a short time restored. In the latter part of that year, Morelos made an unsuccessful attack on the city of Valladolid, which the royalists had retaken and strongly fortified. Having raised the siege, he retreated to Puruaran, where he was attacked by a division of the army of General Llano under the command of Iturbidé, and was for the first time defeated, after having been engaged in forty-six battles, great and small. Matamoros, his second in command, and 900 men, were made prisoners. This person, who, like Morelos, was a priest, had displayed throughout this contest great valour and considerable military talent. Morelos had recourse to both offers and menaces to save the life of his officer, but in vain. He was first degraded and then shot. Twenty-five prisoners shared his fate.

During the year 1814, Calleja and Morelos were constantly engaged in detached operations. Compelled to evacuate the intendency of Valladolid, Morelos resolved to transfer his head-quarters to the city of Tehuacan in the intendency of Puebla, where General Mier y Teran had a considerable division.* The congress, together with the most respectable inhabitants of that part of the country, accompanied the army; and the expedition of Morelos is said to have resem-

* Then a youth, Mr. Robinson says, of only twenty years of age: he was of a good family, and of an amiable character.

bled the emigration of a vast body of people, rather than the march of an army. The road for several leagues was covered with baggage waggons and mules, and no order was observed in the march. Morelos does not appear to have made the least calculation on being assaulted, and he continued his march for several days without opposition. The royalists, in the mean time, had intelligence, by means of spies, of all his movements, and their troops hovered about the crowd, without attacking it; until, learning that Morelos had proceeded in advance of the main body, with a small division of cavalry, and that he lay at a place called Tepecuacuilco, they pushed on, and attacked him there on the 5th of November, 1815. After a short combat, Morelos was taken prisoner; he was sent to Mexico, and delivered over to the Holy Office. That tribunal, after declaring him a heretic, and degrading him, gave him up to the military authority, which, in its turn, sentenced him to be shot in the back as a traitor. The sentence was carried into execution on the 22d of December, at San Christoval, in the environs of the capital.

The death of this extraordinary man was an irreparable loss, as he was the only patriot chief whose orders were implicitly obeyed. The members of the congress, after the capture of their general, pursued their route to Tehuacan, where they continued to exercise their doubtful authority, till Teran, now commander-in-chief, discovering or suspecting their intention to deprive him of the command, resolved on the bold step of forcibly dissolving the body; and in December 1815, he put them all under arrest. This arbitrary measure proved fatal to the cause of the patriots. The military commanders in the different provinces acted from that moment as inde-

pendent chiefs, without cordiality or concert; and there ensued a state of complete anarchy. Calleja, though re-inforced by fresh troops from the Peninsula, which enabled him to disperse all large bodies of the insurgents, complained, notwithstanding, that he had not strength enough to destroy them. This execrable savage was at length succeeded by Admiral Apodaca, a man of mild character, who had been ambassador in England. By his change of system, several of the independent leaders were detached from the cause.

Teran, of whom Mr. Robinson speaks in terms of high eulogy, with a force which never exceeded 1,500 men, held the city and district of Tehuacan in defiance of the royalists for more than two years. The place was at length invested by a powerful body of troops sent against it by the Viceroy Apodaca, and Teran was compelled to surrender, but on terms more favourable than had ever been before granted to any of the revolutionary chiefs. The articles of capitulation were in this instance honourably fulfilled. Victoria* was soon after driven from his fastnesses in the intendency of Vera Cruz, and was at the time supposed to be slain. Ossourno, whose only object in joining the patriots appears to have been plunder, accepted, together with his principal officers, the royal pardon. Rayon, after maintaining for eighteen months the fort of Copero in Valladolid, capitulated, not so much from necessity, as from disgust at the selfish conduct of the other chiefs, and the sanguinary character of the warfare. The frightful state of anarchy which ensued, is thus described by Mr. Robinson.

"Subsequently to those events, the royalists gradually reconquered many of the revolted districts;

* Now at the head of the Mexican Republic.

placing garrisons in every town and village, to awe the people into obedience to the royal authority. In this manner, they succeeded in forming a chain of fortifications from north to south, cutting off the communication between the patriots of the eastern and western provinces, who still roamed through the country in formidable bodies, but without co-operation among themselves.

"The direction of these revolutionary bodies, thenceforward, fell into the hands of the most illiterate of the Mexican population, men whose sole aim was power, that they might by its aid acquire wealth. Many of these people were, from common field-labourers, raised to the rank of colonels and brigadiers; their conduct became licentious and cruel in the extreme, and as several of them were daring and enterprising, they were equally dreaded by royalists and patriots.

"Men of education, principle, or talent, among the revolutionists, were no longer respected. Any attempts made by them to establish order, were decried as tending to despotism; while they were insulted, their property was taken from them, under the plea that the public service required it; their lives were threatened; and they dared not even murmur against the decrees of their tyrannical oppressors. Thus, on the one side, terrified by the conduct of their own party, and, on the other, allured by the flattering offers of the royalists, they at length sought safety under the banners of Spain."

Such was the posture of affairs when the younger Mina landed at Galvezton in November 1816.

Xavier Mina, the nephew of the celebrated Espoz y Mina, was a native of Navarre. At the commencement of the struggle in the Peninsula, he was a stu-

dent of Zaragoza. After the massacre of Madrid on the 2d of May, he abandoned his studies, and joined the army of the north of Spain as a volunteer. He distinguished himself at this early period by the most chivalrous exploits, in reward of which the junta of Seville conferred on him the rank of colonel, and soon after, that of commandant-general of Navarre. The junta of Arragon also appointed him commandant-general of Upper Arragon. But his brilliant career in the Peninsula was unfortunately cut short in the winter of 1810-11, when he fell, after an obstinate resistance against superior numbers, into the hands of the French. He remained shut up in the castle of Vincennes till the allied armies entered France, nor was he set at liberty until the general peace. Having been conspicuous members of the liberal party, the two Minas soon experienced the displeasure of the restored monarch. Xavier, however, was offered the command of the military forces in Mexico. He declined it, and knowing the consequences of such a refusal, retired into Navarre. He was subsequently arrested by orders of the French government near Bayonne, but was again liberated, and came to England, where he formed the resolution to devote himself to the cause of liberty in the western hemisphere. His character is thus briefly summed up by a writer not predisposed to over-estimate it: "This officer is represented by those who knew him, as a young man of great talent, as uniting energy with judgement, and as free from that ferocity which had distinguished many of the guerilla chiefs in the Peninsula."*

Mina left England with a small expedition in May

* Quarterly Review, No. lix. p. 178.

1816. After touching in the United States, where he received some succours, he landed at Galveston, towards the latter end of November, but did not move forward till March 1817. The interval was occupied with organising his forces, and in a visit to New Orleans, for the purpose of personally completing some important arrangements. On the 16th of April, he pushed forward to a town on the river Santander, called Soto la Marina, which the garrison evacuated at his approach. Here he constructed a small fort, and leaving his military stores under the protection of a small garrison, on the 24th of May, took up his line of march for the interior. At this time, his whole force consisted of 308 men, officers included. He made several unsuccessful attempts to open a communication with the patriot general, Victoria. But the forces which he had brought with him were, in fact, too few to inspire confidence in those who were disposed to support him; and he was much weakened by the defection of several officers who had engaged in the enterprise, but had abandoned it from a conviction of its desperate character. Mina himself chiefly relied on the known disposition of the Mexican population. On the 8th of June, he encountered a body of the enemy near the town of Valle del Mais, and after a smart skirmish, routed them, and took possession of the town. Anxious to form a junction with the independents, he pushed forward the next day, and on the 14th, encamped at the hacienda de Peotillos. Here, the next morning, he was attacked by a very superior force, said to amount to 1,700 men, cavalry and infantry. Mina's troops defended themselves valiantly, and he proved himself a brave and skilful officer. The enemy were routed after sustaining a heavy loss; but his little army suffered a melancholy reduction in 56 killed

and wounded.* Continuing his march into the interior, on the 18th, he took, by assault, the town of Real del Pinos, which was garrisoned with 300 men.† On the 24th, he effected a junction with the patriots at Sombrero, after a march of more than 600 miles,‡ which he had accomplished in thirty-two days, during which his troops had endured with cheerfulness great fatigue and privations, frequently being two or three days without rations, had fought two severe battles, and taken one town. They arrived at Sombrero 269 rank and file.

From Sombrero, Mina sent despatches to the government, setting forth the object of his entering the country, and offering his services. He wrote likewise to Padre Torres, who bore the title of commander-in-chief. This ferocious brigand is portrayed by Mr. Robinson in the darkest colours. "He too was a priest. In the early stages of his career, he gave some proofs of valour; but he no sooner acquired power, than he displayed the character of a fiend. He was cruel, vindictive, and avaricious, sparing neither patriot nor royalist to gratify his passions. He levied impositions in the most arbitrary manner, upon every wealthy individual within the range of his command, and on the most frivolous pretexts had put to death

* It deserves mention, that Mina, finding himself compelled to leave behind four of his wounded, left a letter for the royalist commander, begging that he would pay the same attention to them as had been shewn to his own wounded; and Mina's request was scrupulously fulfilled.

† Pinos was carried without the loss of one man on the part of Mina. He allowed his men to plunder the town, but to respect the churches; and one of his troops being detected in sacrilege, was shot by his orders, as another had been at Soto la Marina.

‡ The distance from Soto la Marina to Sombrero is not more than half as much, but Mina had taken a circuitous route.

several persons whom he suspected of being hostile to him, or likely to become his rivals. Jealousy was a predominant feature in his character." With such a man, it was impossible that the generous and frank-hearted Mina should coalesce; and it was owing chiefly to his conduct that the enterprise failed.

When Mina discovered into what hands the patriotic cause had fallen, his chagrin and disappointment are said to have been extreme. But he still indulged the hope, that it would be found practicable to retrieve it from utter ruin. Having received information that some royalist forces were in the neighbourhood, amounting to 700 men, under the sanguinary ruffian Castañon, he left the fort to meet them. His troops, re-inforced by a guerilla under Ortiz, amounted to 400 men. On the 30th, they found the enemy drawn up at the hacienda de los Llanos, about five leagues from San Felipe. The royalists, unable to withstand the vigorous charge of Mina's troops, were routed, and fled in confusion, leaving more than half their number on the field of battle, besides more than 200 prisoners. Castañon himself was mortally wounded. Mina's loss is stated not to have exceeded seventeen in killed and wounded. After remaining a few days at Sombrero to refresh his troops, Mina, accompanied by Don Pedro Moreno, made an excursion as far as the hacienda of Xaral (or Jaral), twenty leagues from Guanaxuato. This place was surprised, and, by the capture, property to a considerable amount, belonging to the marquess who takes his title from this estate, fell into the hands of the patriots. They returned to Sombrero, where Mina received the unwelcome intelligence of the fall of Soto la Marina. After a determined resistance, it had surrendered, on the 15th of June, to the royalists under General Arredondo, on

the faith of conditions which were most shamefully violated. The greater part perished in the dungeons of San Juan de Ullua.*

* "The dungeon in the castle of San Juan de Ullua, on a small island opposite Vera Cruz, in which these victims were afterwards confined, cannot be compared with any other in the world. Situated about fourteen feet under the arches of the castle, a gloomy light can only be admitted by a small grating at the top. There is a constant humidity; and as the bottom of the dungeon is below the level of the sea, water oozes in, and has opened passages through which crabs find access. These were finally welcome visitors to the prisoners, serving them for occasional food. The number of persons confined in so small a space, soon produced a pestilential air, and disease became general among them. The sentinels, on opening the doors, frequently fainted on inhaling the horrid effluvia issuing from the dungeon. The daily allowance of food was four ounces of bread, three of rice, and three of beans. This, however, was frequently curtailed, and was cooked in so disgusting a manner, without salt, that nothing but extreme hunger could induce some of the prisoners to touch any thing but the bread. In vain they begged that the sick should be separated from those who still retained some remnant of health: they were all chained indiscriminately in pairs, and on opening the dungeon one morning, two were found dead in their chains.

"At length, when an order came to remove the sick, it was only executed in extreme cases, and even then, the victim was removed to the hospital in irons, which were never struck off till death had put an end to the miserable sufferer. There was one instance of such deliberate and savage cruelty, as to excite the indignation and reprehension of several Spanish officers.

"One of the prisoners, a citizen of the United States, had the skin of his leg chafed by the irons. From the want of dressings and wholesome aliment, the sore rapidly increased. The irritation and pressure of the iron caused the flesh and muscles to become completely ulcerated to the bone; the whole leg became a mass of putrefaction. Unavailing were his petitions to have the irons taken off; his groans and excruciating agonies at length so far arrested the attention of his keepers, that he was removed to the hospital. The physician, on examining the horrid state of the leg, immediately addressed a representation to the governor, stating, that unless the irons were removed, death would inevitably ensue. Upon *the margin* of the memorial, the governor wrote the following inhuman replication, and sent it to the officer of the guard:

Soon after the return of Mina from Jaral, a large division of the royalists, under Don Pasqual Liñan, invested Sombrero. After an obstinate defence, the independents were compelled to evacuate the place, and to cut their way through the enemy. Fifty only of Mina's troops survived this siege.* Mina himself had escaped from the fort some days before, in hopes of obtaining succour from Padre Torres; but before he could obtain any effectual assistance, the few survivors reached Los Remedios with the sad tidings that Sombrero had fallen, and that Liñan was advancing against Los Remedios. On the 27th, a division of his army made its appearance before that place, and the formal siege was commenced on the 31st. While Torres, with some of Mina's officers, remained to defend this strong position, Mina himself, at the head of 900 native troops, ill armed and ill trained, advanced towards Guanaxuato. He possessed himself of the *hacienda* of Biscocho and the town of San Luis la Paz, and attacked San Miguel el Grande; but learning that a strong body of the enemy were on the march to relieve the place, he thought it prudent to retire to the Valle de Santiago, then in the possession of the patriots. Here he soon found himself at the head of a thousand horse, with which he advanced to relieve Remedios. Finding his numbers insufficient, he retreated to the mountains near Guanaxuato, pursued by the royalists under Orrantia.

The royalists continued to press the siege of Los

'*Que los lleva, mientras respira ;*' *whilst he breathes, he shall wear them.* This barbarian was the Brigadier Don Juan Evia. In a few hours this victim of Spanish inhumanity expired."

* All the prisoners were shot by orders of Linan, a man of the same character as Calleja, without his abilities.

Remedios with great vigour, and Mina to harass them with his cavalry, and to cut off their supplies, until at length he was attacked at the *hacienda* of La Caxa by Orrantia, and completely defeated. He retreated to Pueblo Nuevo, a small town about four leagues from the scene of this disaster, where he rallied a few of the fugitives; but of those who escaped, the greater part returned to their respective homes. His only resource, in this state of things, was to proceed to Xauxilla, the seat of government of the independents, in the hope of inducing them to aid his future operations. Here he urged the expediency of attacking Guanaxuato, and, after some opposition, prevailed upon them to adopt his plan. Being furnished with some troops, he proceeded to the Valle de Santiago, where he found a small body of men from Xalapa waiting his arrival. The approach of the division of Orrantia compelled Mina to abandon the Valle; and, making a rapid march through the mountains, he descended in the rear of the enemy, and reached La Caxa. Here he mustered eleven hundred men, and marching all night across the country, he gained an unfrequented spot called La Mina de la Luz, where he was joined by some further re-inforcements; and his little army now amounted to fourteen hundred men. With this force, and without artillery, he made a gallant attempt on the city of Guanaxuato, which appears to have failed only from the want of discipline. His "Mexican cossacks" were altogether unfit for such service. During the attack, Ortiz, one of the patriot officers, having with part of his division gained the height on which stood the works of the extensive Valenciana mine, wantonly set fire to them; an act which highly incensed Mina. The men, who were accustomed to disperse to their

homes after every operation, did so on this occasion; and Mina proceeded, with a small guard, to the residence of a friend, at the *rancho del Venadito*, where he was thought to be secure from surprise. He was betrayed by a priest; the house was surrounded in the night by Orrantia's cavalry; and when the alarm was given in the morning, Mina, on appearing to inquire into the cause, was seized and carried away, pinioned, and with every mark of indignity. He was sent in irons to the head quarters of Liñan, before Los Remedios; and orders having been despatched by the viceroy for his immediate execution, he was shot on the 11th of November. Thus perished, in the twenty-eighth year of his age, this extraordinary youth. "His humanity," it has been remarked in terms of measured praise, "formed a most striking contrast with the brutal cruelty of his Mexican associates, and the more refined, but equally revengeful feelings exhibited by some of his royalist enemies." Properly speaking, however, he had no Mexican associates. The patriot leaders with whom he had hoped to co-operate, were all swept off, or incapacitated, and those who had succeeded to them, were either unable or indisposed to support him. Mina's enterprise unquestionably evinced more enthusiasm than judgement. It was undertaken with imperfect information, straitened funds, and insufficient force. He was disappointed of the assistance he expected to obtain in the United States, and this led to the desertion which weakened him at the outset.* But his pride would not suffer him to draw back. Then, two-thirds of his

* Fifty-one of his best soldiers deserted him under Colonel Perry, who withdrew in despondency or disgust. They were all cut off, except Perry, who, determined not to be made prisoner, shot himself.

men were foreigners, and he had not calculated on the disinclination of the natives to co-operate with heretics. A hundred of these, who might have rendered him good service, he imprudently left shut up in an untenable fortification at Soto la Marina. At the head of a thousand disciplined troops, he might have succeeded, even at the unpropitious moment at which he landed. But Mina was formed for a guerilla chieftain, rather than for a general leader Brave, hardy, serene in the hour of danger, generous, affable, and humane, he united in himself the shining qualities of the soldier with the manners of the gentleman and the enthusiasm of the patriot. He would have been an invaluable auxiliary, though deficient as a general, and was worthy of a better cause and a happier fate.

When the capture of Mina was known, Te Deum was chanted in the churches of Mexico, and salutes of artillery, illuminations, and rejoicings, took place in every town in the possession of the royalists. The minutest particulars of his execution were published in the Gazette, with the certificate of the surgeon as to the very ball which caused his death. And so much importance did the Spanish Government attach to the event, that Apodaca was created *Conde del Venadito*, while Liñan and Orrantia received marks of distinction in reward of their services on this occasion.

The siege of Los Remedios was now pressed with renewed vigour; and Torres, finding the place no longer tenable, all the ammunition being expended, resolved to evacuate it. This was effected on the night of January 1, 1818; but was so badly conducted, that the greater part of the garrison perished, and the unarmed inhabitants, women and children,

were involved in one indiscriminate massacre. The acts of barbarity committed at Sombrero, did not equal in atrocity those at Los Remedios. The building in which the sick and wounded were crowded, was deliberately set fire to; and when any of the unfortunate victims made their appearance, who had strength enough to attempt to escape, they were thrust back or bayonetted. Among those who escaped, were Padre Torres, and twelve of Mina's division.

In the meantime, the little fortress of Xauxilla, in which the insurgent government held its sittings, had been invested by a body of 1000 men, under Don Matias Martin y Aguirre. The garrison defended the place with great bravery for three months, but was at length compelled to surrender. Aguirre displayed a conduct the reverse of that pursued by the other Spanish officers, and, after disarming the men and destroying the fort, set the prisoners at liberty, with the exception of two Americans, whose lives he with difficulty saved. The fugitive government had in the meantime transferred itself to the *Tierra Caliente* of Valladolid. In the month of February 1818, they were surprised by a party of the enemy, and the president was made prisoner. Nevertheless, a form of civil authority was still kept up, although the members were obliged to move from place to place; and they had at length spirit enough to give their sanction to the formal deposition of the infamous Padre Torres, who, by his tyrannical and sanguinary conduct, had rendered himself universally odious. Don Juan Arrago, a French officer who had accompanied Mina, was appointed to fill his place. The Padre, however, resisted this decree, and both parties took up arms. The advance of a royalist

division in September 1818 terminated the dispute: Torres was compelled to submit, and to place himself under the protection of his former friends.

In the month of July 1819,* the revolution had reached a lower ebb than at any previous period since the commencement of the struggle. The royalists occupied all the strong places and every town. Arago, however, still roamed over the mountains of Guanaxuato; and in the *Tierra Caliente* of the intendency of Valladolid, Don Vicente Guerrero, who, both during the life and after the death of Morelos, had distinguished himself by his courage and enterprise, continued at the head of a formidable guerilla. The other chiefs and leaders were dispersed throughout the country, awaiting a more favourable opportunity of renewing their efforts in the cause of independence. In the meantime, the great distance of the inhabited parts from each other, the numerous secure asylums which every district afforded, the habits of activity, abstinence, and endurance acquired by the mountaineers, and, above all, the general disaffection of the population to the Spanish government,—all united in counteracting the efforts of Apodaca to tranquillise the country, and enabled their chiefs to maintain their command and their opposition, till a new course of events raised one of them to supreme power, and the others to distinguished stations. †

* In March 1819, Bradburn, another of Mina's officers, who had organised a small force in the *Canadas de Huango*, was overtaken by a division of the royalists under Lara, and his party, with the exception of about thirty, including their leader, were all cut to pieces or shot. Of Mina's whole division, the only survivors in 1819, were Bradburn, Arago, three other officers, two soldiers, and two mulatto boys.

† At this period, Mr. Robinson's Memoirs of the Revolution terminate. Besides what he collected from personal observation,

SECOND REVOLUTION.

About the middle of 1820, accounts were received in Mexico of the revolution in Spain which followed the revolt of the army in the Isle of Leon; and it was soon made known, that orders had been sent to Apodaca, the viceroy, to proclaim the constitution to which Ferdinand VII. had been obliged to swear. "But it appears," says Captain Basil Hall, "that Apodaca and some of the principal generals, acting probably under secret orders from the King, resolved to resist the establishment of the constitution. New levies of troops were made by the government to suppress any attempt to declare it; and the whole country was gradually and almost insensibly roused into military action. The chief obstacle, as it was thought by these leaders, to the success of their plan, was the presence of General Don N. Armigo, whose attachment to the cause of the constitution was too well known to admit a doubt of his supporting it. He was, therefore, dismissed from the command of the military division stationed between Mexico and Acapolco; and in his place, Don Augustin Iturbidé was appointed; an officer who, during the former revolution, had adhered steadily to the interests of the King,

while in attendance on General Teran, his information was derived from native Creoles, the surviving officers of Mina's army, and Mr. Brush, who accompanied Mina from England to Mexico. Of the general authenticity of his Memoir, there is no room to doubt, although it may lie open to the charge of being an *ex parte* statement. With his account, the "Historical Sketch by a Citizen of the United States," and that given in the Quarterly Review, have been carefully collated, and the preceding narrative may therefore be considered as resting on three independent testimonies. In the remainder of our sketch, the latter two will be our chief authorities, in connexion with the valuable information communicated by Captain Basil Hall.

though he was a native of Mexico. He had been privy to the secret project above alluded to, of forcibly resisting the proclamation of the constitution; and when he left Mexico in February 1821, to supersede Armigo, he was implicitly confided in by the viceroy, who appointed him to escort half a million of dollars destined for embarkation at Acapulco. Iturbidé, however, soon took possession of the money at a place called Iguala, about 120 miles from Mexico, and commenced the second Mexican Revolution, by publishing a paper, wherein he proposed to the viceroy, that a new form of government should be established, independent of the mother country."

Iturbidé would never have ventured on this bold and decisive step, had he not secured powerful support. The author of the Historical Sketch represents him as an instrument in the hands of the Mexican clergy, whom the decrees of the Cortes had converted universally into the champions of the national independence. They are stated to have taken an active part in organising the plan of operation by which the revolution was successfully effected; while the wealthy Europeans, influenced by different views, concurred in their plans, through a desire "to preserve the kingdom in the pureness of despotism, as a refuge to Ferdinand VII. from the persecutions of the Cortes." Iturbidé was commissioned by the viceroy to crush the remnant of the insurgent forces. Instead of this, he formed a conjunction with Guerrero, the patriot general, pretending, in his despatches, that his troops had accepted of the pardon offered by the viceroy to all who should, within a certain period, put themselves under the protection of the government. Emissaries had been despatched by the revolutionists in the capital to every part of the empire: and by the time

the armies reached Iguala, the people were every where ready to declare in favour of the national independence. On the 24th of February, 1821, the day after he had possessed himself of the treasure under his escort, Iturbidé proposed to the chiefs the scheme of government which bears the title of the Plan of Iguala: it was unanimously adopted, and was immediately transmitted to the viceroy, and to all the governors of provinces. The leading points of this plan are as follows:—

Article 1st maintains the Roman Catholic religion, to the entire exclusion *(intolerancia)* of any other.

2d—Declares New Spain independent of Old Spain, and of every other country.

3d—Defines the government to be a limited monarchy, regulated according to the spirit of the peculiar constitution adapted to the country.

4th—Proposes that the imperial crown of Mexico be offered first to Ferdinand VII.; and, in the event of his declining it, to the younger princes of that family, specifying that the representative government of New Spain shall have the power eventually to name the emperor, if these princes shall also refuse. Article 8th points this out more explicitly.

5th, 6th, and 7th articles relate to the details of duties belonging to the provisional government, which is to consist of a junta and a regency, till the Cortes or Congress be assembled at Mexico.

9th—The government is to be supported by an army, which shall bear the name of "The Army of the *Three Guarantees*." These guarantees, it appears by the 16th article, are, 1st, The religion in its present pure state; 2d, The independence; and 3d, The union of Americans and Spaniards in the country.

10th and 11th—relate to the duties of a congress,

with respect to the formation of a constitution on the principles of this "plan."

12th — Declares every inhabitant of New Spain a citizen thereof, of whatever country he be; and renders every man eligible to every office without exception, even of Africans. A subsequent modification of this article excluded slaves.

13th — Secures persons and property.

14th — Gives strong assurances of maintaining untouched the privileges and immunities of the church.

15th — Promises not to remove individuals from their present offices.

16th — See 9th.

17th, 18th, 19th, and 20th, relate to the formation of the army, and other military details.

21st — Declares that until new laws be framed, those of the present Spanish constitution are to be in force.

22d — Declares treason against the independence to be second only to sacrilege.

23d — To the same effect.

24th — Points out that the Cortes, or sovereign congress, is to be a constituent assembly, to hold its sessions in Mexico, and not in Madrid.

The first intimation received by the viceroy Apodaca, of the defection of Iturbidé, and of the force under his command, was the promulgation of the Plan of Iguala, on which he used every means in his power to frustrate the plans of the revolutionists, and to prepare for defence. But the royalists, either believing that he wanted sufficient energy of character for such a crisis, or dissatisfied with his measures, deposed him, and placed an officer of artillery, Don Francisco Novella, at the head of the government. The Europeans

were startled by the establishment of a cortes, and the avowal of an intention to control the monarch; but they were informed that such a provision was necessary to reconcile the Creoles to the plan: and, as the clergy were satisfied, they were compelled to submit. On the 1st of March, Iturbidé assembled the officers of his army, and submitted to them his plan. He exposed his views, and laid before them the resources and means he possessed of carrying them into effect; and after assuring them that they were at liberty to act as they might think proper, he urged them to give their opinions. He was interrupted by shouts and *vivas* from the officers, who not only approved the plan, but insisted upon creating him lieutenant-general, that he might lead them at once to the capital, and enforce its observance. Iturbidé declined the promotion, and recommended to them the greatest moderation, declaring it to be his intention not to proceed to hostilities, until he had tried every means of negotiation. On the ensuing day, the army took an oath to maintain the Plan of Iguala, and on that occasion, Iturbidé addressed them in the following words: — "Soldiers, you have this day sworn to preserve the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion; to protect the union of Europeans and Americans; to effect the independence of this empire; and on certain conditions to obey the King. This act will be applauded by foreign nations; your services will be gratefully acknowledged by your fellow-citizens; and your names will be inscribed in the temple of immortality. Yesterday I refused the title of lieutenant-general, which you would have conferred upon me; and now I renounce this distinction, (tearing from his sleeves the bands of lace which distinguished a colonel

in the Spanish service). To be ranked as your companion fills all my ambitious desires."

Several articles of the Plan were far from being universally acceptable. The Creoles were dissatisfied with its pledging them to receive a prince of the house of Bourbon as their monarch; and on the part of the royalists, there was a show of resistance in some of the provinces. But the public opinion, now no longer restrained by ecclesiastical influence, manifested itself so powerfully as to effect the revolution in every part of the empire, without bloodshed, and almost without a struggle. From Iguala, Iturbidé crossed over to the *Baxio*, the rich and fertile district situated between Guanaxuato and the capital. Among others, Guadalupe Victoria, who had resisted the royalists to the last, and who, since the dispersion of his forces, had been concealed in the mountains of Vera Cruz, joined him at San Juan del Rio.* The army of the Three Guarantees marched upon Queretaro, which, from its position, may be considered as the military key of the interior provinces, and gained immediate possession of the place. Here the army was formed into two divisions. One, commanded by Victoria, marched towards the capital, while the commander-in-chief made a rapid movement upon Pueblo, which was given up as soon as he appeared before it.

Things were in this state when, in August 1821, General O'Donoju arrived from Spain at Vera Cruz, vested with powers to supersede Apodaca. To his

* Victoria, while he had distinguished himself from the commencement of the revolution by his devotion to the cause of freedom, and by his valour, activity, and disinterested generosity, had won the hearts of the people by the strictest observance of the forms of the Roman Catholic religion.—*Hist. Sketch*, p 267.

astonishment, he found the country he was sent to govern, no longer a colony of Spain, but an independent state. As he came furnished merely with a commission, without troops, and without money, he had no alternative but either to return to Spain, or to enter into negotiations with Iturbidé, whose forces commanded the road to the capital. He decided on the latter, and, to pave the way, issued a proclamation, breathing nothing but liberality and hearty congratulations to the good people of Mexico; "a most singular document," remarks Captain Hall, "to come from a Spanish viceroy, and one which it was next to madness to suppose that the Spanish government would ever acknowledge." Iturbidé, delighted to see this disposition on the part of O'Donoju to take things in such good part, invited him to a conference. The parties met at Cordova, where, after a short discussion, a treaty was signed on the 24th of August, by which O'Donoju fully recognised the Plan of Iguala. It was stipulated, that New Spain should be recognised as a sovereign and independent nation, under the title of the Mexican empire; that commissioners should be sent to Spain to offer the crown to Ferdinand VII.;* that, in the meantime, a provisional junta of government should be appointed, (of which O'Donoju consented to become a member,) who were to nominate a regency, in whom the executive power was to be vested till the vacant throne should be filled; and that a Cortes should be immediately elected and convened for the purpose of forming

* In case of his refusal, the crown was to be offered to his brother Don Carlos; on his refusal, to the infante Don Francisco de Paula; on his refusal, to Don Carlos Luis of Lucca; and, on his renunciation, it was to be conferred on the person whom the Cortes should nominate.

a constitution. General O'Donoju engaged also to use his influence to obtain the evacuation of the capital by the Peninsular troops, on the terms of an honourable capitulation. The accession of such a man to his party, was of incalculable importance to Iturbidé. It destroyed the hopes of those who, up to this moment, had looked for the re-establishment of the ancient order of things; and it was hailed, from one end of the country to the other, as a confirmation of the justness of the independent cause. The garrison was soon persuaded to surrender at O'Donoju's desire, and marched out of the capital with the honours of war to Toluca. On the 27th of September, the two generals entered together amid the triumphant shouts of the inhabitants. Conformably to the treaty of Cordova, a junta of thirty-six members was appointed, and by them a regency, consisting of five persons, was chosen, of which Iturbidé was made president. He was at the same time appointed admiral and generalissimo of the navy and army, and assigned a yearly salary of 120,000 dollars. At this moment, O'Donoju caught the yellow fever, and died, to the great sorrow of all parties.*

The attention of all classes was now directed to the convocation of a Cortes; and Iturbidé presented to the junta a plan, by which he proposed that two chambers should be constituted. The first was to be composed of twelve or fifteen clergymen, and an equal number of officers of the army, of one member to be chosen from each of the city councils of the different cities of the empire, and one from each territorial supreme court of justice. The second chamber,

* So says Captain Hall: the Quarterly Review states, that he died of a consumption.

from which all the classes composing the first were to be excluded, was to consist of deputies to be elected by the people, in the proportion of one for every fifty thousand souls. This plan, submitted to the junta in the name of the regency, was rejected; but in that which was finally adopted, the same proportion of representation to population was preserved, and it was directed, that those provinces which elected more than four members, should send one ecclesiastic, one military man, and one lawyer, so that all classes might be fairly represented.

The people, generally, were not satisfied with this plan; and a conspiracy was formed, at the head of which were Generals Bravo and Guadalupe Victoria, in order to compel the junta to adopt the mode of election pointed out by the Spanish constitution. This plot was revealed to Iturbidé on the eve of its execution; and the generals, together with several of the conspirators, were arrested and thrown into prison.

On the 24th of February, 1822, the congress met in the capital. Previously to the installation, the members were assembled in the cathedral, where they were compelled to bind themselves by an oath, to adhere to the Plan of Iguala, and to preserve inviolate every article of that compact; and immediately after this installation, they voluntarily and solemnly sanctioned that plan, by an unanimous vote in favour of each separate article. Their subsequent acts shew how little weight these pledges had upon their deliberations or conduct.

The Cortes was soon divided into three parties; the Bourbonists, or those who were *bonâ fide* in favour of the Plan of Iguala; the republicans, or those who were for establishing a liberal and republican form of

government, and who denied the right of the army to pledge the nation by the Plan of Iguala; and the friends of Iturbidé, who sought to secure wealth and rank by advancing him to the supreme authority. Among the Bourbonists were many enlightened and honourable men, who thought that to adopt the Plan of Iguala would prove the means not only of reconciling the Europeans to the revolution, but of checking the ambitious designs of Iturbidé, which had now become manifest, and of securing to the people free institutions and a limited monarchy, which they considered as best adapted to the circumstances of the country. The republican party thought the nation capable of governing itself, and justly feared that a prince of the house of Bourbon, the dispenser of rank and honours, with the means of corruption in his hands, and assisted by the clergy, would not long submit to be governed by a constitution, and would not hesitate, whenever he possessed the power, to deprive them of their chartered rights. Between these parties, the Iturbidists held the balance, and threw their weight into either scale, as best suited the object they had in view. Whenever it was thought necessary to counteract the tendency of the people in favour of a republic, they voted with the Bourbonists; and they supported the republican party whenever it was proposed to carry into effect that part of the Plan of Iguala, which called a prince of Spain to the throne of Mexico. But the Bourbonists and republicans soon found it necessary to unite, in order to counteract the ambitious projects of Iturbidé, who had removed to Tacubaya, with about four thousand men, whence he attempted to control all the measures of government. On the first joint meeting of the Regency and the Cortes, to the surprise of every one,

Iturbidé assumed the president's chair. The congress, however, asserted their rights, and he was compelled to resign it to the president of that body: and, although it was subsequently contended by his friends, that he had a right to preside over the deliberations of both bodies when sitting together, they failed to carry this point. From this moment commenced a struggle for power between the Cortes and Iturbidé, which terminated in the dissolution of that body. The principal subject of dispute was the frequent demands for money made by the executive, which, with the best intentions, the Cortes would have found great difficulty to meet. A civil war of twelve years had exhausted the resources of the country, and the expenses of the government had been very much increased since the adoption of the Plan of Iguala. The army had been augmented and the pay raised, and, in addition to the former ordinary expenses, they were burdened with the salaries of offices which were created by the revolution. The commander-in-chief received one hundred and twenty thousand dollars per annum, his father a pension of ten thousand, each of the ministers eight thousand, and members of Cortes a salary of three thousand. The frequent calls for money, the Cortes answered by remonstrances against the wasteful expenditure made by the Regency, and demands for an account of the disbursements of former appropriations, which had never been furnished. In this state of things, the army remained unpaid, and their discontent was augmented by the commander-in-chief, who, in order to exasperate them against the Cortes, published his manifesto and remonstrances, addressed from time to time to that body, setting forth the wants of the soldiers, and accusing the representatives of wilfully exposing the army,

which he styles "the most meritorious part of the community," to the greatest sufferings and privations, and the country to the most imminent danger, by refusing to furnish the executive with the necessary supplies.*

The royal garrison of Mexico, which, agreeably to the terms of their capitulation, was encamped at Toluca, attempted to take advantage of this state of things, and to effect a counter-revolution. The conspiracy was disclosed to Iturbidé, who took the necessary precautions to defeat it; and he seized upon this pretext to withdraw from the capital all the troops which were favourably disposed towards the Cortes,† or which might oppose his views. He then issued a proclamation, setting forth that the country was in danger, and summoning the Cortes to assemble at an early hour the next day.

* The Quarterly Reviewer says: "The elections were so managed by a party in the junta, that almost the whole of its members were chosen to seats in the congress." It would have been strange, indeed, if the members of the junta had not been elected. It is added: "When this body of deputies met, it appeared that not one of them was acquainted with the mode of conducting business in such an assembly. Day after day was spent in adjusting ceremonies, and in discussing trifles, while every branch of the government, ignorant of the limits of its own power, and fearful of exercising any authority until it had been sanctioned by the congress, was actually reduced to a state of torpidity. The people, finding that no remedy was administered to evils which certainly admitted of no speedy cure, became at first discontented, and then indignant. From August 1821, to April 1822, nothing, they said, had been done to promote their prosperity." Yet, one of the first, if not the very first edict of the congress, was to allow the export of specie at a duty of only three and a half per cent,—a measure long before promised by Iturbidé, and which gave great satisfaction. It by no means appears that the *people* were either discontented or indignant.

† One of these regiments had petitioned the Cortes to establish a republican form of government.

When the Cortes and the Regency met in conformity to this summons, to the surprise of every one, Yanez, a member of the Regency, in whose name the summons had been issued, rose, and demanded the cause of the alarm, with which, it then appeared, that Iturbidé alone was acquainted, and that he had, on his own responsibility, issued a proclamation in the name of the Regency. Yanez protested against this usurpation of authority on the part of the president, and ended by saying, that he and his colleagues acted merely as a screen; that, in fact, Iturbidé was the sole regent, and governed absolutely and despotically. Iturbidé, in his reply, accused Yanez of being a traitor to his country, and a personal enemy to him; and, in the course of this very tumultuous session, he declared that there were many members of the Cortes, who were not only his personal enemies, but traitors to their country, and to the cause of independence. He was loudly called upon to name them, and to exhibit his charges against them, and to bring forward his proofs. He instantly named several members, who were the most distinguished for their probity and talents; and brought against them charges of so frivolous a nature, and so entirely unsupported by evidence, that the Cortes, after examining them, came at once to the unanimous conclusion, that there was no ground of accusation against these members. In consequence of this scandalous scene, several petitions were presented, praying that the Cortes would change the members of the Regency; and three new regents were appointed. Yanez and Iturbidé were retained; the first, on account of his conduct on the 3d of April, when he denounced the usurpation of the president; and the latter, because it was necessary to conciliate the army.

A more serious cause of dispute soon arose. The Cortes very wisely directed their attention to the organisation of the militia, and were desirous of reducing the standing army to twenty thousand men. Iturbidé, on the contrary, used every effort to augment the army. Some of his arguments on that subject are truly singular. They are contained in a message to the Cortes.

The Cortes persisted in their resolution; the army was reduced to twenty thousand men, and an auxiliary force of thirty thousand militia were called into the field. This decree exasperated Iturbidé, and it was resolved by his friends to carry their plans at once into effect. They were aware, from what had occurred on the 3d of April, and from the subsequent change that had taken place in the Regency, that the tide of public opinion was turned against them, and that, if they waited until the army was new modelled, it would be too late for them to act with any prospect of success. On this occasion, none of the commissioned officers were employed. The sergeants of three regiments then in garrison in the capital, which were known to be attached to the commander-in-chief, were intrusted with this commission. On the night of the 18th of May,* they assembled the soldiers, harangued

* Captain Hall states, that on this day, Iturbidé presented to the congress two Madrid Gazettes of the 13th and 14th of February, by which it appeared, that the cortes of Spain had declared the treaty of Cordova illegal, null, and void, as respected the Spanish government, and its subjects. On this, the congress, together with the inhabitants of Mexico, *and the troops*, immediately decided, that the Mexican nation was, by this declaration, freed from the obligations of the treaty so far as Spain was concerned, and that therefore the congress were at liberty to name an emperor. Accordingly they thought fit, in accordance with the voice of the people, to elect Don Augustin de Iturbidé. The Quarterly Re-

them, and distributed money among them. They marched out of their quarters, and drew up in front of Iturbidé's house, where they were joined by a mob of *Leperos*. At ten o'clock, commenced the shouts of "Long live Iturbidé, Augustin First, Emperor of Mexico!" and the firing and vivas were continued until morning. Under a pretext of a regard for the personal safety of some of the most distinguished members of the Cortes, who were known to be opposed to the ambitious views of Iturbidé, a private intimation was conveyed to them that their lives would not be safe if they appeared in public the next day; that the troops were much exasperated against them; and that, in their present excitement, it would be difficult, if not impossible, for the officers to prevent them from committing acts of violence. Some of these gentlemen took this advice, and about forty members were absent when Iturbidé was proclaimed emperor. The ensuing morning, the Cortes assembled, amidst the shouts, insults, and threats of a disorderly soldiery, and of a mob, led on by the most worthless, abandoned, and unprincipled men in the community. When silence was obtained, a member rose, and, after setting forth the occurrences of the night as an act of the people, he proposed, that the assembly should forthwith proceed to the

viewer states, that, of the ninety-four members then in the house, seventy-seven voted for the general's elevation to the throne; fifteen declared that the provinces ought first to be consulted, and voted against it; and two withdrew without voting. "How far the decision of the congress may have been dictated by terror, we have no sufficient means of judging." The previous commotion, the crowds of citizens exclaiming *against the congress*, "Long live the Emperor Augustin the First!" the fact that the troops *assisted* at the deliberation of the Cortes, and that about forty members were deterred from attending, may enable the reader to come to at least a probable conclusion.

election of the emperor. The members, although prepared for this proposal, remained for some time silent. At length, one of them, in order to gain time, expressed an opinion, that the provinces ought to be consulted before they proceeded to an election; that they had been sent there, not to elect an emperor, but to frame a constitution. At this sentiment, the troops and the populace that filled the galleries became furious. They brandished their swords and knives, and shouted out, that they would cut the throats of the deputies if Iturbidé were not elected and proclaimed before one o'clock that day. The members did not dare any longer to resist this infuriated mob. Iturbidé was sent for; and the Cortes gave a reluctant consent to the choice of the soldiers, who, two days after, published a manifesto, boasting of the part they had taken in the elevation of the emperor, and attributing the design and execution of that event entirely to themselves. Most of the provinces submitted to this usurpation without any open complaint, and, after a short delay, took the oath of allegiance to the new emperor.*

The new emperor and the congress, as might be expected, did not long agree. The limits of the imperial prerogative, and the authority of the legislative body, had yet to be defined, and, in order to be defined, to undergo discussion. Iturbidé demanded the right of appointing his own privy council and the judges of the supreme court, and to be vested with the power of a veto upon all laws, not excepting the articles of the constitution which the Cortes were about to frame. The Cortes agreed that he should appoint his own council, but wished to have the nomination of the secretary to the council; this point, however, they afterwards gave up. But they refused

* Historical Sketch, pp. 268—273.

to confer upon the emperor the power of nominating the judges, and wished to leave the question of the *veto* to be determined by the constitution. They proposed to grant his imperial majesty the right of making objections and proposing alterations to the laws, with the advice and consent of the council, and within fifteen days after they were sent to him, with the exception of the articles of the constitution, and all laws on the subject of imports. At first, Iturbidé agreed to these proposals, but soon afterwards he renewed his original demands. Notwithstanding, however, the disgraceful scenes which daily took place in the hall of congress, and the disorderly conduct of the soldiery in the galleries, the Cortes continued firm in their opposition to what they regarded as the despotic views of the emperor. At length, a project submitted to them by his majesty's order, which aimed at the establishment of extraordinary military tribunals, on the plea of the inefficiency of the ordinary tribunals, was rejected unanimously and indignantly. This decisive step soon led to an open rupture. On the night of the 26th of August, fourteen of the most distinguished members of congress were arrested on a charge of treason. On the 29th, the congress addressed a message to the minister, demanding a fulfilment of the CLXXII[d] article of the constitution, which provided that no person should be kept under arrest more than forty-eight hours without being brought up before the competent tribunal. The answer returned was, that the article spoke only of one person, and could not apply to many persons accused of the same crime, whose cases could not be examined into in so short a time. An address was then voted to his majesty, praying that the members might be delivered up to be tried by the tribunal appointed by the Cortes. His

majesty's answer was, that the deputies under arrest could not be delivered to the tribunal appointed by congress, until it was ascertained whether the members who composed that tribunal were or were not themselves implicated in the conspiracy. This message was warmly discussed, and "somewhat abused" by the members of congress; but there was some plausibility in it; and it was at length resolved, after meeting in secret session day after day till the 12th of September, to say no more of the arrest of their colleagues for the present, who remained in the meantime in close confinement.

While the time and attention of the congress were occupied with these altercations, public business was of course entirely neglected. Neither had provision been made for the prompt administration of justice, nor had any system of finance as yet been organised to supply the exigencies of the treasury. The excuse given for this delay was, that the government refused an account of the expenditure. It must be admitted, however, that a fair pretence was thus afforded for the strong exercise of imperial prerogative which put an end to an assembly so impracticable. At length, we are told, his imperial majesty assembled at the palace a junta, composed of the members of congress who were favourable to his views, of the ministers, the council of state, and general officers. To these he stated, that the country would be ruined, if the number of the members of congress were not diminished; that the majority aspired to establish a democracy under the name of a monarchy; that they had not yet given a constitution to the empire, but had adopted that of Spain, which was not suited to the circumstances of the country. It was agreed, in consequence of this representation, to propose to congress, that

their number should be diminished, and that his majesty should have a *veto* on all laws and the nomination of the judges. Congress, by a very large majority, refused to assent to these demands; and the next day (October 30), a general officer was sent to dissolve the assembly, with orders to expel the members by force, if they continued above ten minutes longer in session. The ensuing day, a proclamation announced the dissolution of the congress, charging them with a neglect of duty, in not having given the nation a constitution, provided for the administration of justice, or paid the arrears due to the army; and appointing a junta, to be nominated by the emperor, to meet on the 2d of November. This junta, consisting of forty-five members, met accordingly, and the session was opened by his majesty in person. The minister of the treasury presented an *exposé* of the state of the public revenue, from which it appeared, that the expenditure was not less than thirteen millions of dollars, while the receipts were supposed to be eight millions. A few days after, the junta decreed a forced loan of 2,500,000 dollars; and, as the exigencies of the state were urgent, they took for its immediate use a large sum detained at Perote, belonging to Spaniards who had left, or were about to leave the empire.

Iturbidé did not long enjoy his power in tranquillity. An insurrection broke out in the northern provinces, in the month of October, which might have proved formidable under an able leader, but was soon put down. Garza, who began the revolt at Soto la Marina, made scarcely a show of resistance when met by the imperial forces. Soon after this, the garrison of the castle of San Juan Ullua made an unsuccessful attempt to destroy the works on the flanks of the city

of Vera Cruz. On receiving intelligence of this act of hostility, the junta issued a decree prohibiting all intercourse with the castle and all commerce with Spain. After some correspondence with the governor of the castle, Iturbidé, thinking that, in a personal interview, he might induce him to accept terms mutually advantageous, left the capital on the 10th of November, and in a few days reached Xalapa. On his passage through Puebla,* he was magnificently entertained, and received with every demonstration of loyalty. The governor of San Juan Ullua could not, however, be persuaded either to leave the castle, or to come to terms. The emperor went no further than Xalapa, but, while he was here, an occurrence took place which led to important results.

"Santana, the governor of Vera Cruz, an active, enterprising officer, who commanded the forces that stormed that city when it was taken from the royalists, and who had long enjoyed an independent command, could not brook the control of a superior. Disputes soon arose between him and Echavarri, the commander-in-chief of the southern division; and Santana was summoned before the emperor at Xalapa, to answer the charges preferred against him by Echavarri. Sure of the protection of his imperial master, to whom he had always shewn the most devoted attachment, he readily obeyed the summons; but, to

* "The bishop of Puebla is supposed to have been a principal agent in bringing about the revolution, and in exalting Iturbidé to the throne; he is represented by all who know him, to be a man of talents, well educated, and of mild and amiable manners. He now possesses unbounded influence, and may be regarded as the head of the church in Mexico. The archbishop of Mexico, whom all parties unite in praising for his knowledge and virtue, would not be concerned in the elevation of Iturbidé. He refused to crown him, and retired from the court to his country seat."—*Hist. Sketch*, p. 261.

his great surprise, Iturbidé treated him harshly, and dismissed him from the command of Vera Cruz. Enraged by this unexpected treatment, Santana suddenly left Xalapa, and riding day and night, arrived at Vera Cruz before the news of his disgrace had reached there. He instantly assembled his own regiment, and pointing out to them the odious character of the government imposed upon them by Iturbidé, he exhorted them to take up arms in defence of the liberties of their country. This exhortation was in unison with the wishes of all the officers, both of the garrison of Vera Cruz and of the neighbouring towns. The character of Santana, and his supposed attachment to the emperor, had alone prevented them from openly declaring in favour of a liberal system of government.

"The standard of the republic was unfurled at Vera Cruz; and Santana addressed a letter to Iturbidé, in which he reminds him of the obligations he owed to him, of the part he had taken in his elevation to the throne, and of the affection he had always manifested for him,—but declaring, that his duty to his country now required him to set aside every other consideration, and to oppose the man who had reduced the nation to the utmost misery. He reproaches him with having broken his oath, and dissolved the congress by violence; and tells him, that the people are convinced, that under his government, the sacred rights of property will never be respected. He then states his intention to re-assemble the congress, and to establish a republican government; sets forth the means he possesses of carrying his plan into effect; and advises Iturbidé to renounce the crown, and to rely upon the generosity of the congress, which will take care to reward his services.

" The emperor did not relish this advice, and ordered Echavarri, who was at Xalapa, to advance with the division under his command against the insurgents, as he called the troops of Santana. The latter advanced to Puente del Rey, which he fortified; and several smart actions were fought between the imperialists and the republicans. In this state of things, Guadalupe Victoria left his hiding place in the mountains, and joined Santana. At first, he was appointed second in command; but Santana soon found the interests of the party required, that an officer who had been an undeviating republican, and who enjoyed the entire confidence of the troops and of the people, should be raised to the supreme command. Guadalupe Victoria was accordingly declared commander-in-chief: the people flocked to his standard, and the insurrection spread throughout the whole province.

" On the 1st of February, 1823, an arrangement was made by Echavarri and the officers commanding the imperialists, with Guadalupe Victoria and Santana; and the two armies, united,* sent commissions to Iturbidé, offering terms, but insisting upon a congress being immediately assembled to frame a liberal and republican constitution. Iturbidé, in his turn, sent commissions to Echavarri and his officers, to endeavour to divert them from their purpose; and immediately marched with a small body of troops, and took

* Santana, disappointed probably at not being elected by the congress as one of the executive government, made an attempt, in the month of March, to seize the supreme power. He sailed from Vera Cruz with 600 men, and landed at Tampico, whence he advanced rapidly through the country, and took up his head quarters at San Luis Potosi. Here he proclaimed himself Protector of the Federal Republic. He failed, however, to inspire the people with confidence in his intentions, and was compelled to surrender to the forces sent against him by the government of Mexico.

post at Istapaluca, a town four leagues from the capital, on the road to Puebla. The defection of the army of Echavarri, was the signal of revolt in all the other provinces. Oaxaca, Guadalaxara, Guanaxuato, San Luis Potosi, declared in favour of a republican government; and in the capitals of those provinces, in Queretaro, and in Valladolid, the inhabitants rose and imprisoned the imperial commanders. The generals Guerrero and Bravo, men who had been distinguished in the wars of the revolution, secretly departed from Mexico, and appeared in arms in the west.

"In reply to Iturbidé's proposals, the republican generals demanded the immediate convocation of the Cortes, and a large sum of money to pay the troops. With the latter request Iturbidé would have found it difficult to comply, even if he had had the inclination so to do. To relieve his exigencies, he issued, on the 1st of January, 1823, four millions of paper money, which was by law made a legal tender for one-third the amount of any debt or purchase. It was received at the custom-house in payment of duties in the same proportion. As may readily be supposed, this paper currency was immediately depreciated, and its issue occasioned great discontent among the people, which was not a little augmented by the emperor's calling upon the Padres Provinciales for a contribution in church plate.

"The province and city of Puebla were soon after added to the number of Iturbidé's enemies. The Marquess de Vivanco assumed the government of that place, and soon organised a strong force. The army of Xalapa now pushed forward to Puebla, where they were joined by Negrete, and several officers of dis-

tinction, and the advanced guard of the republicans was stationed at San Martin de Tesmelucos.

" The emperor returned to the capital, and, on the 8th of March, he called together all the members of the old congress who were in the city, and tendered his abdication. A few only of them could be brought together, and, not being a quorum, they refused to act.

" The partisans of Iturbidé continued to desert him; and, at length, finding himself entirely abandoned, and his situation hopeless, he, on the 19th of March, addressed a letter to the congress, containing his abdication, and retired to Tulancingo. In this letter, he says, ' that he accepted the crown with the greatest reluctance, and only to serve his country; but from the moment he perceived that his retaining possession of it might serve, if not as a cause, at least as a pretext for civil war, he determined to give it up; that he did not abdicate before, because there was no national representation, generally recognised as such, to receive it; that, as his presence in the country might serve as a pretext for dissensions, he will retire to some foreign land, and asks only a fortnight to prepare for his departure; and finally solicits congress to pay his debts.'

" This letter was referred to a committee of congress; and in their report, (which is a curious document,) they refuse to admit the renunciation of his power, or his abdication of the crown, as that would suppose a right to have existed to the thing renounced. They recommend that he should be permitted to depart the kingdom, and be allowed a yearly income of twenty-five thousand dollars for the maintenance of his family and suite.

"Iturbidé was escorted to Antigua, near Vera Cruz, by General Bravo; and on the 11th of May, 1823, he embarked on board an English ship, chartered to convey him to Leghorn. His family and suite consisted of twenty-five persons.

"On the 27th of March, the republican army entered the capital. The old congress was immediately convoked; a provisional government established; and an executive, composed of three members, appointed. Generals Bravo, Victoria, and Negrete, were the first chosen: the two first are natives, the last a European of distinguished talents."

Immediately after Iturbidé was sent out of the country, measures were taken to call a new congress, and deputies were elected throughout the empire. In these elections, the partisans of Iturbidé and the Bourbonists were alike excluded. The new congress assembled in the capital, and in a short time framed the project of a constitution, which has since been adopted with very little alteration.* By this constitution, the Mexican nation (composed of the provinces comprehended within the territory of the ancient viceroyalty of New Spain, the captaincy-general of Yucatan, and the internal provinces,) adopts for its government the form of "a representative popular federal republic." The states of the federation are declared to be:

* The *projet*, drawn up by the committee appointed for the purpose, was presented to the Constituent Congress at their session of Nov. 20, 1823. The signatures of the committee affixed to it are, Miguel Ramos de Arizpe, Manuel Argueiles, Rafael Mangins, Tomao Vargas, Jose de Jesus Huerta.

1. Chiapas.
2. Guanaxuato.
3. Interior western provinces; comprising Sonora, Sinalsa, and both Californias.
4. Interior northern provinces; comprising Chihahua, Durango, and New Mexico.
5. Interior eastern provinces; comprising Cohahuila, New Leon, Texas, and New Santander (St. Andero).
6. Mexico.
7. Mechoacan.
8. Oaxaca.
9. Puebla de los Angeles, with Tlascala.
10. Queretaro.
11. San Luis Potosi.
12. Tabasco.
13. Vera Cruz.
14. Xalisco.
15. Yucatan.
16. Zacatecas.

These states are declared to be free, sovereign, and independent in what relates exclusively to their internal administration. But the power is reserved to congress, of augmenting their number, or modifying the divisions, as may, upon better information, seem more conformable to the general will and the happiness of the people. Art. III. declares that the religion of the Mexican nation is, and shall be perpetually, the Catholic-Apostolic-Roman: "the nation protects it by just and wise laws, and prohibits the exercise of any other." Art. X. declares that the legislative power of the Federation shall be lodged in a chamber of deputies and a senate, constituting the general congress of the Federation. Art. XVI. provides, that the executive power shall, for a limited time, be lodged in an individual, with the title of *President of the Mexican Federation*, who shall be a native born citizen, of the full age of thirty-five years. A Vice-President is also provided. All decrees and orders of the executive must be signed by the secretary of the department to which the business belongs, in order to be valid. The President, Vice-President, or others in whom the executive power is lodged, may, during their term of office and for one year thereafter, be

impeached and tried for conduct contrary to the constitution and laws. The judicial power is lodged in the hands of a supreme court of justice, and in such tribunals and courts as shall be established in each state.*

This constitution was not adopted without some opposition. The partisans of Iturbidé, for some time after his departure, continued to disturb the public tranquillity; but, as they were well known to the government, and closely watched, their designs were constantly defeated. Another cause of dissatisfaction existed in the desire of some of the members of government to form a *central* government at Mexico. This was resisted by several of the provinces; and at one time, Guadalaxara and other districts were in a state of revolt, insisting upon the establishment of the federal form of government. Their wishes were acceded to; the federal constitution was sworn to in the capital on the 2d of February, 1824, amid the rejoicings of the people; and the provinces proceeded to organise their respective state governments with the greatest harmony.

Early in January 1824, however, the province of Puebla was thrown into confusion, by a refusal on the part of General Echavarri to obey the orders of the

* The former captain-generalship of Guatimala declared its independence at the same time with Mexico, but refused to unite with that government. Since the fall of Iturbidé, these provinces, with the exception of Chiapa, have formed themselves into a federal government, with the style and title of the *Confederated States of the Centre of America*. They have adopted a constitution similar to that of Mexico, and the government has been recognised by the sister republic. Chiapa and Soconusco, being contiguous both to the Mexican and the Central States, were claimed by both. The option being wisely given to the people of the two provinces, one (Chiapa) adhered to Mexico, and the other (Soconusco) to Guatimala.

executive; with what view, or from what cause, does not appear. General Guerrero was immediately despatched with a small force to quell the insurrection, which he effected without bloodshed; and Echavarri, deserted by his troops, was seized and conveyed a prisoner to Mexico. Another insurrection, which broke out shortly after at Cuernavaca, headed by one Hernandez, was quelled in like manner by General Guerrero. A more formidable insurrection took place in the capital about the same time, which had for its object to compel the congress to dismiss all Europeans from office. It was set on foot by the Creole inhabitants; and the garrison of the capital, with their commander Lobato, headed the opposition. The congress, with great firmness, refused to comply with this demand, and summoned Lobato to appear before them. In the meantime, great exertions were made by the Government and by the friends of order, to collect a body of troops sufficient to awe the factious, and to win over a part of the garrison. After a negotiation of two days, Lobato surrendered himself at discretion to the Government, and was pardoned. Some of the more obstinate, led on by Lieut.-Col. Staboli, refused to submit, but were deserted by their followers, and delivered up to the Government. Staboli, an Italian, was tried by a court-martial, and sentenced to be shot; but, at the solicitation of the executive, congress commuted his punishment to perpetual banishment, and he, together with twenty-three other officers, was sent out of the country.

After this insurrection was suppressed by the firmness and prudence of congress, it was thought advisable to remove all further ground of complaint on that score. Arillaja, the minister of finance, a European, was succeeded by Medina, a native American,

and other changes were made; the Govèrnment decreeing, that the Europeans so dismissed from office, should receive one-third of their former salary as a pension for life.

The tranquillity of the country was again placed in jeopardy in the month of July 1824, by an event over which there still hangs a considerable degree of mystery. Iturbidé, the ex-emperor, had been banished to Italy. He subsequently came to England, whence, on the 11th of May, 1824, he embarked for Mexico, taking with him his wife, his two sons, and servants. In a statement which he put forth, he professes to have been urgently solicited to do so by his countrymen, who considered his presence there as necessary to the establishment of unanimity, and the stability of the state. A decree of the Congress, dated April 28 preceding, had declared him a traitor, and placed him out of the protection of the law, if he should again set his foot on the territory of the Confederacy. Iturbidé, aware of this, endeavoured to introduce himself into the country in disguise, designing, probably, to lie hid till his partisans should have arranged matters for his appearance. On the 14th of July, an English vessel appeared off the port of Soto la Marina, professing to have on board the foreigner, Charles de Beneski, and a companion of his, come to Mexico for the purpose of treating with the Government on a plan of colonisation, having to that effect power from three Irish capitalists, merchants in London. On the following day, the commanding officer, General de la Garza, was waited upon by Beneski, who, in answer to the interrogatories put to him respecting Iturbidé, assured him, that, at the time of his sailing, Iturbidé was living privately with his family. He then obtained permis-

sion to bring on shore his companion. On the next day but one, information was given, that Beneski was walking on shore with another person, who was disguised; on which De la Garza immediately despatched a party of troops to apprehend them. They were taken at Paraje de los Arroyos, about six leagues from Soto la Marina, when the disguised companion proved to be no other than the ex-emperor. He was immediately sent to Padilla, to be placed at the disposal of the State Congress, by whom it was determined to give immediate effect to the sovereign decree of the 28th of April, denouncing Iturbidé as a traitor in case of his landing; and he was accordingly shot on the evening of the 19th. Thus, fortunately for the peace of the country, terminated this rash and ill-digested attempt to recover a usurped throne. In the capital, the news was received with no unseemly exultation. Addresses were sent up from the provinces, congratulating the Government on the fate of Iturbidé. But the Sovereign Congress, actuated by feelings which do them the greatest honour, passed a resolution to grant his widow an annual pension of 8000 dollars.

In a proclamation said to have been issued by Iturbidé on his landing, he professes to have returned to Mexico, not as emperor, but as a soldier and a Mexican, with the sole object of reconciling differences, and of defeating the intrigues which threatened to restore the country to Spanish domination; and he pretends that he had with difficulty eluded the toils which the Holy Alliance were preparing, to prevent him from achieving this patriotic purpose. The prevailing belief is, that he was encouraged by the agents of that Holy Alliance, to attempt the overthrow of the Federal

Government.* Capt. Basil Hall, who appears to have formed a very high opinion of Iturbidé, expresses his conviction, that his decision, if not a wise one, was both patriotic and disinterested. It might be so: his personal aggrandisement might not be his main object, in attempting the restoration of the imperial form of government. But that his designs were treasonable, there can be no question; and the safety of the Government required, that the last hopes of his party should be extinguished by his death. Those who justify the execution of Murat, the ex-king of Naples, cannot with any consistency blame the Mexican Government for inflicting the same punishment on Iturbidé.

On the 13th of July, an important decree was issued by the supreme executive power, (Guadalupe Victoria president,) abolishing for ever in the Mexican territory the trade and traffic in slaves, under any flag, and declaring that the slaves introduced contrary to the tenor of this decree, should be free, *ipso facto*, on their landing. Every ship, national or foreign, in which slaves are transported or introduced into the Mexican territory, is to be irrecoverably confiscated, and the proprietor, purchaser, captain, master, and pilot, are to be liable to ten years' imprisonment.

The most serious difficulty which the new government laboured under, arose out of the exhausted state of the public finances. In August 1824, a loan of twenty millions of dollars was contracted for, with the house of Barclay, Herring, Richardson, and Co., of London; and a further loan was subsequently negotiated of sixteen millions. From the decree and en-

* Letters from Italy and Paris represented his departure as an intrigue of the French government.

gagement issued by the Mexican Government on this occasion, it appears that the Supreme Executive Power at that time consisted of "the excellent Señores Don Nicolas Bravo, Don Vincente Guerrero, and Don Miguel Dominguez." Subsequent accounts, however, announce, that General Victoria had been reinstated as President of the Mexican States, and General Bravo chosen Vice-President.

We have only to notice one other event, not inferior in interest and importance to any which has transpired since the establishment of the Mexican independence. On the 1st of January, 1825, Mr. Canning is stated to have communicated to all the foreign ministers at the English court, that the cabinet of his Britannic Majesty had come to the resolution of acknowledging the independence of the Republics of Mexico and Colombia,* and that commissioners would be sent to those states, charged with full powers to conclude treaties of commerce between them and this country, founded on that recognition. It is understood, that Mr. Ward, the British commissioner for Mexico, accompanied by Mr. Ball, formerly attached to the embassy in Spain, has since embarked for America. This important act of the British Government will not be more conducive to the commercial prosperity of our own country, than to the stability of the Mexican Republic. The United States of North America had already received ministers plenipotentiary from Mexico, Guatimala, Colombia, and Buenos Ayres; and the President's message of the 7th December, announces to Congress, that their commercial relations with all

* The recognition of the independence of Buenos Ayres is delayed till further information has been received. From Chili, no explicit report had been returned as yet by the British commissioner.

those states were mutually beneficial and increasing. The preceding history will shew how little Mexico has to fear from any force that Spain could send out to attempt the reconquest of the country; and whatever intestine dissensions may arise, whatever modifications the form of government or the federal union may undergo, the independence of the nation may now be considered as fairly achieved and honourably ratified.

We now proceed to give a sketch of the physical geography of this important country.

PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY.

THE face of the country may be conceived of by considering the lofty ranges of the Andes, which traverse the whole of South America, as concentrated at the Isthmus of Darien, and passing between the two oceans at a low elevation, which is gradually increased till they enter the Mexican territory, where they expand into a large district of table-land, varying from 6000 to 8500 feet above the level of the sea. Although this table-land may be considered as a vast plain, yet, there rise from it groupes of volcanic mountains, the summits of which, from 14,000 to 17,000 feet in height, are covered with perpetual snow. This plain, or table-land, as it extends towards the north, gradually expands in breadth, but preserves its elevation as far as the town of Durango, 140 leagues from Mexico. It then insensibly declines, till, at about 3000 miles from its southern boundary, its level is only a few hundred feet above the sea. This slope, contrary to the direction of the rivers, is traversed by some ranges of lofty mountains, which may be traced to the extremities of North America.

In the Southern Peninsula, the Cordillera of the Andes exhibits, at immense heights, plains completely level.* But none of the plains of New Granada, Quito, Peru, exceed forty square leagues. Of difficult access, and separated by deep valleys, they are described by Humboldt as forming islets in the aërial ocean. The Cordillera itself is every where cleft and interrupted by crevices, or open veins. In Mexico, it is the ridge itself of the mountains, which constitutes the plateau, or table-land, consisting of a series of extensive and connected plains, which run from the eighteenth to the fortieth parallel of north latitude. In New Granada and Peru, the deep valleys which traverse the country, prevent the inhabitants from travelling except on foot, on horseback, or on the shoulders of Indians. But in New Spain, carriages roll on to Santa Fe, in New Mexico, for a length of more than five hundred leagues. On the whole of this road, there were few difficulties for art to surmount. In travelling eastward from the capital, you advance sixty nautical leagues on the road to Vera Cruz, before you arrive at a valley 3280 feet above the sea level. In the Acapulco road, descending from Mexico towards the Pacific, the traveller arrives at the same temperate regions in less than seventeen leagues. The eastern declivity of the Cordillera is a continual and rapid descent to the coast; but the road to the western coast, for a distance of seventy-two leagues, alternately ascends and descends, passing through four remarkable longitudinal valleys, and the

* Such as the plain of Santa Fe de Bogota, 8400 feet above the level of the sea; that of Atahualpa in Peru, 9000 feet in elevation; and the great plains of Antisana, 13,451 feet higher than the ocean.

traveller passes repeatedly from a cold climate to regions excessively hot. Yet, this road may be made fit for carriages; whereas the difficulties of the descent in the latter part of the road to Vera Cruz, (like the road from Santo Paulo to Santos,) have hitherto rendered it impossible to transport merchandise from the interior, except by mules.

In that part of the Mexican territory situated in the torrid zone, a space of 23,000 square leagues enjoys a cold, rather than a temperate climate. This tract is traversed by the Cordillera of Mexico, a prolongation of the Peruvian Andes. In the isthmus, the chain of the Andes sometimes approaches the Pacific Ocean, sometimes occupies the centre of the country, and at other times approaches the Gulf of Mexico. In Guatimala, the crest of these mountains, jagged with volcanic cones, stretches along the western coast from the lake of Nicaragua as far as the bay of Tehuantepec; but in the province of Oaxaca, between the sources of the rivers Chimalapa and Guasacualco, it occupies the centre of the Mexican isthmus. Between the parallels of 18° 30′ N. lat., and 21°, in the intendencies of La Puebla and Mexico, from Misteca to the mines of Zamapan, the Cordillera stretches from south to north, and approaches the eastern coast. It is in this part of the table-land, between the capital and the towns of Xalapa and Cordova, that a groupe of volcanic mountains appear, which rival in elevation the highest peaks of the new continent. *Popoca-tepetl* (smoking mountain), called by the Spaniards "the great volcano," is nearly 18,000 feet in height. *Iztac-cihuatl* (the white woman), the *Sierra Nevada* of the Spaniards, is nearly 16,000 feet; *Citlal-tepetl* (star mountain), so called from its appearing at a distance like a star

when it emits fire, otherwise called the Peak of Orizaba, is 17,500 feet; and *Nauhcampa-tepetl* (square mountain), or Coffer of Perote, is 13,400 feet.* More to the north of the parallel of 19°, near the celebrated mines of Zimapan and the Doctor, in the intendency of Mexico, the Cordillera takes the name of *Sierra Madre;* in Mexican, *Tepe Suene.* Leaving the eastern part of the kingdom, it then runs to the north-west, towards the cities of San Miguel and Guanaxuato. To the north of the latter town, considered as the Potosi of Mexico, the Sierra Madre expands to an extraordinary breadth, and shortly afterwards divides into three branches. The most eastern of these proceeds towards Charcas and the Real de Catorce, losing itself in the new kingdom of Leon. The western occupies a part of the intendency of Guadalaxara, and rapidly declining from Bolaños, stretches by Culiacan and Arispe, into the intendency of Sonora, as far as the banks of the *Rio Gila:* under the thirtieth parallel of latitude it regains a considerable elevation in Tarahumara, near the Gulf of California, where it forms the mountains of *Primeria alta*, celebrated for their extensive gold-washings. The centre branch of the Sierra Madre occupies the whole extent of the intendency of Zacatecas; it may then be traced through Durango and Panal, in New Biscay, to the *Sierra de los Nombres*, westward of the Rio Grande del Norte; and thence traverses New Mexico, to join the mountains of *Las Grullas* (crane mountains), and the *Sierra Verde*, in lat. 40° N. It is this crest of the central branch of the Sierra Madre, or Mexican Andes,

* In Humboldt's Political Essay, the respective heights are stated to be 2771, 2455, 2717, and 2089 toises. Malte-Brun, following the same traveller's "Account of the Equinoctial Regions," states them at 2764, 2461, 2732, and 2097 toises.

which divides the head waters of the streams flowing into the two oceans. The sources of the Rio Gila are said to approach those of the Rio Grande del Norte. A continuation of this branch is found extending as far as lat. 55° N.

The prevailing geological feature of this mountain chain is porphyritic rock. Granite appears at the surface in the little chain bordering on the Pacific; and the beautiful port of Acapulco is excavated by the hand of nature in granitic rocks. The same rock forms the mountains of Misteca and Zacateca, in the intendency of Oaxaca. The central plateau of Anahuac, or table-land, appears like an enormous dike of porphyritic rocks, distinguished from those of Europe by the constant presence of hornblende and the absence of quartz. Basalt, amygdaloid, trap, gypsum, and primitive limestone predominate. They contain immense deposites of gold and silver. Copper is found in the intendencies of Valladolid and Guanaxuato, and in New Mexico. Tin is obtained by washing from the alluvial soil, in Guanaxuato and Zacatecas; and iron abounds in Valladolid, Zacatecas, Guadalaxara, and the internal provinces. Lead is found in the calcareous formations in the north-eastern parts, especially in the district of Zimapan, near Linares, in New Leon, and near St. Nicholas de Cruz in New Santander. Zinc, antimony, arsenic, and mercury are also found in different parts. Coal has hitherto been discovered only in New Mexico: there is already a coal-mine near the sources of the Rio Sabina. In general, coal and rock-salt abound to the west of the Sierra Verde, near the lake of Timpanogos, in Upper Louisiana, and in those vast northern regions situated between the stony mountains of Mackenzie and Hudson's Bay. The most abundant salt-mine in Mexico

is the lake of Peñon Blanco in the intendency of San Luis Potosi.

Almost all the summits of the American cordilleras contain craters. That of the Popocatepetl is said to be half a league in circumference: it is at present inaccessible. The Peak of Orizava is also a volcano, from which in 1545 an eruption took place, which continued for twenty years. The conical summit is covered with eternal snow. Iztac-cihuatl is supposed to be an extinguished volcano, although no Indian tradition goes so far back as the time of an eruption. The inhabitants of Mexico are less disturbed by volcanic explosions and earthquakes than the inhabitants of Guatimala and Quito. There were only five burning volcanoes in all New Spain when Humboldt visited the country; viz. Orizava, Popocatepetl, and the mountains of Tustla, Jorullo, and Colima. Earthquakes are by no means rare on the coast of the Pacific, and in the neighbourhood of the capital, but they have never been known to produce such desolating effects as have been witnessed in the cities of Lima, Riobamba, Guatimala,* and Cumana. Nevertheless, on the 14th of September, 1759, the plains of Jorullo, on the shores of the Pacific, formed the scene of one of the most tremendous catastrophes that the surface of the globe has ever exhibited. In one single night, there issued from the earth a volcano 1494 feet in elevation, surrounded by more than 2000 apertures, which continue to emit smoke to the present day. MM. Humboldt and Bonpland descended into the burning crater of the great volcano to a perpendicular

* Guatimala was for a long time kept in a state of constant alarm by the vicinity of two mountains, one of which vomited fire, and the other water, till at length the city was swallowed up by a tremendous explosion.

depth of 258 feet, leaping over crevices which exhaled sulphuretted hydrogen, till they almost reached the bottom of the crater, where the air was, in an extraordinary degree, surcharged with carbonic acid. The granitic mountains of Oaxaca do not contain any known volcano, but they continue south as far as Nicaragua. Near that city is the volcano of Momantobo, and the Omo-tepetl shoots up its burning peak from the bosom of the lake. The province of Costa Rica likewise contains volcanoes, and other volcanic mountains border the gulfs of the Pacific. On the whole, M. Humboldt concludes, that the country between the parallels of 18° and 22°, contains an active internal fire, which pierces, from time to time, through the crust of the globe, even at considerable distances from the sea-shore.

As the immense plains which form the table-land of Mexico are elevated above the clouds during the greater part of the year, the soil becomes parched and intersected with numerous deep fissures, by which the moisture of the surface is exhausted; and being nearly destitute of rivers, it presents a bare and arid aspect, the general resemblance of which to the plains of the two Castiles, induced the followers of Cortes to give it the name of New Spain. Many extensive districts are utterly destitute of water; and there occur in some parts, vast plains covered with a saline efflorescence, bearing a resemblance to many places in Thibet, and to the saline steppes of central Asia. In the spots which are somewhat below the average level, and which may, in regard to their comparative elevation, be called valleys, the soil is highly fertile: they are described as resembling lakes dried up, which is probably their real character.

The want of water and of navigable rivers is

a serious disadvantage. The great *Rio Bravo del Norte*, and the *Rio Colorado*, are the only rivers that merit attention, from the length of their course, and the great mass of water which they carry to the ocean; but, flowing as they do, in the most uncultivated part of the kingdom, it will be long before they possess any interest with regard to commerce. In all the equinoctial parts of Mexico, only small rivers are met with; but their estuaries are very broad. The narrow form of the continent prevents the union of a great body of water; while the rapid declivity of the Cordillera gives rise to torrents rather than rivers. Among the small number of rivers which are found in the southern part of the country, the only ones that may one day or other become interesting for the commerce of the interior, are, the *Rio Guasacualco*, and that of *Alvarado*, both of which are to the south-east of Vera Cruz, and are calculated to facilitate the communication with the kingdom of Guatimala; the *Rio de Montezuma*, which carries the waters of the lakes and valley of Tenochtitlan to the Rio de Panuco, and by which, forgetting the elevation of the ground, a navigation has been proposed between the capital and the eastern coast; the *Rio de Zacatula*; and, lastly, the great river of *Santiago*, or *Tololotlan*, formed by the union of the rivers of Lerma, and Las Laxas, which might convey the flour of Salamanca, of Zelaya, and, perhaps, also that of the whole intendency of Guadalaxara, to Port San Blas, on the shores of the Pacific Ocean.

The lakes with which Mexico abounds, and the greater part of which seem annually to diminish in size, are merely the remains of those immense basins that appear once to have existed on the lofty and extensive plains of the Cordillera. The principal are,

the great lake of Shapala, in Guadalaxara, which covers nearly one hundred and sixty square leagues of country; the lakes of the valley of Mexico, that occupy one-fourth of the surface of this valley; the lake of Pazcuaro, in the intendency of Valladolid, one of the most picturesque spots on the globe; and the lakes of Mextitlan and Parras, in New Biscay.

'The whole of the eastern coast of New Spain may be looked upon as an immense dike or wall, against which the trade-winds, and the perpetual movement of the waters from east to west, heave up the sand which the agitated ocean holds suspended. The revolving current, arriving from the Southern Atlantic Ocean, first rolls past Brazil and Guyana, and then coasts the Caraccas, from Cumana to Darien. It returns towards Cape Catoche in Yucatan, and after long whirling in eddies in the Gulf of Mexico, it issues by the Bahama Channel or Gulf of Florida, and directs its course towards the Bank of Newfoundland. The sand accumulated by the eddying whirl of the water from the Peninsula of Yucatan to the mouth of the Rio del Norte, insensibly contracts the basin of the Gulf of Mexico, by adding to the breadth of the continent. The rivers that descend from the Sierra Madre to empty themselves into the Sea of the Antilles, contribute not a little to fill up and elevate the bottom. The whole of the eastern coast of New Spain, from the 18° to the 26° of latitude, is obstructed by bars. Only vessels drawing little water can cross one of these bars without running the risk of grounding. Nevertheless, these obstacles, so formidable to commerce, facilitate, at the same time, the defence of the country against the ambitious projects of a European conqueror.

Another very serious inconvenience is common

both to the eastern and western coasts of the Isthmus. Violent storms render it almost impossible, during several months, to effect a landing, and thus prevent almost all navigation along these shores. The north-west winds, denominated *los nortes*, blow in the Gulf of Mexico from the autumnal, to the vernal equinox. In September and October they are generally mild: they are most violent in the month of March. On the east coast, the navigation is very dangerous in the months of July and August, dreadful tornadoes blowing at that time from the south-west. At this season, and even till September and October, the anchorage of San Blas, Acapulco, and all the ports of the kingdom of Guatimala, are exceedingly unsafe. During the fine part of the year, from October till May, the tranquillity of the ocean is again interrupted in these roadsteads by the furious winds from the north-east and north-west, known by the names of *Papagallo* and *Tehuantepec*.

The coasts of New Spain are almost the only parts of the kingdom that possess a climate sufficiently warm to bring to perfection the productions of the West Indies. The intendency of Vera Cruz, (with the exception of the plain which extends from Perote to the Peak of Orizava,) Yucatan, the coast of Oaxaca, the intendency of San Luis Potosi, the uncultivated district called *Bolson de Mapimi*, the coast of California, the western part of Sonora and of the intendencies formerly comprised in New Gallicia, and the southern borders of Valladolid, Mexico, and la Puebla, are tracts of low country, interrupted only by inconsiderable hills. The mean temperature of these plains is from 77° to 79° of Fahrenheit's thermometer; that is to say, from 17° to 19° greater than the mean temperature of Naples. These fertile but unhealthy

regions, denominated *Tierras Calientes* (hot countries), produce sugar, indigo, cotton, and bananas. The port of Acapulco and the valleys of Papagayo and Peregrino, may be classed among the hottest and most unhealthy portions of the globe. On the eastern coast, the great heats are at times tempered by strata of cold air brought by the winds from Hudson's Bay. These impetuous winds blow from October to March, and they frequently cool the air to such a degree, that, near the Havannah, the thermometer descends to 32° Fahrenheit, and at Vera Cruz, to 61°; a very remarkable depression for countries within the torrid zone. At other seasons, the yellow fever, here known by the name of the *vomito prieto* (black vomit), never fails to attack Europeans not seasoned to the climate, who venture to remain for any length of time within these regions.*

"On the declivity of the Cordillera, at the height of from 4000 to 5000 feet, there constantly reigns the genial temperature of spring, which does not vary more than eight or nine degrees. Intense heat and excessive cold are equally unknown. This region is called by the natives *Tierras Templadas*, or temperate countries, in which the mean heat of the whole year is from 68° to 70° Fahr. This is the delicious climate of Xalapa, Tasco, and Chilpansingo, three

* The ports of Vera Cruz and Acapulco, Mr. Bullock says, are deserted by foreigners during the rainy season, which lasts from April or May till October; "and indeed the natives, during this period, shut themselves up in their houses, or only leave them on the greatest emergencies. Strangers, particularly young men from Europe, cannot remain with safety even for a day. Even the muleteers have a dread of Vera Cruz; for to those accustomed to the table-land, it is almost as fatal as to strangers"—that is, during the rainy season.

towns celebrated for the extreme salubrity of their climate, and for the abundance of the fruit-trees that are cultivated in their environs. Unfortunately, this medium elevation of 4260 feet is almost the same as that at which the clouds float above the plains adjacent to the sea; and, in consequence of this circumstance, these temperate regions, although situated upon elevated ground, are often enveloped in dense fogs.

"The third zone, designated by the appellation of *Tierras Frias*, or cold countries, comprehends the plateaus that are higher than 7200 feet above the level of the ocean, and of which the medium temperature is 63° Fahr. and under. In the capital of Mexico, the centigrade thermometer has been seen some degrees below the freezing point; but this phenomenon is very rare. More commonly, the winters are as mild there as at Naples. In the coldest season, the medium heat of the day is from 55° to 70° Fahr. In summer, the thermometer in the shade does not rise above 76° Fahr. The most ordinary mean temperature that prevails over the whole of the great plateau of Mexico, is 63° Fahr., which is equal to the temperature of the air at Rome; and the olive-tree is cultivated with success. This same plateau, however, according to the classification of the natives, belongs to the *Tierras Frias*. Thus, with them, the expressions *cold* and *hot* have no absolute signification. But those plateaus that are higher than the valley of Mexico, (those, for example, whose actual height exceeds 8200 feet,) although situated under the Tropics, have a climate which, even to an inhabitant of the north, appears rude and disagreeable. Of this description are the plains of Toluca, and the heights of Guchi-

laque, where, during a great part of the day, the air never becomes hotter than from 43° to 46° Fahr. The olive here bears no fruit.

" All the regions denominated cold, enjoy a mean temperature of from 52° to 56° Fahr., equal to that of France and Lombardy. Still, vegetation there is much less vigorous, and the plants of Europe do not grow with the same rapidity as in their native soil. The winters, at an elevation of 8200 feet, are not extremely severe. It must, however, be admitted, that in summer the sun never heats the rarefied air of these plateaus sufficiently to accelerate the expansion of flowers, and to bring the fruit to perfect maturity. It is this unvarying equability of temperature, this absence of a fervent but ephemeral heat, which impresses a peculiar character on the climate of the high equinoctial regions. Accordingly, the cultivation of many vegetables is less successful on the ridge of the Mexican Cordilleras, than on the plains situated to the north of the Tropic; although it often happens that the mean temperature of these latter, is lower than that of the plateaus comprised between the 19° and the 22° of north latitude.

" In the equinoctial region of Mexico, and even as far as the 28° of north latitude, only two seasons are known; namely, that of the rains, which commences in the month of June or July, and ends in September or October; and the dry season, which continues eight months, namely, from October till the end of *May*. The formation of clouds, and the precipitation of the water dissolved by the air, generally begin on the eastern slope of the Cordillera. These phenomena, accompanied by loud electrical explosions, extend in succession from east to west,

in the direction of the trade-winds; so that the rain falls fifteen or twenty days later on the central plateau, than at Vera Cruz. Sometimes, in the months of December and January, rain, mixed with sleet and snow, is seen falling on the mountains, even at an actual elevation of more than 6562 feet. These rains, however, continue only a few days; and, cold as they are, they are looked upon as highly beneficial to the vegetation of wheat, and the growth of pastures. From the parallel of 24° to that of 30°, the rain falls less frequently, and continues a shorter time. Fortunately, the snow, of which there is a considerable quantity from the 26° of latitude, compensates for this scarcity of rain.

"In France, and in the greater part of Europe, the employment of the soil almost exclusively depends on geographical latitude; the configuration of the country, the proximity of the ocean, or other local circumstances, exerting only a feeble influence over the temperature. On the contrary, in the equinoctial regions of America, the climate, the nature of the productions, the aspect and general features of the country, are almost all of them modified by the elevation of the land above the level of the sea. In latitudes 19° and 22°, sugar, cotton, and especially cocoa and indigo, do not afford an abundant crop at a lower elevation than 2000 or 2600 feet. European wheat occupies a zone which, on the slope of the mountains, generally commences at the height of 4585 feet, and terminates at 9752 feet. The banana, that most useful plant, which constitutes the principal nourishment of all the inhabitants of the tropics, almost entirely ceases to bear fruit above the level of 5000 feet. The oak of Mexico grows only between 2500 and 10,000 feet of elevation. The pines descend

towards the shores of Vera Cruz, only as low as 6068 feet; but it must be added, that they do not rise higher towards the line of perpetual snow, than 13,123 feet.

"The provinces denominated *internas*, situated within the temperate zone, and especially those comprehended between the 30° and 38° of latitude, enjoy, with the rest of North America, a climate essentially different from that which prevails, under the same parallels, on the old continent: it is particularly distinguished by a striking inequality in the temperature of the different seasons. Winters of a German rigour succeed to summers that vie with those of Naples and Sicily. But this difference of temperature is much less marked in those parts of the new continent which approach the Pacific Ocean, than in the more eastern regions.

"If the plateau of New Spain is singularly cold in winter, the temperature in summer is far higher than could be inferred from the thermometrical observations made by Bouguer and Condamine in the Andes of Peru. It is to this heat, and to other local causes, that we must attribute the aridity which incommodes these beautiful countries. In fact, the interior, particularly an extensive portion of the plateau of Anahuac, is completely stripped of vegetation. The enormous mass of the Mexican Cordillera, and the immense extent of its plains, produce a reflection of the solar rays, which, at an equal height, is not observed in other mountainous countries of a more unequal surface. Independently of this circumstance, the land is so high, that its mere elevation, from the consequently diminished atmospheric pressure which is exerted on fluids by the rarefied air, must sensibly augment the evaporation that takes place from the

surface of these great plateaus. On the other hand, the Cordillera is not sufficiently elevated for any considerable number of its peaks to enter within the limit of perpetual snow. This snow, at the period of its minimum, in the month of September, does not descend, under the parallel of Mexico, lower than 14,465 feet; but in January, its boundary is met with as low as 12,139 feet. To the north, from latitude 20°, and especially from 22° to 30°, the rains, which continue only during the months of June, July, August, and September, are by no means frequent in the interior of the country. The ascending current, or column of heated air that rises from the plains, prevents the clouds from being precipitated in the form of rain, and thus saturating the dry, saline earth, almost denuded of shrubs. There are few springs in the mountains, which in a great measure are composed of porous amygdaloid and laminated or shattered porphyries. Instead of collecting in little subterraneous basins, the water filters through the earth, and loses itself in the crevices which have been opened by ancient volcanic eruptions. This water issues only at the base of the Cordillera. On the coasts, it forms a great number of rivers, the course of which, however, is very short.

"The aridity of the central table, and the want of trees, are extremely injurious to the working of the mines. These evils have sensibly increased since the arrival of Europeans in Mexico. Not only have the conquerors destroyed without planting, but, by artificially drying up extensive tracts of land, they have occasioned a still more important evil. The muriates of soda and of lime, the nitrate of potass, and other saline substances, cover the surface of the soil. They have spread themselves with a degree

of rapidity which the chemist feels it difficult to explain. Happily, this parched aridity of soil reigns only on the most elevated plains. A great part of the vast kingdom of New Spain may be classed with the most fertile countries of the earth. The shelving declivity of the Cordillera is exposed to humid winds and to frequent fogs; and vegetation, promoted by these aqueous vapours, displays an uncommon degree of beauty and luxuriance. The truth is, the humidity of the coasts, favouring the putrefaction of a prodigious mass of organic substances, proves the cause of diseases to which Europeans, and others not habituated to the climate, are exposed: for, under the burning sky of the tropics, the unhealthiness of the air is almost invariably a sure indication of extraordinary fertility in the soil. Nevertheless, with the exception of some sea-ports, and of some deep and humid valleys, where the natives suffer from intermittent fever, New Spain ought to be considered as a singularly healthy country." *

NATURAL HISTORY AND PRODUCTIONS.

AMONG the productions of Mexico, besides the precious metals, and the plants already mentioned as common to the hot regions and the West Indies, may be enumerated, various species of the palm-tree; † the pinnated calabash-tree; several balsam-

* Humboldt's Pol. Essay, vol. i. pp. 65—87; Malte-Brun's Geography, vol. v. pp. 286-91.

† The fruit of the cocoa was formerly considered in Mexico as an article of such prime importance, that it was used as currency, instead of small money, six nuts being equivalent to about a penny. It is from the Mexican language that we have derived

trees, producing odoriferous resins; four varieties of Mexican oak; indigenous species of the cherry, apple, walnut, and mulberry-trees; a species of strawberry, and the greater part of the fruits of Europe; the *metl*, *maguey*,* or American aloe (*agave Americana*),

the term *chocolatl*, softening the final syllable. The cocoa, however, Mr. Bullock states, is not the growth of this country, but is imported from Guatimala.

* Humboldt styles the maguey "the vine of the Aztecs." Plantations of it are found as far as the Aztec language is spoken. Next to the maize and the potatoe, this plant is the most useful of all the productions with which nature has supplied the mountaineers of equinoctial America. The plants are set in rows, about five or six feet apart; and in favourable situations, they come into bloom in about ten years, (Humboldt says, at the end of five,) at which period the valuable liquor is to be procured. "As soon as the owner perceives the plant preparing to throw up its long flower-stem, he cuts out the leaves which form its centre, and hollows it out into the shape of a bowl, at the same time removing most of the other leaves; so that the whole sap destined for their supply flows to the great stem, and is received by the bowl-shaped cavity, into which it runs with such rapidity, as to require to be emptied several times a day for two months. The liquor, when collected, is placed in jars or skins; it undergoes a slight fermentation, which takes place in a few days, and is immediately fit for drinking. Strangers prefer it fresh; but the natives seldom take it till it has acquired a strong taste and a disagreeable, fetid smell, denominated *fuerte*, when it is esteemed in high perfection." A very intoxicating brandy is distilled from the *pulque*, which is called *mexical*, or *aguardiente de maguey*. Some part of the plant is used medicinally; and the root, prepared with sugar, is made into *dulces*, or sweetmeats. The abundance of juice produced by a maguey of scarcely five feet in height, is the more astonishing, as the plantations are in the most arid ground, frequently on rocks scarcely covered with earth. The plant is not affected either by drought, hail, or cold. The vinous beverage is said to resemble cyder; its odour is that of putrid meat; but even Europeans, when they have been able to conquer the aversion inspired by the fetid smell, prefer the pulque to every other liquor.—BULLOCK, p. 281, HUMBOLDT'S *Pol. Essay*, vol. ii. pp. 472—81.

which furnishes the favourite liquor called *pulque*, while its fibres supply hemp and paper, and its prickles are used for pins and nails; the wonderful *cheirostemon platanoides;* * the nopal (*cactus cochinilifer*), upon which the cochineal insect feeds; the *convolvulus Xalapa*, or true jalap; guaiacum; sassafras; vanilla; the tamarind; a curious species of bombax, producing a cotton which unites the brilliance of silk with the strength of wool; and a splendid variety of flowering shrubs, which have already contributed to enrich the gardens of Europe.†

Throughout the table-land, maize forms the principal nourishment both of men and animals. The natives have various methods of preparing it. They are very fond of a gruel (*atolli*) made of the flour, and sweetened with honey. But their most common method of cooking it is in cakes (*tortillas*), which they eat with beans (*fricollis*) and chile pepper. They also make beverages of it, called *chicha, pulque de mahis*, or *tlaolli;* some resembling beer, and others cider.

The potatoe (*papas*) and yam are cultivated both on the table-land and in the low country; and in the latter, they raise a small quantity of rice. But, next to the Indian corn, the banana plant and the manioc root are the principal articles of food. The banana,

* This is the *arbol de las manitas*, or hand-plant. It is said, that some of these curious plants have lately been discovered on the western declivity of the Cordillera. The famous one in the Botanic Garden at Mexico, has attained the height of about 30 feet, and the stem is free from branches for about 15 feet from the root: it then branches out regularly. The corolla is a bright scarlet. The seed is contained in a pod about three inches long.

† Among others, the beautiful dahlia, and the brilliant *salvia fulgens*.

Humboldt remarks, is, for all the inhabitants of the torrid zone, what wheat, barley, and rye are for western Asia and Europe, and what the numerous varieties of rice are for the countries beyond the Indus. "I doubt," he says, "whether there is another plant on the globe, which, on so small a space of ground, can produce so considerable a mass of nutritive substance. Eight or nine months after the sucker has been planted, the banana commences to develope its clusters; and the fruit may be collected in the tenth or eleventh month. It would be difficult to describe the numerous preparations by which the Americans render the fruit of the *musa*, both before and after its maturity, a wholesome and agreeable diet. I have frequently seen, in ascending rivers, that the natives, after the greatest fatigues, make a complete dinner on a very small portion of manioc, and three bananas of the large kind. The ripe fruit of the musa, when exposed to the sun, is preserved like our figs. The skin becomes black, and takes a particular odour, which resembles that of smoked ham. The fruit in this state is called *platano passado*, and is an article of commerce in the intendency of Mechoacan. Meal is extracted from the *musa*, by cutting the green fruit in slices, drying it in the sun on a slope, and pounding it when it becomes friable. The flour, less used in Mexico than in the islands, may serve for the same use as flour from rice or maize. The facility with which the banana is reproduced from its roots, gives it an extraordinary advantage over fruit-trees, and even over the bread-fruit tree, which, for eight months in the year, is loaded with farinaceous fruit. The green fruit of the musa is eaten dressed, like the bread-fruit, or the potatoe; but the flour of the manioc is converted into bread, and furnishes to the

inhabitants of warm countries what the Spanish colonists call *pan de tierra caliente*." The proper name of the plant, the root of which yields the nutritive flour of the manioc, is juca (the *jatropha manihot* of botanists). There are two species; the *juca dulce*, the root of which may be eaten without danger; and the *juca amarga* (bitter juca), which contains an active poison. It is the root of the latter, however, which is generally made into bread, the poisonous juice being carefully pressed out.

The inhabitants of the internal provinces, who are chiefly whites or reputed whites, live almost exclusively on wheaten bread. The Mexican wheat, cultivated in the temperate regions, is of the very best quality, and may be compared, Humboldt says, with the finest Andalusian grain. America is extremely rich in vegetables with nutritive roots, among which are the oca (*oxalis tuberosa*), the batate, and the igname (*dioscorea alata*). A small black bean is also very extensively cultivated, and the quantities of red pepper raised in all parts of the country, is almost incredible. "The Mexican," says Mr. Robinson, would rather go without bread, than lack chile with his meat. Both in its green and dried state, the quantity consumed is incredible. When mashed, and mixed with a little water, it is the universal sauce on the tables of the great; while with the poor, it forms a component part of their diet. More than one-third of the Mexican population live, throughout the year, chiefly on *tortillas* with chile spread on them, as butter is with us. On days of festivity, they have occasionally a change of diet, by the addition of a few eggs or a little broth; but they never relinquish their favourite chile. A stranger has great difficulty at first to bear with the food prepared with chile; but after his palate

has become accustomed to its stimulus, it ceases to excoriate, and he grows as fond of it as the Indians and Creoles." *

The zoology of Mexico is imperfectly known. Among the species peculiar to this country are, the *coëndou*, a kind of porcupine; the *apaxa*, or Mexican stag; the *conepalt*, of the weasel species; the *xolo-itzcuintli*, a species of wolf, distinguished by its total want of hair; the *techichi*, a species of dog without voice, which was eaten by the ancient Mexicans and the Spaniards, and is supposed to have become extinct; the *itzcuinte-potzoli*, another variety of the canine genus, distinguished by a short tail, a very small head, and a large hump on its back; the *cocyotie*, described by Mr. Bullock as seeming to connect the wolf, the fox, and the dog, resembling the wolf in shape and colour, but not so large; another very curious and diminutive species of wild dog, mentioned by the same traveller, found in the mountains to the north-east of Durango; they are from eight to eleven inches long, in form somewhat like a greyhound, with a large, high, projecting forehead, long ears, and a long tail; they burrow in the ground, and are said to be herbivorous. The bison and the musk-ox wander in immense herds in New Mexico and California. The latter province also abounds in rein-deer, a breed of wild sheep of remarkable size, and an animal called *berendos*, which is said to resemble the antelope. The jaguar, or American tiger,† is met with in the lower

* Humboldt's Political Essay, vol. ii. chap. ix.; Notes on Mexico, pp. 145—7; Robinson's Mexican Revolution, vol. i. p. 262; Bullock's Six Months in Mexico, chap. xxii.

† Rather, an ounce; the same, apparently, as the *felis paradalis* of Linnæus, and the ocelot of Cuvier.

and hot part of Mexico. The *mixtli* * is described as resembling a lion without mane, but is of larger size. The Mexican bear is the same as that of Louisiana and Canada. The domestic animals of Europe conveyed to Mexico have multiplied there, as in other parts of the new continent, in a remarkable degree. A strong and beautiful breed of wild horses, descended from those brought over by the Spaniards, is found, in large herds, in the immense plains of New Mexico. The sheep are a coarse and neglected breed. On the eastern coast, and in the intendency of Durango, prodigious herds of horned cattle, of a breed resembling the black cattle in the south of Scotland, are seen grazing in all the great plains. Some of the farming establishments are said to number from 40 to 50,000 head of oxen and horses. Calves are not allowed to be killed, veal being prohibited by law. A fine breed of pigs is kept up, as an article of trade, in the environs of the capital.

With regard to the ornithology of Mexico, our information is still more meagre and defective; but Mr. Bullock has devoted a chapter to the description of the humming-bird, of which there have already been collected above a hundred varieties. The various species of this charming little race are scattered over the whole American continent and its islands, in almost every climate; being found, during the summer months, in Canada and Hudson's Bay. In Jamaica, Mr. Bullock procured the most diminutive species known, which is considerably smaller than some kinds of bee. In Mexico, the species are numerous, and mostly undescribed. This gentleman, during

* Mr. Bullock mentions the *puma*, or American lion, as the *felis discolor* of Linnæus, and the couguar of Cuvier. Is this the *mixtli* of Hernandez?

his residence in the capital, had at one time in his possession nearly seventy in cages, which, by means of great care, he kept alive for several weeks. "The accounts," he says, "of their being so fierce and untameable as to beat themselves to death when confined, are not true; no bird is more easily reconciled to its new situation. It is true, they are seldom off the wing, but they never beat themselves against the cage, or the glass of a window. They remain, as it were, suspended in the air, in a space barely sufficient for them to move their wings; and the humming noise proceeds entirely from the surprising velocity with which they perform that motion, by which they will keep their bodies in the air, apparently motionless, for hours together. In each cage was placed a small earthen cup, about half filled with sugar and water of the consistence of a thin syrup: in this, various flowers had been inserted, principally the yellow bell-shaped corolla of the great aloe (*agave Americana*); the end of which next the stem being cut off, permitted the liquid to flow into the flower, into which the little prisoners were constantly inserting their long bifid tongues, and drawing up its luscious contents. This operation was generally, like most of the actions of the bird, performed on the wing; but they sometimes alighted on the flower, perching against its sides in an upright position, and pumping up the mucilaginous liquid. It is probable, the whole of them feed on insects; numbers, I am certain, do so, having watched them attentively in the Botanic Garden at Mexico, in pursuit of their minute prey; and in the yard of the house in which I resided at Themascaltepec, one of them took entire possession of a pomegranate-tree in blossom, on which he sat the whole day, catching the small flies that came to the flowers.

Naturalists have therefore fallen into error in asserting that these birds live entirely on the saccharine substance contained in flowers, as I have very frequently seen them take flies and other insects on the wing, and have on dissection found them in their stomachs.

"I have frequently watched with much amusement the cautious peregrination of the humming-bird, who, advancing beneath a spider's web, entered the various labyrinths and cells in search of entangled flies; but, as the larger spiders did not tamely surrender their booty, the invader was often compelled to retreat: being within a few feet, I could observe all their evolutions with great precision. The active little bird generally passed once or twice round the court, as if to reconnoitre his ground, and commenced his attack by going carefully under the nets of the wily insect, and seizing by surprise the smallest entangled flies, or those that were most feeble. In ascending the angular traps of the spider, great care and skill were required; sometimes he had scarcely room for his little wings to perform their office, and the least deviation would have entangled him in the complex machinery of the web, and involved him in ruin. It was only the works of the smaller spider that he durst attack, as the largest rose to the defence of their citadels, when the besieger would shoot off like a sunbeam, and could be traced only by the luminous glow of his refulgent colours. The bird generally spent about ten minutes in this predatory excursion, and then alighted on a branch of an Avocata to rest and refresh himself, placing his crimson star-like breast to the sun, which then presented all the glowing fire of the ruby, and surpassed in lustre the diadem of monarchs. Europeans who have seen only

the stuffed remains of these little feathered gems in museums, have been charmed with their beautiful appearance; but those who have examined them whilst living, displaying their moving crests, throats, and tails, like the peacock in the sun, can never look with pleasure on their mutilated forms. I have carefully preserved about two hundred specimens, in the best possible manner, yet they are still but the shadow of what they were in life. The reason is obvious; for the sides of the laminæ, or fibres of each feather, being of a different colour from the surface, will change when seen in a front or oblique direction; and as each lamina or fibre turns upon the axis of the quill, the least motion, when living, causes the feathers to change suddenly to the most opposite hues. Thus the one from Nootka Sound changes its expanded throat from the most vivid fire-colour to light green; the Topaz-throated does the same; and the Mexican Star changes from bright crimson to blue.

"The sexes vary greatly in the plumage in many of the species; so much so, that it is with difficulty we recognise them. The male and female of the Mexican Star could not have been known had they not been seen constantly together, and proved to be so by dissection. They breed in Mexico in June and July; and the nest is a beautiful specimen of the architectural talent of these birds: it is neatly constructed with cotton, or the down of thistles, to which is fastened on the outside, by some glutinous substance, a white flat lichen resembling ours.

"The female lays two eggs, perfectly white, and large for the size of the bird; and the Indians informed me, they were hatched in three weeks by the male and female sitting alternately. When attending their young, they attack any bird indiscriminately

that approaches the nest. Their motions, when under the influence of anger or fear, are very violent, and their flight rapid as an arrow; the eye cannot follow them, but the shrill piercing shriek which they utter on the wing may be heard when the bird is invisible, and often led to their destruction by preparing me for their approach. They attack the eyes of the larger birds, and their sharp needle-like bill is a truly formidable weapon in this kind of warfare. Nothing can exceed their fierceness when one of their own species invades their territory during the breeding season. Under the influence of jealousy they become perfect furies; their throats swell, their crests, tails, and wings expand; they fight in the air, (uttering a shrill noise,) till one falls exhausted to the ground. I witnessed a combat of this kind near Otumba, during a heavy fall of rain, every separate drop of which I supposed sufficient to have beaten the puny warriors to the earth.

"In sleeping, they frequently suspend themselves by the feet, with their heads downwards, in the manner of some parrots.

"These birds were great favourites of the ancient Mexicans. They used the feathers as ornaments for their superb mantles in the time of Montezuma, and in embroidering the pictures so much extolled by Cortes. Their name signifies in the Indian language, beams or locks of the sun. They are still worn by the Indian ladies as ornaments for the ears." *

Among the other winged tribes, the same traveller mentions various species of eagles, vultures, beautiful hawks, orioles, cuckoos, crows, and the Virginia nightingale (*loxia cardinalis*), with plumage much more resplendently scarlet than any found in the

* Bullock's Six Months in Mexico, chap. xxi.

United States. There are numerous species of aquatic birds, and turkeys, fowls, and pigeons are furnished in large quantities for the market of the capital.

POPULATION.

THE Mexican population is composed of seven races: 1. Europeans, vulgarly called *Chapetons* and *Gachupins;* 2. Creoles, or native whites of European extraction; 3. Mestizoes, the offspring of whites and Indians; 4. Mulattoes, the offspring of whites and negroes; 5. aboriginal Indians, of the pure copper-coloured race; 6. African negroes, and their descendants; 7. Zamboes, or Chinoes, the offspring of negroes and Indians. To these may be added, many individuals of Asiatic origin, numbers of Chinese and Malays having settled in Mexico, owing to the frequent communication between Acapulco and the Philippine Islands; and natives of the Canary Islands, who are generally designated by the name of *Isleños* (islanders), and rank as whites. They are for the most part overseers and agents of plantations.

The number of copper-coloured Indians of the pure race, is supposed to be two millions and a half, forming about two-fifths of the entire population. In the intendencies of Guanaxuato, Valladolid, Oaxaca, and La Puebla, they amount to three-fifths; but, in the north of New Spain and the internal provinces, they are rarely met with. When the Spaniards conquered the country, they found few inhabitants in the region north of the parallel of 20°. Those provinces were inhabited by the Chichimecs and the Otomites, two pastoral nations, whose hordes were thinly scattered over a vast territory, and who withdrew as the conquerors advanced towards the north. Agriculture and

civilisation were found concentrated in the plains south of the river of Santiago, especially between the valley of Mexico and the province of Oaxaca. From the seventh to the thirteenth century, population seems in general to have continually flowed from north to south. From the regions north of the Rio Gila, issued the warlike nations who successively inundated the country of Anahuac. The Toltecs first appeared in the year 648; the Chichimecs in 1170; the Nahuatlacs in 1178; the Acolhuans and Aztecs in 1196. The Toltecs introduced the cultivation of maize and cotton; they built cities, made roads, and constructed those great pyramids which are among the most interesting remains in this country. They were acquainted with the art of hieroglyphic writing, could found metals, and their tools were sufficiently tempered to cut the hardest stones. They had a solar year more perfect than that of the Greeks and Romans.* Humboldt supposes that the Toltecs, or Aztecs, (both of these tribes being of the same family,) might be a part of those Hiong-nues who, according to the Chinese historians, emigrated under their leader Punon, and were lost in the northern parts of Siberia, from whence they might easily reach the north-western coast of the new continent.† This

* Their complicated method of computing cycles of years, was identically the same with that made use of by the Hindoos, Thibetans, Chinese, and Japanese.—HUMBOLDT'S *Researches*, vol. i. p. 301.

† On the north-west coast, between Nootka Sound and Cook's River, especially under the parallel of 57° N., the natives display a decided taste for hieroglyphic paintings. The Iroquois and the Hurons also, made hieroglyphic paintings on wood, strikingly resembling those of the Mexicans. On the American coast nearest to Asia, along Behring's Straits, between lat. 67° and 64° 10′, we find a great number of huts frequented by Siberian hunters, which

nation of warrior-shepherds, he remarks, has more than once changed the face of oriental Asia, and desolated, under the name of Huns, the finest parts of civilised Europe. It is certain, that the Toltecs have several traits in common with the Tshouds, or ancient inhabitants of Siberia. The Toltecs, the Chichimecs (from whom the inhabitants of Tlascala are descended), the Acolhuans, the Nahuatlacs, and the Aztecs, spoke the same language, and followed the same worship, being connected by an affinity somewhat analogous to that which is observable in the Germans, Norwegians, Goths, and Danes, of the Teutonic race.* Humboldt

are not more than from 30 to 40 leagues distant from those of the Tshoutskies of Asiatic Russia. The intermediate channel is filled with desert islands, which would facilitate the navigation. The Tshoutskies live at perpetual war with the Americans. "However," says Humboldt, "in order to conceive that Asiatic tribes established on the table-land of Chinese Tartary should pass from the old to the new continent, it is not necessary to have recourse to a transmigration at such high latitudes. A chain of small islands stretches from Corea and Japan to the southern cape of the peninsula of Kamschatka, between the 33° and the 51° of N. latitude. The great island of Tchoka, connected with the continent by an immense sand-bank, (under the parallel of 52°) facilitates communication between the mouths of the Amour and the Kurile islands. Another Archipelago, by which the great basin of Behring is terminated on the south, advances from the peninsula of Alaska 400 leagues towards the west. The most western of the Aleutian islands is only 144 leagues distant from the eastern coast of Kamschatka; and this distance is also divided into two nearly equal parts by the Behring and Mednoi islands, situated under lat. 55°. Asiatic tribes might have gone, by means of these islands, from one continent to the other, without going higher on the continent of Asia than the parallel of 55°, and by a passage of not more than 24 or 36 hours. The north-west winds which, during a great part of the year, blow in these latitudes, favour the navigation from Asia to America between lat. 50° and 60° N."—*Pol. Essay*, vol. ii. p. 343.

* Humboldt elsewhere gives a different enumeration of these tribes, distinguishing the Tlascaltecs from the Chichimecs or

supposes that, of the other nations of Mexico, the Otomites, the Olmecs, the Cuitlatecs, the Zacatecs, and the Tarascs reached the equinoctial region of New Spain prior to the Toltecs, and that they are to be considered as the more ancient family.* The great variety of languages still spoken in Mexico, proves that the population has been formed by the successive migration of various tribes. The number of these languages exceeds twenty, of which fourteen have grammars and dictionaries tolerably complete; viz. the Mexican or Aztec, the Otomite, the Tarasc, the Zapotec, the Mistec, the Maye or Yucatan, the Totonac, the Popoloue, the Matlazing, the Huastec, the Mixed, the Caquiquel, the Taraumar, the Tepehuan, and the Cora. Most of these, far from being merely dialects of the same language, differ as widely as the Greek and the German.† The Mexican is the most widely diffused, being spoken from lat. 37° N., to the lake of

Shishimecs, and giving them all the general name of Anahuatlacs, that is, inhabitants of the banks of rivers.—*Researches*, vol. i. pp. 82, 214.

* The Aztecs knew not with certainty what tribe had inhabited the country of Anahuac before the Toltecs, to whom they ascribed the pyramidal monuments which they found there. It is possible, Humboldt remarks, that those great edifices may be of yet higher antiquity than the Toltec invasion. "We ought not to be astonished that no history of any American nation should go higher than the seventh century, and that the annals of the Toltecs should be as uncertain as those of the Pelasgi and the Ausonians. The learned M. Schloezer has clearly proved, that the history of the North of Europe reaches no higher than the tenth century; an epoch at which Mexico was in a more advanced state of civilisation than Denmark, Sweden, and Russia."—*Ibid.* vol. i. p. 83.

† "The American languages are as distinct from each other as they are from the Tartar tongues. This want of analogy ought not, however, to be alleged as a proof against the opinion, that the American nations have had ancient communications with eastern Asia. The different groupes of Tartarian nations vary as much in

Nicaragua, a length of 400 leagues: it is not so sonorous, but is almost as diffuse and rich as that of the Incas.* Of this, there exist eleven printed grammars. Next to the Aztec, the Otomite is the most general language. All the American languages are characterised by one striking feature in their structure: like the Coptic and the Cantabrian, they are formed, not by inflexion, but by compounding words, or, what Humboldt terms, aggregation. They might be termed *unorganised* languages, having no internal principle of development, for every element of the sesquipe-

this respect. The Oigours speak a language differing more from that of the Mantchous, than the German from the Latin."—HUMBOLDT'S *Researches*, vol. i. p. 306.

* "Nothing," says Humboldt, "strikes Europeans more in the Aztec, Nahuatl, or Mexican language, than the excessive length of the words. This length does not always depend on their being compounded, as in the Greek, the German, and the Sanscrit, but on the manner of forming the substantive, the plural, or the superlative. A kiss is called *tetennamiquiliztli*; a word formed from the verb *tennamiqui*, to embrace, and the additive particles, *te* and *liztli*. In the same manner we have *tlatolana*, to ask, and *tetlatolaniliztli*, a demand; *tlayhiouiltia*, to torment, and *tetlayhiouiltiliztli*, torment. To form the plural, the Aztecs in several words double the first syllable; as *miztli*, a cat; *mimiztin*, cats: *tochtli*, a rabbit; *totochtin*, rabbits. *Tin* is the termination which indicates the plural. Sometimes, the duplication is made in the midst of a word; for instance, *ichpochtli*, a girl; *ichpopochtin*, girls: *telpochtli*, a boy; *telpopochtin*, boys. The most remarkable example I have met with of a real composition of words, is found in the word *amatlacuilolitquitcatlaxtlahuilli*, which signifies, the reward-given-to-the-messenger-who-carries-a-paper-on-which-is-painted-tidings. This word, which forms by itself an Alexandrine line, contains *amatl*, paper (of the agave); *cuiloa*, to paint, or trace hieroglyphics; and *tlaxtlahuilli*, the wages or salary of a workman." The word *notlazomahuiztespixcatatzin*, which signifies, venerable-priest-whom-I-cherish-as-my-father, is used by the Mexicans in addressing the priests. In the Aztec language, the letters B, D, F, G, and R, are wanting."—HUMBOLDT'S *Researches*, vol. ii. p. 246; *Pol. Essay*, vol. i. p. 139.

dalian compound is a distinct word. Hence arise an enormous multiplicity of tenses, and an apparent complication of structure, which have been mistaken by some writers for a perfection, but which invariably indicate a state but one remove from barbarism. Humboldt compares the American languages to complicated machines, the wheels of which are exposed; the artifice of their construction is visible. Such languages, he remarks, seem themselves to oppose obstacles to the improvement of the mind, being "unfurnished with that rapid movement, that interior life, to which the inflexion of the root is favourable, and which gives so many charms to works of imagination."*

None of these nations were acquainted with alphabetic characters; and this circumstance will serve to account for the astonishing variety of the American dialects. These, according to the same traveller, may, without the least exaggeration, be stated at some hundreds; a fact which, when connected with the comparatively few languages spoken in Asia and Europe, he regards as a very striking phenomenon. Yet, in the neighbourhood of Mount Caucasus and the Caspian Sea, a few barbarians, ignorant of the art of writing, are said to be divided into more nations, speaking peculiar languages radically different from each other, than the whole of civilised Europe.† Previously to the invention or the knowledge of alphabetic characters,

* Humboldt's Pers. Nar. vol. iii. p. 270.—The learned traveller refers to the supposed existence of Coptic literature as an exception to his own observation. "What a scaffolding of little monosyllabic and dissyllabic forms is added to the verb, and to the substantive, in the Coptic language!" Were this the place, however, it might be shewn, that the word literature is wholly inapplicable to hieroglyphic records.

† Quar. Rev. vol. x. p. 254.

language must of necessity be very arbitrary and variable. In unwritten dialects, even provincial variations are apt to degenerate into distinct languages. Thus, every county of England had at one time its peculiar vocabulary and pronunciation; and many of these dialects differ not less widely than distinct languages. In the progress of civilisation, these are melted down into one common conventional medium, and the useless synonymes are discarded. But, among pastoral tribes having little or no intercommunication, and possessing no written character, the peculiarities of articulation and nomenclature are likely to become more and more marked, as necessity leads them respectively to invent new terms, or as old ones become corrupted. There seems, moreover, to be a disposition common to children, barbarians, and the vulgar every where, to coin new phrases, to which they attach their peculiar associations. Children, however, are found to observe, in inventing words, the analogy of language; and, except when they mean to imitate sounds, what they invent are new inflexions, rather than new elements. But in languages destitute of inflexions, like the American dialects, the composition of words is altogether arbitrary, and the widest possible scope is given to the capricious changes introduced by varying fashions, and customs. These considerations may be thought sufficiently to explain the phenomenon in question.

The Indians of New Spain are described by Humboldt as bearing a general resemblance to those who inhabit Canada, Florida, Peru, and Brazil. "They have the same swarthy and copper colour, flat and smooth hair, small beard, squat body, long eye, with the corner directed upwards towards the temples, prominent cheek-bones, thick lips, and an expression

of gentleness in the mouth, strongly contrasted with a gloomy and severe look." There is, however, a considerable diversity of feature and physiological character among the different nations, which, though not detected by the hasty observation of the European stranger, is not less essential than the difference between the Circassian, the Moor, and the Persian. Thus, the Indians of Tlascala differ widely in their form from the Chichimecs of the northern provinces. It is remarkable, that the natives of Mexico have a more swarthy complexion than the inhabitants of the warmer climates of South America.* The Mexicans, particularly those of the Aztec and Otomite race, have more beard than any of the Southern tribes, and almost all the Indians in the neighbourhood of the capital wear small mustachios.† To a great degree of muscular strength, the copper-coloured natives add the advantage of being rarely subject to any deformity. In Mexico, they generally attain an advanced age, especially the women, who frequently reach a hundred years of age; and both the Mexican and the Peruvian Indians preserve their muscular strength to the last. Humboldt states, that their hair scarcely ever turns grey,—that it is far

* Ulloa remarked, that neither heat nor cold produces any sensible change in the colour; "so that the Indians of the Cordilleras of Peru are easily confounded with those of the hottest plains; and those who live under the line, cannot be distinguished by the colour from those who inhabit the fortieth parallel of north or south latitude."

† The Indians who inhabit the torrid zone of South America, Humboldt states, have generally some beard, and it is increased by shaving. The apparent deficiency of beard is by no means peculiar to the American race, for many hordes of Eastern Asia have scarcely any. The negroes of Congo and the Caribs are also beardless.

more rare to find an Indian than a negro with grey hairs; but this is at variance with the testimony of Ulloa. He adds, that the Indians would undoubtedly attain a very great longevity, were it not for their excessive use of intoxicating liquors. In New Spain, drunkenness is most common among the Indians who inhabit the valley of Mexico and the environs of Puebla and Tlascala, wherever the *maguey* (or *agave Americana*) is cultivated on a large scale. The Mexican Indian is described by Humboldt as grave, melancholic, and silent, so long as he is not under the influence of intoxication. He loves to throw a mysterious air over the most indifferent actions. The more violent passions are seldom painted in his features; but there is something terrific in the change, when he passes all at once from a state of absolute repose to violent and ungovernable agitation. The Peruvian Indian displays more gentleness of manners: the energy of the Mexican is apt to degenerate into ferocity. This is especially the case with the inhabitants of Tlascala, who are still distinguished by a certain haughtiness which seems to bespeak a remembrance of the independence of their ancestors. No race of men appear to be more destitute of imagination. There cannot, Humboldt says, exist a more marked contrast, than that which is presented by the impetuous vivacity of the Congo negro, and the apparent phlegm of the Indian. Yet, when the latter attains a certain degree of civilisation, "he displays a great facility of apprehension, a judicious mind, a natural logic, and a subtlety in seizing the finest differences in the comparison of objects." The Mexicans display a great aptitude in the arts of imitation, and a much greater skill in those which are purely mechanical. Humboldt was astonished

at what they were able to execute in carving, with a bad knife, on the hardest wood. They are fond of painting, but have been servilely imitating for these three hundred years, the models which the Europeans imported with them at the conquest. Their music and dancing partake of the want of gayety which characterises them. Their songs are terrific and melancholy. The Indian women shew more vivacity than the men; but they take no share in the dance, their only business on such occasions being to present their lords with *pulque*, or other fermented liquors. The Mexicans have preserved their fondness for flowers, which was noticed by Cortes. This taste, which indicates a relish for the beautiful, one is astonished to find in a people among whom a sanguinary worship, and the frequency of human sacrifices, might be thought to have extinguished all sensibility and kindly sentiment. In the great market-place of Mexico, the Indian fruiterer appears seated behind an entrenchment of fresh herbs, and garlands of flowers and nosegays are suspended round his shop or stall, which are renewed every day. The European, says M. Humboldt, cannot fail to be struck with the care and elegance which the natives display in distributing the fruits, which they sell in small baskets of very light wood, ornamented with odoriferous flowers.

Upon the whole, the state of civilisation among the Mexican Indians, may be considered as very nearly akin to that of the Chinese and Japanese, to whom, in many respects, they bear a resemblance. In the colour of the skin and hair, the defective beard, the high cheek-bones, and the direction of the eyes, they present the marks of an affinity to the Mongol race.

"We cannot refuse to admit," says the learned traveller so often cited, "that the human species does not contain races resembling one another more than the Americans, Mongols, Mantchous, and Malays." There are, however, some essential peculiarities by which they are distinguished from each other. The cranium of the American differs materially from that of the Mongol, exhibiting a facial line more inclined, though straighter than that of the negro; and there is no race in which there is so slight a projection of the forehead. The cheek-bones are almost as prominent as in the Mongol, but not so sharply angular, and the under-jaw is larger than in the negro. "Perhaps," adds M. Humboldt, "this race of copper-coloured men, comprehended under the general name of American Indians, is a mixture of Asiatic tribes and the aborigines of this vast continent; and it is not unlikely, that the figures with enormous aquiline noses observed in the Mexican hieroglyphic paintings preserved at Vienna, Veletri, and Rome, indicate the physiognomy of some races now extinct." Where the aborigines came from, the learned author does not attempt to inform us. The paintings in question undoubtedly suggest the idea of a race distinct from the present indigenous tribes; but, as the figures distinguished by the peculiarity referred to, appear, for the most part, to be either priests or other dignified personages, it admits of a question, whether those extraordinary individuals might not be foreigners, in representing whose appearance the painter would naturally exaggerate the more prominent features. Or if not, they are less likely to have belonged to the ruder aboriginal race, than to the Asiatic ancestry of the conquerors or intruders. It is possible, that

the Aztec priests might be of a different race from the present Mexican Indians; and few, if any of them, escaped the exterminating sword of Cortes.*

* Out of eighty-three American languages, which have been examined by Professor Vater, only one hundred and thirty-seven roots have hitherto been recognised, which are found in the languages of the Mantchou Tartars and Mongols, the Celtic, the Biscayan, and the Esthonian. This fact, Humboldt considers as an incontestable proof of the early separation of the American race. On the other hand, it seems to indicate an original affinity.—See Humboldt's Researches, vol. i. p. 249. It is remarkable, that the legends of Mexico, Peru, and Brazil, all unite in ascribing the civilisation of the country to a *foreigner*. As the Indians of the southern peninsula ascribed the first cultivation of the mandioc to their Payé Zome, so the Mexican Indians adore a mysterious personage under the name of *Quetzalcoatl*, who is said to have landed at the head of a band of strangers from the north. Their dress was black, long, and loose, says Torquemada, like the Turkish dress, or the cassock, open before, without hood or cape, the sleeves full, but not reaching quite to the elbow; and such dresses were, in his time, still used by the natives in some of their dances, in commemoration of the event. Their leader was a white man, florid, and with a large beard. He taught the natives to cut the green stones, and to work silver and gold. Every thing flourished in his reign. He never suffered blood to be shed in sacrifice, but ordered bread, and flowers, and incense to be offered up instead. The Mexican clergy are disposed to identify this person with the apostle St. Thomas; and many coincidences in the cosmogony and traditions of the Aztecs, together with the universal belief that white men, with long beards and sanctity of manners, had changed their religion and political system, favour the hypothesis that, at some remote epoch, Christianity had been preached in the new continent. Humboldt, however, remarks, that the same traditions, of high antiquity, are found both among the followers of Brahma and among the Shamans of the Steppes of Eastern Tartary. "It is no way doubtful," he remarks, "that Nestorianism, mingled with the *dogmata* of the Bouddhists and the Shamans, spread through Mantchou Tartary into the north-east of Asia. We may therefore suppose, with some appearance of reason, that Christian ideas have been communicated by the same means to the Mexican nations; especially to the inhabitants of that northern region from which the

The introduction of Christianity has had no other effect, Humboldt says, on the Indians of Mexico, than to substitute new ceremonies and symbols for the rites of a sanguinary worship. "Dogma has not succeeded to dogma, but ceremony to ceremony. The natives know nothing of religion but the exterior forms of worship. The festivals of the church, the fire-works with which they are accompanied, the processions, mingled with dances and whimsical disguises, are a most fertile source of amusement for the lower classes." * The Romish priests favoured the amalgamation of ideas by which Christianity was confounded in the minds of the natives with the Mexican mythology, and the Holy Ghost was identified with the sacred eagle of the Aztecs. If any stress can be laid on the anecdote mentioned by a recent English traveller, it would seem doubtful whether some taint of the old superstition does not yet remain among some of the Indians. Mr. Bullock had obtained leave to disinter, and take casts from, a colossal image of the goddess Teoyamiqui.†

Toltecs emigrated, and which we must consider as the *officina virorum* of the New World."—HUMBOLDT'S *Researches*, vol. i. p. 197.—SOUTHEY'S *Madoc, Notes*, vol. ii. p. 235.

* "In the province of Pasto, on the ridge of the Cordillera of the Andes, I have seen Indians, masked and adorned with small tinkling bells, perform savage dances round the altar, while a monk of St. Francis elevated the host."—HUMBOLDT, *Pol. Essay*, vol. i. p. 168.

† The idol is thus described: "This colossal and horrible monster is hewn out of one solid block of basalt, nine feet high. Its outlines give an idea of a deformed human figure, uniting all that is horrible in the tiger and the rattle-snake: instead of arms, it is supplied with two large serpents, and its drapery is composed of wreathed snakes, interwoven in the most disgusting manner, and the sides terminating in the wings of a vulture. Its feet are those of the tiger, with claws extended in the act of seizing its prey, and between them lies the head of another rattle-snake, which seems descending from the body of the idol. Its decorations accord with

During the time it was exposed, the greater part of the by-standers who crowded to see it, expressed the most decided anger and contempt. Not so the Indians: not a smile or a word escaped them. In reply to a joke of one of the students of the university, an old Indian remarked: "It is true, we have three very good Spanish gods, but we might still have been allowed to keep a few of those of our ancestors."* Mr. Bullock was informed, that chaplets of flowers had been placed on the idol by natives who had stolen to the spot, unseen, in the evening for that purpose.*

The social condition of the Mexican Indians when considered *en masse*, is represented by M. Humboldt as presenting a picture of extreme misery. Banished into the most barren districts, and indolent from nature, and still more so from their political situation, the natives live only from hand to mouth. Yet, a few families are met with, who, under an appearance of poverty, conceal considerable wealth. "Mexico is the country of inequality. No where does there exist so fearful a difference in the distribution of fortune, civilisation, cultivation of the soil, and population. The magnificence and luxury of the capital and other cities, the costly temples and gorgeous exhibitions in

its horrid form, having a large necklace composed of human hearts, hands, and skulls, and fastened together by the entrails,—the deformed breasts of the idol only remaining uncovered. It has evidently been painted in natural colours, which must have added greatly to the terrible effect it was intended to inspire in its votaries."

* According to one Spanish historian (Acosta), the Indians were not, however, so well contented with their gods on the arrival of the Spaniards. He cites an old Indian chief as repelling the charge of hastily changing his religion, by the assertion, that they were so wearied and discontented with these gods as to have deliberated about leaving them in good earnest and adopting others.—HUMBOLDT, *Pol. Essay*, vol. i. p. 165.

religious processions, contrasted with the gloomy visages and wretched appearance of the Mexican poor, mark the reign of extortion, superstition, and ignorance.* In the cities, the poorer classes are still more numerous and wretched than in the country. In the city of Mexico, the *leperos* (as they are termed) were reckoned at nearly a fourth of the population. It is but just to remark, however, that the state of the Mexican peasantry was not much less deplorable, prior to the conquest, under the grievous oppression of the Aztec feudalism. The ancient distinction between the patrician and plebeian classes, is still preserved in the twofold division of the indigenous population into tributary Indians and cacique or noble Indians. The latter, by the Spanish laws, ought to have participated

* "No part of the earth exhibits such striking and such monstrous contrasts of wealth and misery, as well in the country as in the cities, as Mexico. We behold the proprietor of a *hacienda* decked in a style of the most costly, but awkward grandeur. He has on a pair of country-made boots, which cost from 50 to 100 dollars; large spurs inlaid with gold and silver; a superb horse, with a bridle and saddle which cost from 150 to 300 dollars; a cloak or *mangas* richly embroidered, and full of gold or silver buttons, laces, and fringe. He lives in a spacious house, within whose walls every luxury is to be found that the country affords; but when he sallies forth, he is lost amid a groupe of half-naked, badly-fed wretches, whose only dress is sheep-skins, if in the country; or, if in a town, their shoulders are covered by an old blanket or sheet, serving them for a partial covering by day, and a bed at night. No species of attention is ever paid by the lord of the soil to the comfort or wants of his tenants or vassals; and a more wretched race of cultivators does not exist under the canopy of heaven, than the Indian labourers on these estates, and in the mining districts. Twenty-five cents, or two reals, are the daily wages of a labourer, out of which pittance he has to clothe and feed himself and family, and to pay the government and parochial extortions. No wonder, therefore, that he rarely tastes of animal food. In fact, the situation of a Georgia field-negro is superior, notwithstanding all that the royal writers say to the contrary."—ROBINSON'S *Memoirs*, vol. i. pp. 263, 4.

in the privileges of the Castilian nobility; but it is now difficult to distinguish, by their exterior, their manners, or mode of living, the hereditary cacique from the vassal. The dress common to both, is the Mexican tunic, of a coarse quality and a blackish brown colour, and they generally go barefoot.* Yet, the common people shew the noble families a respect which indicates the distance prescribed by the ancient Aztec hierarchy, while they still exert a measure of their former prerogatives in oppressing the tributary class. Exercising the magistracy in the Indian villages, it is they who levy the capitation-tax, and they make use of their authority to extort petty sums for their own profit.† In point of grossness of manners, ignorance, and want of civilisation, they are quite on a level with the lower class. At Cholula, where there are no caciques, the tributary Indians are distinguished by their sobriety, and gentle, peaceable manners; and among them are found several wealthy families. The manners of the Cholulans, Humboldt

* The dress of the poorer classes and Indians varies in the different provinces. In the capital, the dress of the Indian men is described by Mr. Bullock as consisting of a straw hat; close jacket with short sleeves, of dark-coloured coarse woollen or leather; short breeches, open at the knees, also of leather, or sometimes of undressed goat's skin, with the hair outwards; and under this, full calico trowsers reaching to the middle of the leg. Sometimes sandals of leather are worn. The women appear in little more than a petticoat and short jacket, with their long raven tresses plaited with red tape.—BULLOCK, p. 218.

† This disposition in those who are themselves politically degraded, to indemnify themselves by oppressing all beneath them, exhibits itself in all nations similarly circumstanced. Humboldt instances the extortionate conduct of the Jewish rabbins. The conduct of the Wallachian *boyars*, or nobles, is a case more in point. Under the Turkish despotism, pasha, bey, and aga, Turk, Greek, and Arab, are alike oppressors to the extent of their power.

says, exhibit a singular contrast to those of their neighbours the Tlascalans, of whom a great number pretend to be the descendants of the highest nobility, and who increase their poverty by a litigious spirit, and a restless, turbulent disposition.

The Indians were considered by the first conquerors as their property; they were sold into captivity, and thousands perished under the harsh treatment of their inhuman masters, until the noble efforts of Las Casas drew the attention of the Court of Spain to their sufferings. Commissioners were then despatched to inquire into these abuses; but the measures which were adopted with a view to alleviate the condition of the Indians, were perverted by the avarice and cunning of the conquerors to their disadvantage. The system of *encomiendas* was introduced, by which the remains of the conquered population were shared out among the *conquistadores*, and placed under the superintendence and protection of certain masters. The *encomendero* was bound to live in the district which contained the Indians of his *encomienda*, to watch over their conduct, instruct and civilise them, and protect them from persecution or imposition. In return for these services, they received a tribute in labour or in produce. But, in consequence of this attempt at melioration, slavery only assumed a more systematic and legalised form; and the abuse of the protecting regulations followed close upon their institution. A great number of the finest *encomiendas* were distributed among the monks, and religion became degraded by its participation in the servitude of the people. This partition of the Indians attached them to the soil, and the slave frequently took the family name of his master: hence, many Indian families bear Spanish names, although their blood has never been mingled with the European.

Such was the state of the Mexican peasantry in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the eighteenth, their situation was somewhat improved by the abolition of the *encomiendas*; and King Charles III. prohibited at the same time the *repartimientos* by which the *corregidors* arbitrarily constituted themselves the creditors, and virtually the masters of the natives, by furnishing them, at extravagant prices, with horses, mules, and clothes, in consideration of which they became entitled to the profits of their labour. The establishment of intendencies during the ministry of the Count de Galvez, was an important benefit conferred on the Indian population. Under the superintendence of these governors, the minute vexations to which the cultivator was incessantly exposed from the subaltern Spanish and Indian magistracy, were greatly diminished. A previous regulation in their favour had given them magistrates of their own choice; but it was found necessary to appoint over these a corregidor, to prevent the Indian alcaldes from abusing their authority. The Indians were exempted from every sort of indirect impost; they paid no *alcavala*; and the law allowed them full liberty in the sale of their productions. The impost of the *tributos*, which was a direct capitation-tax, paid by all male Indians between the ages of ten and fifty, had also been considerably reduced in several of the intendencies. Besides this, they were liable only to the payment of parochial dues and offerings.* Such was the

* In 1800, according to Humboldt, in the bishopric of Mechoacan, and the greater part of Mexico, the capitation-tax amounted to only 11 francs, (9*s.* 2*d.*) The parochial taxes consisted of 10 francs for baptism, 20 francs for a marriage certificate, 20 francs for the burial fee, and from 25 to 30 francs for "voluntary offerings."

state of things prior to the Revolution. But, while the legislature appeared thus to favour the Indians with regard to imposts, it deprived them of the most important civil rights, and, affecting to treat them as perpetual minors, declared null and void every act signed by a copper-coloured native, and every obligation which he might contract beyond the value of fifteen francs. It is possible, that the intention of the legislature was, to protect them against being held in bondage on the plea of debt, by those who had constituted themselves their creditors for this purpose; but the effect was, to render thousands incapable of entering into any binding contract, and to place an insurmountable barrier between the Indians and the other castes.

"In fact," says the Bishop of Mechoacan, in a memoir presented to the Spanish monarch in 1799, "the Indians and the races of mixed blood are in a state of extreme humiliation. The colour peculiar to the Indians, their ignorance, and especially their poverty, remove them to an infinite distance from the whites. The privileges which the laws seem to concede to the Indians, are of small advantage to them; perhaps, they are rather hurtful. Shut up within the narrow boundaries (the radius of which is only 542 yards) assigned by an ancient law to the Indian villages, the natives may be said to have no individual property; and they are bound to cultivate the common property, without the hope of ever reaping the fruit of their labours. The new regulations of the intendancies direct that the natives shall no longer receive assistance from the general funds (*cajas de communidades*) without special permission of the Board of Finances of Mexico. The common property has been farmed out by the intendants; and the produce of the labour

of the natives is poured into the royal treasury. The intendant of Valladolid sent, in 1798, more than a million of francs (41,670*l.*) to Madrid, which had been accumulating for twelve years. The king was told, that it was a spontaneous and patriotic gift from the Indians of Mechoacan to their sovereign, to aid in the prosecution of the war against England!

"The law prohibits the mixture of castes: it prohibits the whites from taking up their residence in Indian villages; and it prevents the natives from establishing themselves among the Spaniards. This state of insulation opposes obstacles to civilisation. The Indians are governed by themselves: all the subaltern magistrates are of the copper-coloured race. In every village we find eight or ten old Indians who live at the expense of the rest, in the most complete idleness, whose authority is founded either on a pretended elevation of birth, or on a cunning policy transmitted from father to son. These chiefs, generally the only inhabitants of the village who speak Spanish, have the greatest interest in keeping their fellow-citizens in the most profound ignorance, and they contribute the most to perpetuate prejudices, ignorance, and the ancient barbarity of manners.....The Indians and the castes are in the hands of the magistrates of districts (*justicias territoriales*), whose immorality has not a little contributed to their misery..... The *alcaldes mayores* administered justice with impartiality, whenever their own interests were not concerned; but the sub-delegates of the intendants, having no other revenues than casualties, deemed themselves authorised to employ illicit means to procure themselves a comfortable subsistence. Hence the perpetual oppression and the abuse of authority to which the poor were subject; and hence the indulgence towards

the rich, and the shameful traffic of justice. The intendants find the greatest difficulties in the choice of the sub-delegates, from whom the Indians can expect neither support nor protection. That support and protection they seek from the clergy, and hence the constant opposition in which the clergy and the sub-delegates live."

In the close of this important document, (which throws considerable light on the causes that led to the first Mexican revolution,) this venerable and patriotic prelate boldly declares, that unless a change were made in the system, the influence which the clergy possessed over the hearts of these unfortunate people, would not much longer be sufficient to hold them in loyal subjection to their sovereign.*

The Revolution has at least effected some of the changes recommended by the bishop to the government. The copper-coloured race are declared, together with all the castes, to be possessed of the same rights as the whites. The "odious personal impost" of the *tributo* is also abolished; but, as a matter of course, they will now be subject to the alcavala and other taxes from which they were exempt. "Measures," however, "must be taken," remarks the American citizen, "to educate the Indians, and lands must be distributed among them, before they can be considered as forming a part of the people of a free government."† This very measure the Bishop of Mechoacan urges: "Let a portion of the domains of the crown (*tierras realenguas*), which are generally uncultivated, be granted to the Indians and the castes; let an agrarian law be passed for Mexico, similar to that of the

* Humboldt, Pol. Essay, vol. i. pp. 190—196.
† Notes on Mexico, p. 120.

Asturias and Galicia, by which the poor cultivator is permitted to appropriate, under certain conditions, the land which the great proprietors have left uncultivated, to the detriment of the national industry." The other changes which the Bishop recommends, are, that liberty should be given alike to the Indians, the castes, and the whites, to settle in each other's villages, and that all judges and district magistrates should have fixed salaries. We know not how far the Federal Government has hitherto realised these wise suggestions; but there is room to hope that they will at least be eventually accomplished.

Previously to the Revolution, the Europeans (a word then held synonymous with Spaniard) are supposed to have constituted only a 70th part of the population, their proportion to the white Creoles being as one to fourteen. In the capital, according to an official census drawn up by the Count de Revillagigedo, in every hundred inhabitants, forty-nine were Spanish Creoles, two European Spaniards, twenty-four Aztec and Otomite Indians, and twenty-five of mixed blood. Of 1,200,000 whites, who were then reckoned to be included in the population of New Spain, Humboldt supposes that not more than 70 or 80,000 were Europeans. We have already referred to the pernicious policy which led to the bestowment of all employments on the natives of Old Spain. "The most miserable European," says Humboldt, "without education and without intellectual cultivation, thinks himself superior to the whites born in the new continent." Captain Hall states, that the Spaniards were absurdly unguarded in the terms they used in speaking of the natives. "They delighted to contrast their own *superior ilustracion* with the *ignorancia barbara* of the Mexicans; and if any one ventured to insinuate,

that this ignorance of the natives might, perhaps, have been produced by the manner in which the country had been governed,—they would turn fiercely on us, and maintain that they were incapable of being educated." "Much, however, in fairness," adds this intelligent traveller, "is to be said in excuse for the sinking race of Spaniards in these countries. They undoubtedly are far better informed men, more industrious, and more highly bred, than the natives are in general. As merchants, they are active, enterprising, and honourable in all their dealings. It is only on the national question between them and the natives, that they are illiberal. They are much less tainted with bigotry than the natives. They are men, taken generally, of pleasing conversation and manners, and habitually obliging; and when not pressed by immediate danger and difficulties, especially so to strangers. For, notwithstanding their habitual jealousy, their prejudices never interfered with their cordial hospitality, and even generosity, to all foreigners who treated them with frankness and confidence. A Don, it is well known, is the most stately of mortals, to those who treat him with hauteur or reserve; but to those who really confide in him, and treat him, not precisely in a familiar manner, but in what is termed *un modo corriente*, he becomes as cordial and as open as any man." *

The castes are estimated by Humboldt as forming a total of nearly 2,400,000,—a proportion of the population almost as considerable as the Indians. The mestizoes, or *metis*, are by far the most numerous, being reckoned to form seven-eighths of the half-cast natives. Their colour is almost a pure white, with a

* Hall's Journal, vol. ii. pp. 269—271.

skin of remarkable transparency. The small beard, and small hands and feet, and a certain obliquity of the eyes, are more certain indications of the mixture of Indian blood, than the nature of the hair. If a *mestiza* marries a white man, the second generation differs hardly in any thing from the European race. The *metis* are generally accounted of a much milder character than the mulattoes, who are distinguished by the violence of their passions, their superior energy and activity, and their singular volubility. The offspring of a white man by a mulatto are termed *quarterons*; and the children of a female quarteron who marries a white, are *quinterons*. The children of a white by a female quinteron are considered as whites. The descendants of negroes and Indian women are known at Mexico, Lima, and the Havannah, by the absurd name of *Chino*, Chinese; the term *zambo*, which the laws apply to them, being mostly restricted to the descendants of a negro by a female mulatto, or a negro and female *Chino*. These *zambos* again are distinguished from the offspring of a negro and a female zambo, who are called *zambos prietos*, black zambos. The mixtures in which the colour of the children becomes deeper than that of the mother, are called *salta-atras*, back-steps.*

The greater or smaller degree of whiteness of skin, decides the rank of the individual in society. "A white who rides barefoot, thinks he belongs to the

* "The castes of Indian or African blood preserve the odour peculiar to the cutaneous transpiration of those two primitive races. The Peruvian Indians, who, in the middle of the night, distinguish the different races by their quick sense of smell, have formed three words to express the odour of the European, the Indian, and the negro, viz. *pezuna*, *posco*, and *grajo*." — HUMBOLDT'S *Pol. Essay*, vol. i. p. 245.

nobility of the country." When any one of the lower orders enters into a dispute with one of the titled lords of the country, it is no unusual thing to hear him say, Do you think me not so white as yourself? It not unfrequently occurs, that families suspected of mixed blood apply to the high court of justice for a certificate that they are white; and in this way, some very swarthy mulattoes have had the address to get themselves whitened. When the colour affords too palpable a contradiction of the declaration sought for, the petitioner is obliged to content himself with the somewhat problematical sentence, that such or such individuals may consider themselves as whites (*que se tengan por blancos*).*

Of all the European colonies under the torrid zone, Mexico is the country in which there are the fewest negroes. "One may go through the whole city of Mexico," says Humboldt, "without seeing a single black. In this point of view, Mexico presents a striking contrast to the Havannah, Lima, and the Caraccas. The negroes of Jamaica are, to those of New Spain, in the proportion of 250 to 1. According to the most authentic accounts it appeared, that in 1793, in all New Spain, there were not 6000 negroes, and, at the very utmost, 9 or 10,000 slaves, of whom the greater number belonged to the ports of Vera Cruz and Acapulco, or the *tierras calientes*." By the laws, there could be no Indian slaves in the Spanish colonies; and though these laws were notoriously evaded, the slaves were taken more under the protection of the government than the negroes in other European colonies, and every facility was given to their obtaining their manumission. To the honour

* See Modern Traveller. Brazil, vol. i. p. 91.

of the Federal Republic, slavery can no longer exist on the Mexican soil.

Among the various ranks or orders into which society is distributed, we have to notice, first, the titled nobility, who are all white Creoles, to whom it will be proper to restrict the term Mexicans. They are thus characterised by the American traveller: "Satisfied with the enjoyment of their large estates,* and with the consideration which their rank and wealth confer, they seek no other distinction; they are not remarkable for their attainments, or for the strictness of their morals. The lawyers," (it is added,) "who, in fact, exercise much more influence over the people, rank next to the nobles. They are the younger branches of noble houses, or the sons of Europeans, and are distinguished by shrewdness and intelligence. Next in importance are the merchants and shopkeepers; for the former are not sufficiently numerous to form a separate class: they are wealthy, and might possess influence, but have hitherto taken little part in the politics of the country, most probably from the fear of losing their property. The labouring class in the cities and towns, includes all castes and

* Humboldt mentions individuals, not possessing mines, whose revenues amounted to upwards of 40,000*l.* sterling. The three branches of the family of the Count de la Valenciana, possessed revenues to the amount of 90,000*l.*; but this was partly drawn from mines. The "superb estates" of the representative of the family of Cortes, in the intendency of Oaxaca, yield a net rent of 23,000*l.*; and, "if the descendants of the great *Conquistador* would but live at Mexico, their revenue would immediately rise to more than a million and a half of francs." (62,505*l.*) But these immense fortunes are in the hands of a small number of individuals. The inequality in the distribution of wealth is "terrific,"—the more so, because there exists no intermediate class. "We are rich or miserable," says the patriotic Bishop of Mechoacan, "noble or degraded."

colours; they are industrious and orderly, and view with interest what is passing around them; most of them can read, and in the large cities, papers and pamphlets are hawked about the street, and sold at a cheap rate. The labouring class in the country is composed, in the same manner, of different castes: they are sober, industrious, docile, ignorant, and superstitious, and may be led by their priests or masters to good or evil. Their apathy has in some measure been overcome by the long struggle for independence, in which most of them bore a part, but they are still under the influence and direction of the priests. The last class, unknown as such in a well regulated society, consists of beggars and idlers, drones that prey upon the community, and who, having nothing to lose, are always ready to swell the cry of popular ferment, or to lend their aid in favour of imperial tyranny. The influence of this class, where it is numerous, upon the fate of revolutions, has always been destructive to liberty."*

In this enumeration, however, it is strange that no specific notice is taken of the clergy, except as exerting a powerful influence over the labouring classes. "It may not be altogether correct," it is said, "to con-

* Notes on Mexico, pp. 120, 121. "The streets of Mexico swarm with from 20 to 30,000 wretches (*Saragates, Guachinangos*), of whom the greater number pass the night in the open air, and stretch themselves out to the sun during the day, with nothing but a flannel covering. These dregs of the people bear an analogy to the *lazzaroni* of Naples. Lazy, careless, and sober, like them, the *Guachinangos* have nothing, however, ferocious in their character, and they never ask alms; for, if they work one or two days in the week, they earn as much as will purchase their pulque, or some of the ducks with which the Mexican lakes are covered, which are roasted in their own fat."—HUMBOLDT. This was written in 1808. It is obvious, how dangerous would be such a class to the community at a period of political commotion.

sider their influence as confined exclusively to the upper and lower orders of society; but certainly, a very large proportion of the middle class are exempt from it. Unfortunately, too many who were educated in the forms of the Roman Catholic church, have emancipated themselves from its superstitions, only to become sceptics and infidels." The inequality of fortune which is found in the class of proprietors, is still more conspicuous among the clergy. "A number of them suffer extreme poverty, while others possess revenues which surpass those of many of the sovereign princes of Germany. The Mexican clergy are composed of only 10,000 individuals, half of whom are regulars who wear the cowl. If we include lay brothers and sisters, and all those who are not in orders, we may estimate them at 13 or 14,000. The annual revenues of the eight Mexican bishops,* amount to a sum-total of 118,000*l.*; but the income of the bishop of Sonora amounts only to the twentieth part of that of the bishops of Valladolid and Mechoacan; and, what *is* truly distressing, in the diocese of an archbishop whose revenue amounts to 27,000*l.*, there are clergymen of Indian villages whose income does not exceed from 20*l.* to 25*l.*" †

A more particular notice of the manners and costume of the diversified population will find its place in the topographical description. Having detained our readers already too long with the historical and geographical introduction, (which we have found it impossible, however, to compress within a narrower

* The Mexican hierarchy consists of the archbishop of Mexico, and the bishops of la Puebla, Valladolid, Guadalaxara, Durango, Monterey, Yucatan Oaxaca, and Sonora.

† Humboldt's Pol. Essay, vol. i. pp. 229—32.

compass,) we hasten to conduct them, by the shortest route, from the coast to the capital.

VERA CRUZ.

On approaching the harbour of Vera Cruz, the rugged mountains that skirt the Orizaba, with its snowy conical peak towering above them all, present a magnificent spectacle. The low lands are at length seen, finely undulating and rich in the deep verdure and luxuriant vegetation of the tropics. The city itself, with its red and white cupolas, towers, and battlements, and the strong castle of S. Juan de Ulua, which commands the port, has a splendid appearance from the water. But, says Mr. Bullock, "this painted Golgotha is the head-quarters of death." The little *Isla de Sacrificios*, the dread of navigators, between which and Point Mocambo, vessels, however, sometimes anchor, is strewed with the bones of British subjects who have perished in this unhealthy climate, and whose remains are not allowed to be buried in consecrated ground. The island was so named by Grijalva, who found here a temple in which a human victim had been sacrificed the day before his arrival.* It is now a mere heap of sand, with only one wretched Indian family residing on it; but there are vestiges of ruins.

The port of Vera Cruz† is the only one on this

* The island on which the fortress of S. Juan de Ulua is built, is said to owe its name to a similar circumstance. Grijalva, on finding there the remains of two unfortunate victims, inquired of the natives why they sacrificed men, and was told, it was by order of the kings of *Acolhua*. The Spaniards, who had Indians of Yucatan for interpreters, mistook the answer, and supposed Ulua to be the name of the island. — Humboldt's *Pol. Essay*, vol. ii. p. 215.

† Lat. 19° 11′ 52″ N.; long. 98° 29′ W. — Humboldt.

coast which can receive a man of war. It is easy of access, but very insecure, being open to the much dreaded northerly winds; while the holding-ground is so bad, that no vessel is deemed secure unless made fast to rings fixed for the purpose in the castle wall. The mole, or landing-place, is a low pier of solid masonry. "I had scarcely put my foot upon it," says Mr. Bullock, "when I observed that it was partially paved with pigs of iron, each bearing the broad arrow of the king of England, which, I afterwards learned, were part of the ballast of an English frigate, left in order to enable her to return with a larger quantity of specie. Thus, the first step an Englishman takes in New Spain, is upon what once was English property." The city is beautifully and regularly built, and the streets are so extremely neat and clean, that, on the first view of the interior, the traveller is at a loss to account for its extreme unhealthiness. But buzzards, and other birds of the vulture species, may be observed hovering over the town, and perching on the house-tops; a sure indication that animal putrefaction is going forward. Mr. Bullock (who visited Mexico in March 1823) thus describes the appearance of the city.

"Many of the houses of Vera Cruz are large, some three stories high, built in the old Spanish or Moorish style, and generally enclosing a square court, with covered galleries. They have flat roofs, glass windows, and are well adapted to the climate: most of them have balconies of wood in front, and the interior arrangement is the same as in Old Spain. The whole town, as well as the castle, is built of coral (the *madrepora meandrities*), and the lime that forms the cement is of the same material: it is used for the roofs and foot pavement, and is so hard, that in some places

it receives, from friction, a polish like marble. There is one tolerably good square, of which the government-house forms one side, and the principal church the other. The foot-paths are frequently under piazzas, a great accommodation to passengers, protecting them from the sultry heat of the sun, and the heavy rains, which descend in torrents in the wet season.

"Sixteen cupolas or domes are counted from the sea, but only six churches are now in use. Indeed, nearly all the churches, monasteries, and nunneries here, have been abandoned, and are fast falling into decay, since the place has been lost to the Spaniards. Nothing is more repulsive to strangers accustomed to the bustle of European cities, than the gloomy death-like appearance of the place. Of any other city it is considered a disgrace to say, that grass grows in the streets, but here it would be a compliment, for no vegetation* is to be observed even for miles around; and fish is the only article of provision not brought from a distance. The only water fit to drink, is what falls from the clouds, and is preserved in tanks; that from the castle and the convent of Franciscans being the best. Though the markets are tolerably well supplied by the Indians, living at the hotels is expensive and very uncomfortable. Provisions are dear, with the exception of fish, which, as already stated, is in abundance and good. Some beautiful and curious Mangrove oysters were the largest and finest flavoured I ever met with. Milk is scarcely to be had, as not a cow is kept within many miles, and what is, perhaps, peculiar to Vera Cruz, there is not a garden even near it. The absence of vegetation attests at once the poverty

* "On my arrival it was the dry season, but on my return I found some little verdure."

of the soil and the insalubrity of the climate. I know not whether prejudice may not have influenced my decision, but to me, Vera Cruz appears the most disagreeable place on earth; and its character of being the most unhealthy spot in the world, naturally makes the stranger shudder every hour he remains within its walls, surrounded by arid sands, extensive swamps, and savannahs, the exhalations from which are removed only by strong winds.

"Society here, as may be anticipated, is extremely confined, and morality at a very low ebb. Few of the European merchants whom the hopes of gain have allured to reside here, are married. One class of the occupants will excite some surprise in persons unacquainted with tropical regions; I mean the carrion vultures. They are as tame in the streets as domestic fowls; and, like the dogs from the mountains at Lisbon, act as the scavengers of the place, very speedily clearing away whatever filth may be left. Their senses of smell and sight are very acute. While I was preserving some fishes in an apartment at the top of the hotel, the surrounding roofs were crowded with anxious expectants; and when the offal was thrown out, it was with much contention greedily consumed. They are on good terms with the dogs, and the two animals may be frequently seen devouring the same carcase. They pass the night on the roofs of the churches, where I have sometimes observed several hundreds."

Humboldt, who was there in 1802, states the resident population, exclusive of the militia and seafaring people, at 16,000. The English traveller was informed by several individuals of whom he made inquiry, that it does not now contain above 7000 inhabitants, although it appeared to him as large as

many towns containing a population three times that number.* The city is sometimes called Vera Cruz *Nueva*, to distinguish it from Vera Cruz *Vieja*, situated near the mouth of the Rio Antigua, which has been erroneously supposed by the historians to be the site of Cortes's first settlement. The city begun in 1519, was at three leagues' distance from Zempoalla, near the small port of Chiahuitzla. Three years afterwards, Villa Rica was transferred to another spot, further south, which has preserved the name of *La Antigua*, and which was in its turn abandoned as unhealthy. The present town was founded by the viceroy, Count de Monterey, towards the end of the sixteenth century, in the very place where Cortes first landed. It received the title and privileges of a city from Philip III. in 1615. It is situated in an arid plain destitute of running water, on which the impetuous north winds have formed hills of moving sand, that change their form and situation every year. These *meganos* (as they are called) are from twenty-six to thirty feet in height, and contribute very much to increase the suffocating heat. They may be considered, Humboldt says, as so many ovens by which the ambient air is heated, and by surrounding the town on the S. and S.W., they prevent a free circulation of air. In the midst of these sandy downs, between the city and the *Aroyo Gavilan*, are marshy grounds covered with mangles and other brushwood. Water is found, on digging the sandy soil, at the depth of nine or ten feet; but it proceeds only from the filtration of the marshes, and is in fact rain water, which has been in contact with

* The circuit within the walls is in fact only 5,362,000 square feet; a very confined space for the population.

the roots of vegetables, and is of very bad quality. The want of good potable water has been for centuries looked upon as one of the numerous causes of the diseases of the inhabitants; and, in 1704, a project was formed for conveying the water of the fine river of Xamapa to Vera Cruz. A stone aqueduct was begun, but, after numerous disputes, reports, surveys, and an immense expenditure, it was discovered to have been planned in entire ignorance of the proper level, and was abandoned. The cisterns which collect the rain water, are, with the exception of those in the castle, very improperly constructed; and the lower people are obliged to have recourse to the water of a ditch. The stagnant water of the *Baxio de la Tembladera*, and the small lakes of *la Hormiga*, *el Rancho de la Hortiliza*, and *Arjona*, is said to occasion intermittent fevers among the natives, and is thought to be not the least important among the fatal causes of the *vomito prieto*. These low and marshy places, says Humboldt, are the more to be feared, as they are not constantly covered with water. A bed of dead leaves, mixed with fruits, roots, larvæ of aquatic insects, and other animal matter, enter into fermentation as they become heated by the rays of a burning sun. It deserves remark, however, that the seasons when the *vomito prieto* commits the greatest ravages, are, the beginning and the termination of the rainy season, particularly the months of September and October. The strong heats begin in the month of March, and the epidemical scourge begins at the same time. In general, it ceases to rage when, at the commencement of the north winds, the mean temperature of the months falls below 75° of Fahrenheit; that is, in December, January, and February, when a very

sensible cold is frequently felt; but in 1803, it prevailed in a milder form during the whole winter.*

* Humboldt has a very long and interesting dissertation on this subject, (Pol. Essay, book v. c. 12.) which the medical reader will do well to consult. We can only briefly advert to it. It is certain, he says, that the *vomito*, which is endemical at Vera Cruz, Carthagena, and the Havannah, is the same disease as the yellow fever. He considers it as a typhus *sui generis*, strictly endemic, and *not* contagious. It is remarkable, that it has never hitherto appeared on the western coast of New Spain, although at Acapulco, bilious fevers and the *cholera morbus* are very frequent and equally fatal, so that Acapulco is deemed one of the most unhealthy places in the new continent. For fifty years back, the *vomito* has never appeared on any point of the coast of the South Sea, with the exception of the town of Panama, which, like Vera Cruz, is situated on an arid tongue of land, destitute of vegetation, and the tide leaves exposed a great extent of ground covered with marine plants and gelatinous mollusci, the decomposition of which is supposed to originate the infection. Individuals born at Vera Cruz are not subject to this disease; and it is the same with the inhabitants of the Havannah who do not quit their country; but natives of Cuba are sometimes attacked with the *vomito* at Vera Cruz, and Mexicans born at Vera Cruz, have fallen victims to the disease at Havannah, Jamaica, or the United States. In general, however, the instances of West Indians being attacked with yellow fever, are as rare as of negroes falling victims to it. The whites and the mestizoes who inhabit the table-land, are still more liable to contract the *vomito* on descending to Vera Cruz, than Europeans who come by sea; and the mortality is particularly great among the muleteers and the recruits destined for the garrison. Two circumstances may contribute to this; the more sudden change of climate they undergo, and their previous exhaustion from fatigue. But even when the precaution has been taken, of leaving the soldiers for several weeks at Xalapa, to season them to a higher temperature, they have been attacked with not less violence. A few years before Humboldt's visit, of 350 Mexican soldiers, all between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five, 272 perished in the course of three months. When the disorder rages with great violence, merely journeying from Xalapa across the plain of Vera Cruz in a litter, during the cool of the night, to embark at the mole, has been known to prove fatal; and it is the same in ascending to Xalapa from the coast. Women run less risk than men; but a

The first symptoms of the *vomito* are, a pain in the lumbar region, and signs of congestion about the head. The disease sometimes does not declare itself before the traveller arrives at Xalapa, or on the mountains of *la Pileta*; and those who have long resided at Xalapa, deem themselves able to ascertain from the features of the individual, whether he has contracted the disease or not. Of this, Humboldt cites a curious instance. A friend of his had arrived there, after a very short stay at Vera Cruz, without feeling any indication of approaching indisposition. "You will have the *vomito* this evening," said an Indian barber gravely to him while he lathered his face; "the soap dries as fast as I put it on; that is a never-failing sign; and for twenty years that I have been in the practice of shaving the *chapetons* who pass through this town on their way to Mexico, three out of every five have died." This sentence of death made a strong impression on the spirits of the traveller. It was in vain to represent to the Indian that his calculation was exaggerated, and that a great heat in the skin does not prove the infection to have taken place; the barber persisted in his prognostic, and in fact, the disease manifested itself a few hours after-

person who has once been attacked with the disease, is in no danger from subsequent epidemics. It is a very remarkable fact, that, during the eight years that preceded 1794, there was not a single example of *vomito* at Vera Cruz, although the concourse of Europeans and Mexicans from the interior was unusually great, and although the town was not so clean as it has been since 1800; notwithstanding, too, that the yellow fever never ceased, during that period, to rage in the West Indies, and that several hundreds of vessels from those infected places annually arrived at Vera Cruz, without undergoing quarantine. The *vomito* re-appeared in 1794, with the arrival of three ships of war that had touched at Porto Rico: and between 1794 and 1804, it re-appeared every year when the north winds ceased to blow.

wards, and the traveller very nearly became the victim of its violence.*

In the environs of Vera Cruz, the *vomito* is only found to prevail to the distance of ten leagues from the coast. The Spanish Government at one time contemplated destroying the town, under the idea that the pestilence was strictly local in its origin, and it was proposed to shut up the port during the hot months. Its importance however, as the only port on the eastern coast that affords any shelter to men of war, together with the danger of the navigation in winter, not to speak of the destruction of property consequent on the measure, would render such a determination extremely unwise. Whatever be the causes of the insalubrity of Vera Cruz, were the marshes drained, the high walls which surround the town and impede the circulation thrown down, and proper means adopted to secure cleanliness and a supply of wholesome water, there can be little doubt that the evil would be considerably diminished.

The intendency of Vera Cruz extends along the Mexican Gulf, from the Rio Baraderas or de los Lagartos, to the great river of Panuco, which rises in the metalliferous mountains of San Luis Potosi, including a very considerable part of the eastern coast of New Spain. It is bounded, on the east, by the peninsula of Merida; on the west and south, by the intendencies of Oaxaca, Puebla, and Mexico; on the north, it extends to New Santander. Its length, from the Bay of Terminos, near the Island of Carmen, to the small port of Tampico, is 210 leagues, while its breadth is only from 25 to 28 leagues. Within this distance, however, are comprehended the most opposite climates,

* Humboldt's Pol. Essay, vol. iv. p. 178, *note*.

as the western part of the intendency is formed by the declivity of the Cordilleras. In the course of a day, the inhabitants descend from the regions of eternal snow to the burning coast. The admirable order in which the different vegetable tribes rise one above another, as it were by strata, is no where more perceptible than in ascending from the port of Vera Cruz to the table-land of Perote. The features of the country, the aspect of the sky, the forms of plants, the figures of animals, the manners of the inhabitants, and the kind of cultivation, assume a different character at every stage of our progress. "As we ascend, nature gradually appears less animated, the beauty of the vegetable forms diminishes, the stems become less succulent, the flowers of less vivid colours. The appearance of the Mexican oak quiets the alarms of travellers newly landed, by demonstrating that he has left behind the zone under which the *vomito* exercises its ravages. Thick forests of styrax and other balsam-trees,* near Xalapa, announce, by the freshness of their verdure, that this is the elevation at which the clouds come in contact with the basaltic summits of the Cordillera. A little higher, near *La Blanderilla*, the nutritive fruit of the banana no longer comes to maturity; and in this cold and foggy region, necessity spurs on the Indian to labour, and excites his industry. At the height of San Miguel, pines begin to mingle with the oaks, which are found by the traveller as high as the elevated plains of Perote, where he beholds the delightful aspect of fields sown with wheat. Between three and four thousand feet higher, the coldness of the climate will no longer admit of the vegetation of oaks; and pines alone there cover the rocks, the

* "Liquidambar styrax, piper longum, melastomata, and ferns resembling trees."

summits of which enter the zone of perpetual snow. Thus, in a few hours, the naturalist, in this wonderful country, ascends the whole scale of vegetation, from the heliconia and the banana plant, whose glossy leaves swell out into extraordinary dimensions, to the stunted foliage of the resinous trees."*

The *tierras calientes* might, under proper cultivation, form a very valuable part of the Mexican territory; but, though plantations have been of late years multiplying in the intendency of Vera Cruz, the coast presents, for the most part, the appearance of an unpeopled desert. Spaces of many square leagues are occupied by only two or three huts, round which roam herds of half-wild cattle. A small number of powerful families who reside on the table-land, are the proprietors of the greater part of the shores both of Vera Cruz and of San Luis Potosi; and in their hands, these immense territories are so neglected, that, in a country of the greatest fertility, there is found a want of hands, together with a scarcity of provisions. Wages are three times as high as on the table-land.

Within the limits of this intendency are the two colossal peaks already referred to; that of Orizaba, which, next to the Popocatepetl, is the highest in Mexico, and the *Coffre de Perote*, which is 1300 feet higher than the peak of Teneriffe. Four leagues S.E.

* Humboldt, Pol. Essay, vol. ii. p. 204. Among the precious productions of the burning plains are, the odoriferous *epidendrum vanilla*, which is found in the ever-green forests of Papantla, Nautla, and Tuxtla; the beautiful *convolvulus jalapa*, found near the Indian villages of Colipa and Misantla; the *myrtus pimenta*, which yields the spice called *pimienta de Tabasco*, and is found in the eastern part of the intendency, in the forests extending to the river of Baraderas; the *similax*, the root of which is the true salsaparilla; tobacco of an excellent quality; cotton of remarkable fineness and whiteness; and the cane yields nearly as much sugar as in Cuba.

of the port of Vera Cruz, near the Indian village of Santiago de Tuxtla, is the small volcano of Tuxtla, joining the *Sierra de San Martin*. A considerable eruption took place in March 1793, which covered with ashes the roofs of the houses at Oaxaca, Vera Cruz, and Perote. At the latter place, distant 57 leagues in a straight line, the subterraneous noises resembled heavy discharges of artillery.

In the northern part of the intendency, at two leagues' distance from the large village of Papantla, there is a remarkable pyramid, which was first discovered about sixty years ago. It is situated in the midst of a thick forest, called *Tajin*, which concealed it from the first conquerors. It differs from the pyramids of Cholula and Teotihuacan, in being constructed, not of bricks or clay, but wholly of immense blocks of stone, very regularly cut, and laid with mortar. The base is an exact square, each side being 80 feet in length. The perpendicular height is not quite 60 feet, and the edifice is less remarkable for its size, than its symmetry. Like all the Mexican *teocallis*, it is composed of several stages, six of which are still distinguishable: a seventh is concealed by the vegetation with which the sides of the pyramid are covered. Three flights of fifty-seven steps lead to the truncated summit, where the human victims were immolated. The facing is adorned with hieroglyphics, in which serpents and crocodiles in relief are discernible. A number of square niches (378) are symmetrically distributed over the pyramid, which have been conjectured to bear a correspondence to the Mexican calendar.† This remarkable monument will not fail to attract the attention of future travellers.

† Humboldt, Pol. Essay, vol. ii. pp. 211—14. Researches, vol. i. p. 86.

There are no mines of any importance in this intendency: those of Zomelahuacan, near Jalacingo, were almost abandoned in 1802. The other towns are, Xalapa, Perote, Cordoba, Orizaba, Tlacotlalpan, Villa Hermosa, and Victoria: the last of these is one of the oldest in New Spain. Xalapa occurs in the route

FROM VERA CRUZ TO MEXICO.

In a direct line from the coast, the level sandy country does not extend beyond three miles; but the road to Xalapa runs along the coast in a southerly direction as far as the assemblage of huts called the village of Santa Fe, a distance of two hours and a half. For nearly the whole of this way, there is neither road, nor habitation, nor any signs of living nature; the only marks of its having been traversed, are the skeletons of horses and mules which meet the eye of the traveller, as he is slowly dragged along in a *volante*,—a species of cabriolet, suspended by twisted leather thongs, and drawn by mules, which is the usual conveyance. Mr. Bullock, with whom we now join company, states, that he left the coast at a place called *Vera Agua*, where there is a stream with a bridge over it. At Santa Fe, he shot several birds, among which was the crested meadow-lark of America, a large and fine bird for the table, and exceedingly tame. Birds and hares of a diminutive size became very numerous, and the country began to be improved by vegetation, as he approached San Rafael. Here, he had the first specimen of a Mexican inn (*posada*), which, though not much inferior to a Brazilian *rancho*, was feelingly contrasted by our naturalist, with an English barn or hay-loft; either of which, he says, would have been Paradise to it. The *posada* is "a

large shed, thatched with leaves or reeds, partly enclosed like a bird-cage, and freely admitting the air; so little barricadoed as to allow whatever passes within to be seen without; and with the roof projecting very considerably over the sides." Having with difficulty procured some planks on which to place their mattresses, the travellers prepared to go to sleep; but, alas! the noise of numberless dogs barking, mules kicking and fighting, and muleteers cursing, the suffocating heat, the singing and stinging of mosquitoes, and the presence of myriads of fleas, rendered slumber impossible. A better road, carried at considerable expense over otherwise impassable morasses, conducts to *Passo de Ovejas.* This is part of the magnificent road from Perote to Vera Cruz, mentioned by Humboldt as undertaken by order of the *consulado*, which, he says, promises to rival those of the Simplon and Mount Cenis; and had it been carried to an end in the same manner in which it was begun, it would not, Mr. Bullock says, have been surpassed by either. But, after immense sums had been expended, the project was abandoned, and it is now a ruin.* At Passo de Ovejas, there is an unfinished mansion of considerable size and of some architectural beauty, commenced by the proprietor of the estate before the revolution, but that event put a stop to the building. The land in the neighbourhood appears rich, and is cultivated with the cane, beans, and maize. In this day's journey, Mr. Bullock observed many different species of vultures, hawks, orioles, crows, cuckoos,

* "Should the English establish a communication with the mines of Mexico," says Mr. Bullock, "this road will be of the greatest importance. Little is wanting towards its completion, as the most difficult part has already been performed, and materials are abundant."

and the Virginia nightingale. After leaving Passo de Ovejas, a very indifferent road leads through a wretched, barren tract, overgrown with low *mimosas*, till, at the end of two leagues, it winds down a steep hill to the banks of the river Antigua, which it passes by an extensive and well-constructed causeway, and a magnificent bridge with stone arches, called *Puente del Rey* * (King's bridge). This bridge is constructed immediately below the junction of two fine streams, which fall with great rapidity and broken water over the rocks, and are separated by a lofty and abrupt head-land. The banks of the river are precipitous and rocky, but ornamented with a profusion of flowering shrubs, that rise up through the fissures in the rocks. The high, rocky "promontory" is crowned and flanked with cannon; and some importance is attached to it as a military post. At the time of Mr. Bullock's visit, it was occupied by the republican troops under Generals Victoria and Santana.† In front of the bridge, and on each side of the road, stands a village of small huts, with a church of the same rude construction at a little distance. These habitations are constructed by driving small stakes into the ground as close together as practicable, leaving them eight feet high. They are bound together by two slips of cane, or laths, placed horizontally, one about four feet from the ground, the other directly under the roof. The frame of the roof is formed of long bam-

* In the short reign of Iturbidé, its name was changed to *Puente Imperial*; but when Mr. B. was there, it had recovered its ancient name.

† The author of "Notes on Mexico," represents it to be a very bad military position, as it can easily be cut off from wood, water, and supplies. It had once before been occupied by Victoria, but he was obliged to abandon it on the approach of the royallsts.

boes, canes, and small sticks; and the shape it assumes, depends upon the length and quality of the materials. They contrive to give it a high pitch, and thatch it with palm-leaves, which turn off water in a remarkable manner. "I have often," says the American traveller, "when in Chili, seen the light glimmering through a thatch of palm-leaves, while the rain was falling in torrents, and never observed the smallest leak in the roof." The areas before the doors of these huts are swept with great care, and are sometimes shaded by a treillage covered with vines; and on the Sunday, the inhabitants may be seen sitting at their doors, in their coarse, but neat, white dresses, forming a pleasing and picturesque scene. The traveller leaves this village by a part of the new road, which is in perfect preservation wherever the country is level: it is covered with a strong lime cement. Thick woods of mimosa obstruct the view on either side, bearing, besides their own flowers, an infinite variety of parasitical plants of the most brilliant hues. Having started at day-light, Mr. Bullock reached, at two o'clock, *Puente del Reyna*, where, on the banks of the river, is another respectable village. The next day he reached Xalapa, having occupied four long days in a journey which, he remarks, an English stage-coach, on English roads, could have performed in seven or eight hours. But, alas! there are no English stage-coaches in the new world. As this traveller fails us here, with regard to the places between Puente del Rey and Xalapa, we must avail ourselves of the notes of the American citizen.

About three hours' distance from Puente del Rey is the ravine of *Plan del Rio*, where the road passes over a fine paved causeway, a part of the new road

commenced in 1804. There is a large village, and a handsome bridge has been thrown over the broad and rapid, but very shallow stream. "The people here," says this traveller, "wear the same appearance of cleanliness and contentment that I remarked at Puente del Rey." A wretched country and a bad road extend for the next two or three hours. Not quite six leagues from Plan del Rio, is the village of Encero. Here there is a large building, formerly a *venta*, or inn, which in the revolutionary war was converted into a fortress, and appears to have sustained a siege, for it is all in ruins. The traveller has now reached the region of oaks, and begins to breathe a purer air; he may, therefore, safely rest at this place, and the next day's journey is an arduous one. For an hour and a half he has to travel over the most rugged of roads, up a continued ascent. In front is seen a bold, craggy mountain, surmounted by the singular coffer-shaped rock which gives name to it; and on the left, the snowy cone of Orizaba, of dazzling whiteness, is seen towering above the dark hills that skirt its base. A great coat is now indispensable. After ascending for two hours, he enters again on a paved road, through a cultivated country, chiefly fields of maize; and soon the white walls and towers of Xalapa are discovered, in fine contrast with the deep verdure of the adjacent hills, and with a magnificent back-ground of dark and rugged mountains. "We enjoyed this view for some time," says our American, "and entered the town by the street of the Pure Blood of Christ. To our Protestant ears, these names sound very profanely: not so in Roman Catholic countries."

Xalapa is very romantically situated at the foot of the basaltic mountain of Macultepec. It is neither so

clean nor so well built as Vera Cruz, but the situation is described as "enchanting." From the convent of St. Francis, which, like all those founded by Cortes, partakes of the character of a fortress, there is a magnificent view of the declivity of the Cordillera towards Encero, the river Antigua below, and even of the ocean. The elevation of this town is 4264 feet above the level of the sea. The sky here is beautiful and serene in summer; but, when the north wind blows at Vera Cruz, the inhabitants of Xalapa are enveloped in a thick fog, and the sun and stars are frequently invisible for two or three weeks together. The thermometer then descends to near 60° Fahrenheit; and from the month of December to the month of March, Humboldt states, the heavens wear a most melancholy aspect. On the other hand, while the coast is rendered almost uninhabitable by the mosquitoes, the burning heat, and the yellow fever, the rich merchants of Vera Cruz here enjoy, in their country-houses, a cool and agreeable retreat. The thick forests of styrax and arborescent ferns, the banks of the small lake *de los Berrios*, and the heights leading to the village of Huastepec, offer the most delightful promenades. The town contains many houses of two stories, built, after the old Spanish manner, in a square, and enclosing a court planted with trees and flowers, with a fountain in the centre. The roofs are tiled, not flat as in Vera Cruz, but projecting over the sides, for the purpose of sheltering the house from the sun and rain. Many of the houses have glass windows. There are eight churches, in an impure style of architecture, but they are kept clean, and the interiors are highly decorated with carving, gilding, and painting. The high altar of the cathedral is of silver, and the walls are covered with gilt orna-

ments. At the period of Mr. Bullock's visit, all the convents and religious houses were closed, except one. It was Lent, and he met a religious procession carrying a figure of Christ bearing his cross. "The streets through which it passed, had been swept, watered, and strewed with orange-leaves and flowers; and many of the houses had small crosses, decorated with flowers and drapery, placed over the doors. The shops and warehouses do not make a very showy appearance, as nothing is exposed in the windows. The barbers' shops, however, form an exception; they are very numerous, and have a respectable exterior. Mambrino's helmet is sported as a sign over their doors." *

The population of Xalapa is estimated at 13,000. The inhabitants have the character of being very courteous and hospitable to strangers. Mr. Bullock found them extremely ill-informed. "They believe the continent of Europe to be under the dominion of Spain; that England, France, Italy, Holland, and Germany, are so many paltry states to which the King of Spain appoints governors. Of the wars in Europe, they know as little as of its general state. The name of Wellington seemed scarcely known, although they had heard of the buccaneers, and spoke of our illustrious Drake and Sir Walter Raleigh as pirates." Some prints of the public buildings of London excited their astonishment; and when informed of the purposes for which they had been built, they exclaimed in

* Xalapa, Mr. Bullock says, "is justly celebrated for the excellency of its *washing*. Many of the inhabitants of Vera Cruz send hither to have their washing done!" A fountain of the purest water supplies a public wash-house, called *Techacupa*, in which 144 persons can be employed at the same time. The operation is performed with *cold* water and soap.

astonishment, "And yet these people are not Christians! What a pity they are not Christians!" This Traveller carried out a volume of Ackermann's Fashions, which he left behind him at Xalapa. On his return from Mexico, six months afterwards, he had the satisfaction of finding that this volume had wrought wonders. The ladies, instead of appearing universally in black, were now to be seen in the last fashions of England, in white muslins, printed calicoes, and other manufactures of Manchester and Glasgow; and the public promenade presented an appearance of gayety hitherto unknown. The arrival of an English lady in the interior, whose newly-imported wardrobe had made the tour of the city, is admitted, however, to have contributed, in some measure, to this transformation; and it may be thought, that the speculations of our British merchants and manufacturers must have had a share in effecting it,—in connexion, we suspect, with a reduction of the previously exorbitant prices of all European manufactures. Mr. Bullock describes the ladies of Xalapa as gay, sprightly, and affable, living, apparently, on excellent terms with each other. Lively chat, music, and dancing, filled up the many pleasant evenings he passed here in several respectable families, till cards were produced, the conclusion of all Spanish parties, on which smiles and jests gave place before the demons of avarice and discord.

Mr. Bullock left Xalapa in a carriage; the American Traveller, in a litter; * their rate of travelling was,

* "A *littera* is a case six feet long and three wide, with three upright poles fixed on each side, to support a top and curtains of cotton cloth. The case is carried by means of long poles passing through leather straps, which are suspended from the saddle of the mules in the same manner as a sedan-chair is borne by porters. A mattress is spread at the bottom of the case, on which the traveller

therefore, very different. The former reached Puebla the second day. Following the journal of the latter, at two hours from Xalapa, passing through a fine country, is a small village called *La Cruz de la Cuesta.* From this place to the village of *Hoja*, the ascent is exceedingly steep, and the scenery most romantic and beautifully diversified. Below is a cultivated valley, bearing all the tropical fruits, and studded with a number of conical hills, wooded to their summits. On the opposite side, the valley is shut in by a lofty, perpendicular wall of bare rock, from the edge of which, and along the summit, extends a vast plain, cultivated with wheat and barley, and all the fruits of Europe. On the plain, and near the edge of the mountain, stands the town of Maulinjo, with its white walls and spires glittering in the sun; and the river that flows along the plain at the summit, passes near the town, and falls dashing and sparkling over the precipice into the valley. The whole is seen distinctly, but is sufficiently distant to be taken into one view. Among the trees of this region, which are constantly varying, the nopal, or prickly pear, grows to the height of twenty-four feet. From the village of Hoja, which consists of mud-huts, the whole scene changes, and the traveller enters on the region of pines. Leaving now the paved road, he begins to ascend by a narrow path that winds gradually up between two hills deeply wooded with pines, interspersed with viburnum and a great variety of flowering shrubs. The pine here, though not so lofty a tree as in North America, is very beautiful, with long, pendent leaves, its top terminating in a cone. A few short-leaved pines are scattered

reclines. It is a very luxurious mode of passing mountains, unless the mules prove unruly, for then the litter is tossed about in a strange manner."—*Notes on Mexico*, p. 29.

among the others. On emerging from this woody defile, the scene again changes, and presents a tract of country covered with lava. Viewed from a distance, it resembles land newly ploughed. Here and there are to be seen a few *yuccas* and small aloes; and in some spots, low pines and small shrubs rear their heads through chasms in the lava. This singular scene is thus described by Mr. Bullock: "The whole country for leagues was an entire mass of cinder, scoria, lava, and pumice, piled up in every form that can be conceived, and still remaining in the same state as when first left by some dreadful explosion of an unknown volcano: in some places, huge pinnacles threatening to fall and crush the passing traveller; in others, the liquid lava seems to have burst like an immense bubble, leaving arches of solid crust, from sixty to eighty feet high, and three or four thick, all hollow underneath, and spread at the bottom with loose cinders. This valley is bounded on the left by a ridge or wall of immense height, as if the great flood of melted matter had been chilled and stopped in its course. In some parts, it seemed as if the lava and scoria had been in part decomposed; and in these, several species of aloes, yucca, dracinæ, and other strange and picturesque plants, were thriving luxuriantly. In other places, thousands of trunks of huge trees, dead and crumbling into dust, added wildness to the scene of desolation. Still further on the left, the mountain of Pines, of extraordinary size, and others covered with stunted oaks, served by contrast to exhibit the picture of this tremendous-looking and savage region with greater force. After travelling about four miles over this bed of eruptive matter, which was constantly varying in its features, we came suddenly upon a clayey and sandy soil, and soon after,

to the Indian village of Los Vegos, built with planks and logs of wood, and covered with shingles, in the same manner as the mountain villages of Norway and the Alps."

Here the American Traveller halted for the night. On setting out the next morning before sunrise, he found the cold intense. Vegetation now seems again to decline, and the fine prospect is lost, till, on reaching the elevation of the table-land, the town and castle of Perote are soon seen in the midst of an extensive plain, partially cultivated, and covered with pumice-stones. "As we advanced," says the writer, "the view became very fine. Before us was the mountain of Pizarra (slate), insulated in the midst of the plain, and presenting a vast mass of rock, terminating in a lofty cone; on the left, in the distance, stood the volcanoes covered with snow, and, in front of them, a long line of bold, craggy mountains. The atmosphere was very clear, and every object distinctly defined. The foreground of the landscape was strikingly contrasted with the mountain scenery. It was made up of the town of Perote, with its white towers and the castle (of San Carlos), a regular fortification of four bastions, in good preservation; of fields clothed with the richest verdure, and covered with cattle; lands newly ploughed, with ploughmen driving 'their team a-field,' and all the soft and pleasing beauties of nature." The team consists, however, of either one mule or two, driven by a boy. The plough is of a simple construction, resembling the "shovel-plough" used in the United States. Near Perote are seen the first large plantations of the American aloe or *maguey*, from which is made the favourite Mexican beverage called *pulque*.

Perote (the ancient Pinahuizapan) is 7719 feet

above the level of the sea, just under the mountains. The town is small, the streets narrow, and the houses of only one floor, but many of them are large and commodious, with court-yards in the interior. They are built of stone, and, from the mode in which they are constructed, have more the appearance of a prison than of a dwelling-house; scarcely a window or chimney is to be seen. There is an extensive *mesón* or *posada* (inn or lodging-house), but the only articles of furniture visible are benches to sleep on, and a huge deal table, that seems coeval with the building, with its feet fast rammed into the earth floor at an inconvenient distance from the benches, which are fixed in the same manner. The walls have once been white, but whether the table was ever washed, is questionable. "We procured a candle," says Mr. Bullock, "but the luxury of a candlestick was out of the question: a hole in the table, round which grease had accumulated, pointed out the means of remedying the deficiency." To the traveller who is imprudent enough to have brought no provisions, *tortillas* with *frijoles* (beans, or what the Americans call "red cow peas") are likely to be the only breakfast or supper. Near the inn is a fine fountain of excellent water under the protection of a statue of the angel Gabriel; and at a little distance grow some very fine nopals, twenty-four feet in diameter, with leaves perfectly smooth and round, and eighteen inches across.

After leaving Perote, the road for three hours passes over the level plain, which has the appearance of being well cultivated, to the foot of Mount Pizarra. "As we wound round the base of this mountain," says the Traveller we are following, "we thought that we saw an extensive lake on the left of the road about three miles off. Although prepared to meet with the

mirage on this plain, and although I had seen this singular phenomenon in Asia, it was a long time before I could be convinced that what I saw was an optical delusion. My companion was most positive that it must be a large sheet of water, and was very much surprised, as we approached, to see the lake converted into an extensive tract of loose, sandy soil, over which the rays of light appeared to tremble and undulate through an extremely rarefied atmosphere. The base of Mount Pizarra, round which we continued to wind by a gentle ascent, is composed of lava, almost entirely concealed by the nopal, or broad-leaved *cactus*, which bounded the view on both sides of the road. It was melancholy to leave the magnificent view of the volcanoes, and mountains, and cultivated fields, and to plunge at once into this gloomy scene. In the midst of this desolation, we entered Tepe Agualco, a miserable village of mud-houses; the only appearance of cultivation near it, a few plants of the *maguey*." Here the travellers passed the second night, tormented by swarms of fleas. Setting out the next morning at seven o'clock, they passed over a dreary, barren plain until one, when they reached *Ojo de Agua*, seven leagues from Tepe Agualco. The warm spring which gives name to this town, gushes out from the foot of a hill. At its source, it is about four feet wide, and very shallow; but, at a very short distance, it becomes a large stream, a foot deep, and full fifty feet wide. The water continues to rise and bubble up from the earth for a great distance from its source. After keeping its course across the plains, the stream is said to lose itself in the mountains near Orizaba. When Mr. Bullock arrived here, the abundance of birds in this part, he says, was prodigious, consisting chiefly of the black and red oriole, on their

northern migration; and where the stream "spreads itself into a marsh," it was "covered by flocks of aquatic birds, ducks, herons, and snipes, which are seldom disturbed by the inhabitants." Towards the end of the desert, on approaching Ojo de Agua, where vegetation begins to re-appear, he observed a number of the trees that produce the gum-dragon, various aloes, and, in one place, a row of cypress trees. Beyond that town, the barren waste re-commences, and extends, with little interruption, to Nopaluca, a distance of two hours. Within the last half hour only of the journey, the lands appear of a better quality, but cultivated in a very slovenly manner.

Nopaluca is a small town pleasantly situated on a ridge of land, the valleys on either side of which are tolerably well cultivated with wheat, maize, and the agave. The houses are of one floor, built of *tapia* (rammed earth), or what the French call *pisé*, and there is a pretty church, built in a good style. Here the travellers were fortunate enough to find accommodation (the third night) in a *mesón* where the room was paved with tiles, the table was moveable, and the *huespede* (host) was actually induced to provide his guests with a chair. In this day's journey, the travellers noticed several flocks of wild ducks, some snipes, and, at a great distance, the mock-bird, which is to be seen, hung up in cages, in almost all the towns on the road.* At Nopaluca, they exchanged their litter for a coach which was returning from Vera

* "This delightful singing-bird," says the American Traveller, "inhabits both South and North America, and is found from Virginia to Chili, where I have frequently seen them, and where, during my long absence from the United States, their note acted on me like the *Ranz des Vaches* on the Swiss, reminding me painfully of home."

Cruz to Mexico,† and by this means, travelling at the very rapid rate of five miles an hour, they were enabled to reach Puebla in seven hours. The greater part of this day's route lies over bad roads, such as no English carriage, Mr. Bullock says, would venture on; and the barren country is notoriously infested with banditti. The road, soon after leaving Nopaluca, is cut through white sand-hills; it then enters a narrow defile which winds round the base of a hill wooded to the summit with pines and firs, and having on the other side a thick forest of pines and oaks. This part of the road, called the *Pinal*, is reckoned the most dangerous passage in the mountains. On emerging from the forest, the traveller descends to the bed of a mountain torrent, along which his road continues for some way, winding among low, barren hills, till at length he enters on an extensive and elevated plain, where the volcanoes of Puebla burst on his view. Among them, the stupendous cone of the Popocatepetl, the loftiest mountain in North America, is seen towering 11,156 feet above the plain, and the snowy mountain of Iztaccihuatl, of a broken and irregular form, seems to present an almost equal elevation. The plain itself is 6,560 feet above the sea; it is sandy, and strewed with large masses and loose stones of porphyry. A few pines and oaks are scattered by the road side, and here and there, a large *hacienda* occurs, with some signs of cultivation. The

* "These are clumsy vehicles, but strong and safe. The carriage of the one we hired, measured twelve feet from axle to axle, and the body is capable of containing six persons. Our trunks and mattresses were piled on before and behind the carriage, which is drawn by ten mules; two next the wheels, with a postillion who drives five more in front, while another postillion conducts the three leaders."—*Notes on Mexico*, p. 36.

road leads through the small town of Acaxete, and, within three leagues of Puebla, another neat and well-built town, called Omosoque. From hence, the country wears a more populous and cultivated appearance, and the approach to the capital of the intendency is indicated by the bustle and traffic which always distinguish the avenues to a large city. The road becomes wider, and the country people, a swarthy race, may be seen in great numbers, carrying their packs on their backs, fixed on by a band across the forehead, or driving before them troops of asses with packs and panniers. Mr. Bullock, who entered Puebla on the eve of Palm Sunday, met several groupes of Indians in their holiday dresses, provided with candles, fire-works, artificial flowers, shrubs, and other articles, in preparation for the approaching festival of Easter.

PUEBLA.

PUEBLA, or, to give its full title, *La Puebla de los Angeles*, is reckoned, next to Mexico, Guanaxuato, and the Havannah, the most considerable city in Spanish America, being more populous, according to Humboldt, than Lima, Quito, Santa Fe, or Caraccas. Its population, in 1803, was estimated at 67,800;* and although it appears to have declined since then, it still amounts, according to a census taken in 1820, to 60,000.† It is one of the very few towns founded by the Europeans; for, in the plain of Acaxete or Cuitlaxcoapan, on the spot where the capital now stands, there were, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, only a few huts inhabited by Indians of

* A twelfth part of the whole population of the intendency.

† Mr. Bullock says 90,000; but this we presume to be a mistake.

Cholula. It was created a town in Sept. 1531. "The site," says the American Traveller, "does credit to the taste and judgement of its founders. It is built on the south side of a hill that is wooded to its summit. The surrounding plain is cultivated with wheat, barley, Indian corn,* and all the fruits of Europe, and is highly productive. This plain is surrounded by a chain of hills, presenting alternately cultivated fields and luxuriant forests; and the view is terminated by the volcanoes of Puebla clothed in perpetual snows." The city is compactly and uniformly built. The streets, though not very wide, are straight, intersecting each other at right angles, and are very ornamentally paved with large stones in a diamond-shaped pattern; there are broad foot-paths on each side, which are kept remarkably clean. The houses are all of stone, spacious and commodious, generally of two stories, with flat roofs. The fronts of many of them are inlaid with painted tiles, highly glazed like the Dutch tile, some forming pictures, and having the appearance of rich mosaic. Others have their fronts gaudily and fantastically painted in fresco, similar to the houses of Genoa. The bishop's palace is covered over in this way with red tiles. Most of them have iron balconies in front, very elegantly constructed. Every house has, for the most part, a square court in the centre, with open galleries running round it, the balustrades of which are covered with porcelain pots of flowering plants, producing a most pleasing effect. The apartments are spacious and lofty, with plastered walls painted in distemper; the floors tiled, much like those of France, and uncovered: carpets are not in

* In Puebla, a considerable proportion of wheaten bread is consumed. The consumption in 1802, amounted to 52,951 *cargas* (300lbs. each) of wheaten flour, and only 36,000 *cargas* of maize.

use, nor are they necessary in this fine climate. Almost every sitting-room has a wax model of the Saviour, or of some saint, or the picture of the Virgin of Guadaloupe, or of a Magdalen, or the Crucifixion; the frames are often of silver. Most of the residences have a fountain of fine water, which is conveyed in earthen pipes,—a great luxury in the warm season. The family of the proprietor usually reside in the upper story, the ground-floor being occupied with shops, warehouses, or offices, and the first story by servants.

But it is in the splendour of its churches and other religious edifices, and in the richness of their endowments, that Puebla, according to Mr. Bullock, claims to take the first rank among the cities of the Christian world. It contains no fewer than sixty-nine churches, nine monasteries, thirteen nunneries, and twenty-three colleges; "the most sumptuous," says this Traveller, "that I have ever seen. Those of Milan, Genoa, and Rome, are built in better taste; but, in expensive interior decorations, the quantity and value of the ornaments of the altar, and the richness of the vestments, they are far surpassed by the churches of Puebla and Mexico." The cathedral forms one side of the great square; on the opposite side stands the *cabildo*, or town-hall; and the sides are occupied with shops under arcades, the whole gaudily painted. The exterior of the cathedral has nothing about it very ornamental or remarkable, but its interior furniture is rich beyond description. The high altar is strikingly splendid. Mr. Bullock describes it as a most superb sanctuary of exquisite workmanship, and states, that it had been but lately finished by an Italian artist, from Roman designs, but executed in Mexico, and of native materials. It occupies a considerable part of the cathe-

dral, and reaches into the dome. "The platform, which is raised some feet above the level of the rest of the church, is inlaid with marble of different colours. The interior of it is appropriated as a cemetery of the bishops of Puebla. The walls are of black and white marble, and the whole is vaulted with an elliptic arch. The canopy which rests on this platform, is supported by eight double marble columns, the effect of which is destroyed by brass ornaments and gilded capitals. The ceiling of the canopy is highly ornamented with stucco and gold. The *custodia* is of variegated marble; the front of embossed silver, and so constructed as to slide down and display the Host to the congregation. The *custodia* itself is surmounted by five bronze figures. In front of this altar is suspended an enormous lamp of massive gold and silver very beautifully wrought. The pulpit near it is cut out of a mass of carbonate of lime, which is found near Puebla; it receives a high polish, and is semi-transparent.* A row of lofty columns supporting the arches, runs round the whole interior of the building. The sanctuaries are numerous, and are ornamented with a profusion of gilding and some bad paintings. In the midst of this splendour, miserable, half-naked Indians were wandering about, or kneeling at the shrine of some favourite saint, forming a singular and painful contrast to the magnificence of the temple."†

The great fault of the high altar, Mr. Bullock says, is, that it is too large, disproportionate to the building

* Mr. Bullock states, that the windows of several of the churches and monasteries are formed of a single slab of this "hard, transparent alabaster, which admits a mild, pure light." The baptismal fonts and other sacred vessels are also composed of this stone. It is found a few leagues from the city.

† Notes on Mexico, p. 39.

in which it is placed, and too modern, also, to harmonise with the rest of the edifice, which is by no means worthy of it in point of architecture. The side altars, too, are all crowded to excess with statues, carving, gilding, silver candelabras, and other finery. He was fortunate enough to witness the celebration of the service of *Tenebræ*, when the whole cathedral, with its fretted golden roof and costly appendages, were displayed and illuminated by thousands of wax-lights, reflected from gold and silver chandeliers, and an altar covered with massive plate as fresh as from the hands of the artisan: at the same time, a host of officiating priests, arrayed in the richest vestments, together with the waving of banners, and solemn music performed by a powerful and well-conducted band, heightened the magnificent effect of the pageant; so that, Mr. Bullock says, "he who would wish to see the pomp of religious ceremony, should visit Puebla." Perfectly to enjoy the spectacle, however, he ought not to be a *Protestant*.

The bishop's palace contains a tolerable library. The room is 200 feet long by 45 wide, and is "well-furnished with books, mostly in vellum bindings." They are chiefly Spanish, with a few in French, and *one*, Mr. Bullock says, in English; but he gives no fuller account of it, than that it is "the life of one of our kings." A Bible in Spanish, with plates, was exhibited as "a *great curiosity*." One part of the library consists of controversial divinity, but the perusal of this portion is prohibited even to the clergy. There is also a very good collection of pictures in this palace.

Among the other religious edifices visited by the English Traveller, he enumerates the church of San Felipe Neri, one of the largest buildings in the city,

with the magnificent *hospicio* attached to it, which contains some "excellent paintings," and is "furnished with solid silver and gold crucifixes;" the church of La Santo Spiritu, formerly belonging to the Jesuits' College, a large building in good architectural taste; the church and monastery of St. Augustine, "one of the first class, with a square, high-raised altar of silver, ornamented with marble statues as large as life, and the sacristy superbly decorated;" and the church and monastery of St. Dominick, which have also their silver altar, and "near the rails are two dogs of the same metal, the size of life, on pedestals of gold and silver." The dome of this church is covered with painted and gilt tiles. The little church of the convent of St. Monica deserves also to be mentioned, we are told, for the richness of its vaulted roof, and walls encrusted with elaborate carvings; it also contains a few pictures, statues, and silver ornaments.

Puebla is governed by four *alcaldes*, and sixteen subordinate magistrates. The police, Mr. Bullock says, seems to be well regulated. That many of the inhabitants are wealthy, is attested by their equipages and retinues. "Handsome carriages, drawn by mules richly caparisoned, and attended by servants in showy liveries, parade the streets and *almedas*, or public walks, particularly on Sundays and holidays; but the promenade is not worthy of so fine a city, and loses much of its interest in the eyes of Europeans by the almost total absence of females, except such as are in their carriages. Handsome hackney-coaches, drawn by mules, stand ready for hire in the great square." Here the market is held, which is well supplied with every article of food, except fish, which must be obtained from a great distance, and is sent enclosed in

coarse paste pies, half-baked to preserve it. Poultry is plentiful and cheap, and the tropical fruits are supplied from the *tierras calientes*. Indeed, the necessaries, and most of the luxuries of life, may be obtained at a reasonable rate.

Puebla was once celebrated for its manufactory of coarse woollens; but this branch of industry has greatly fallen off. The manufacture of glass has of late been so much improved, that they are stated already to rival us in the texture and colour of their glass. Their coarse, red earthenware is also excellent; but their machinery is very rude, and no clay fit for porcelain has hitherto been discovered in the country. Soap is a considerable article of trade, being sent from Puebla to most parts of Mexico. One class of the inhabitants, Mr. Bullock omits to notice: like the capital, Puebla has its *lazzaroni*. The custom of begging in the streets existed in Mexico before the Conquest; and Cortes speaks of the Indians begging like rational beings, as an evidence of their civilisation. "And in fact," remarks the American, "it was the greatest he could have given: a people in the hunter state never beg or give in charity. In times of scarcity, the old and infirm are sometimes killed from compassion." Without entering here into the causes of mendicity and pauperism, (among which a mild climate and a fertile soil are adduced by this writer with less propriety than the daily allowance of provisions given away at the convent door,) it is our business to notice the fact. Although "not a house is to be seen that denotes the abode of poverty, yet," says this Traveller, "we met more miserable, squalid beings, clothed in rags, and exposing their deformities and diseases to excite compassion, than I have seen elsewhere."

The intendency of Puebla extends, on the south, to the Pacific, but has only 26 leagues of coast. On the north-east, it is bounded by the intendency of Vera Cruz; on the east, by that of Oaxaca; and on the west, by that of Mexico. Extending from lat. 16° 57′ to 20° 40′ N., it lies wholly within the torrid zone. Its greatest length, from the mouth of the small river Tecoyame, to near Mexitlan, is 118 leagues; and its greatest breadth, from Techuacan to Mecameca, 50 leagues. The population is very unequally distributed. Almost the whole country, from the central table-land towards San Luis and Ygualapa near the coast, is desert, though well adapted for the cultivation of the cane, the cotton-plant, and other productions of the tropics. The plain which extends from the eastern declivity of the *nevados** to the environs of Perote, especially between Cholula, Puebla, and Tlascala, contains the mass of the inhabitants. This intendency comprises some of the most remarkable vestiges of the ancient Mexican civilisation. Cholula, Tlascala, and Huetxocingo, (Huajocingo or Huexotzinco,) are the three republics which, for so many centuries, resisted the Aztec yoke. Besides these towns, the chief places are, *Atlixco*,† celebrated for its fine climate and great fertility; *Tehuacan de las Granadas* (or *de la Mixteca*), one of the most frequented sanctuaries of the ancient Mexicans; and *Tepeaca* (Tepeyacac), formerly called *Segura de la Frontera*, belonging to the mar-

* The words *Nevado* and *Sierra Nevada*, imply mountains whose summits enter the region of perpetual snow.

† At Atlixco, there is a very ancient and remarkable cypress (*ahuahuete*), which measures not less than 76 feet in circumference. The diameter, measured inside, (for its trunk is hollow,) is 15 feet. It is, therefore, within a few feet, of the same thickness as the *baobab* of the Senegal.

quesate of Cortes. Three languages, totally different from each other, are spoken by the copper-coloured natives of this province: the Mexican, spoken by the inhabitants of Puebla, Cholula, and Tlascala; the Totonac, which is peculiar to the inhabitants of Zacatlan; and the Tlapanec, which is preserved in the environs of Tlapa. Near Chila, Xicotlan, and Ocotlan, in the district of Chiautla, also near Zapotitlan, in this intendency, there are very considerable salt-works. There are both gold and silver mines; but these, Humboldt says, are almost abandoned, or at least very remissly worked. He enumerates those of Yxtacmaztitlan, Temeztla, and Alatlauquitepic, in the *Partido* of San Juan de los Llanos; of La Canada, near Tetela de Xonotla; and of San Miguel Tenango, near Zacatlan. The progress of industry and prosperity in this province, has, he says, been extremely slow. There was formerly a flourishing flour-trade, the decline of which, the learned Traveller attributes to the enormous expense of carriage and the want of beasts of burden. Up to 1710, Puebla carried on a trade with Peru, in hats and earthen-ware, which has entirely ceased. "But the greatest obstacle to the public prosperity," he adds, "arises from four-fifths of the whole property belonging to mortmain proprietors; that is to say, to chapters, convents, corporations, and hospitals."* What changes the Revolution may have produced in this respect, we are not informed; but, as the Spanish Government shewed that

* The amount of money in mortmain in Mexico, was, in 1800, 44,500,000 dollars, (about 13,500,000*l.* sterling,) of which the diocese of Puebla possessed 6,500,000, and that of Mexico, 9,000,000; the regular clergy, for pious uses, 2,500,000; and churches and convents, by bequests for the like purpose, 16,000,000.—HUMBOLDT, *Pol. Essay*, vol. i. p. 232; vol. iii. p. 99.

it did not consider this property as sacred and unalienable,* the Federal Government would have at least a fair precedent for converting it to public use.

The district of the old republic of Tlascala, which, Humboldt says, is inhabited by Indians peculiarly jealous of their privileges, and very much inclined to civil dissensions, had, under the colonial arrangement, its distinct government. By a change made in the financial administration a short time before his visit to Mexico, Tlascala, as well as Guautla de las Hamilpas, was detached from the intendency of Puebla, and united to that of Mexico, from which, at the same time, Tlapa and Ygualapa were separated. But, in the distribution of the provinces into federal states, Puebla and Tlascala were united. The government of Tlascala contained, in 1793, a population of nearly 60,000 souls, of whom upwards of two-thirds were Indians. The "boasted privileges" of the citizens of Tlascala were then reducible, according to Humboldt, to three points: "1. The town is governed by a cacique and four Indian alcaldes, who represent the ancient heads of the four quarters, still called Tecpectipac, Ocotelolco, Quiahutztlan, and Tizatlan; these alcaldes are under the superintendence of the Indian governor, who is himself subject to the Spanish intendent. 2. The whites have no seat in the municipality, in virtue of a royal order of the 16th April, 1585.

* "The ministry of Spain, not knowing how a national bankruptcy, brought on by a superabundance of paper money (*vales*), could possibly be avoided, issued a royal decree, dated Dec. 26, 1804, appointing not only the estates of the Mexican clergy to be sold, but also all the capitals belonging to the ecclesiastics to be recovered and sent into Spain, to be there applied in extinction of the royal paper." HUMBOLDT, *Pol. Essay*, vol. iii. p. 100. It seems that this measure was actually put in force to some extent, but the strong resistance it met with, prevented its being persisted in.

3. The cacique, or Indian governor, enjoys the honours of an *alferez real* (royal ensign)." The town of Tlascala is, however, so much reduced from its ancient importance, that it scarcely contained, in 1802, 3,400 inhabitants; and of these, not more than 900 were Indians of pure extraction. Its inhabitants were chiefly occupied in the manufacture of calicoes. The fortifications of Tlascala are mentioned by the learned Traveller among the remarkable vestiges of the ancient Mexicans in Puebla: they are, he says, of a construction posterior to the pyramid of Cholula. This town, however, lies so far out of the usual route to Mexico, that it appears not to have been visited by any modern traveller; and we are unable to satisfy the curiosity of our readers by any further account of it.*

CHOLULA.

CHOLULA, though a little out of the main road to Mexico, was visited both by Mr. Bullock and the American Traveller. The road from Puebla lies over a fertile plain, partly cultivated with wheat, rye, barley, the potato, and the agave, partly laid out as meadow land. To the north of the road are seen the rugged and barren rocks of the Cordillera of the *Sierra Malinche;*† and in the south, the volcanic *nevados* of Puebla tower above a chain of dark mountains which stretch along their base. Near these mountains stands Cholula; and to the east of the city,

* Mr. Bullock says, it is about 18 miles from Puebla. He intended to visit it on his return, but was prevented.

† Otherwise called the Cordillera of Matlacueye, or the Sierra of *Dona Maria* (the Virgin Mary). Malinche, Humboldt says, "appears to be derived from *Malintzin;* a word, I know not why, which has now become the name of the Holy Virgin."

on the road from Puebla, is the famous pyramid or *teocalli*, which is larger, and is said to have been deemed more holy, than any other temple in Mexico. At a distance, the appearance which it now assumes, is that of a natural conical hill, wooded, and crowned with a small church; but, as the traveller approaches it, its pyramidal form becomes distinguishable, together with the four stories into which it is shaped, although covered with vegetation, the prickly pear, the nopal, and the cypress. Those who wish to form a clear idea of this monument, says Humboldt, may imagine a square four times the dimensions of the *Place Vendome* at Paris, covered with a heap of bricks of twice the elevation of the Louvre. The base of the *teocalli* is almost double that of the great pyramid of Cheops; but its height is very little more than that of the pyramid of Mycerinus.* It appears to have been constructed exactly in the direction of the four cardinal points. The pyramid is built of unburnt bricks and clay, in alternate layers. The Indians believe that it is hollow; and they have a tradition, that, during the abode of Cortes at Cholula, a considerable number of warriors lay concealed within it, who were to have fallen suddenly on the Spaniards, had not the plot been detected and frustrated. It is certain, that, in the interior of this pyramid, as in other *teocallis*, there are considerable cavities intended for sepulchres. In making the present road from Puebla to Mexico, between twenty and thirty years ago, the first story was cut through, so that an eighth part remained isolated like a heap of bricks. In making this opening, a square chamber was discovered in the interior of the pyramid, built of stone, and

* The height is 177 feet; the length of the base, 1,423 feet.

Engd on Steel. by H. Adlard.

PYRAMID OF CHOLULA.

supported by beams of cypress wood. The chamber contained two skeletons, some idols of basalt, and a number of vases curiously varnished and painted. No pains were taken to preserve these objects; but it is said to have been carefully ascertained, that this chamber had no outlet. Humboldt examined the ruins of this subterraneous chamber; and he observed, he says, a particular arrangement of the bricks, tending to diminish the pressure on the roof. "The natives, being ignorant of the arch, placed very large bricks horizontally, so that the upper course should pass beyond the lower. Similar vestiges of this rude substitute for the arch, have been found in several Egyptian edifices." * The ascent to the platform is

* We have referred, in a former note (at p. 36), to a passage in Dr. Robertson, who, misled by his authorities, affirms that the temple of Cholula "was nothing more than a mound of solid earth," and says, "it was faced partly with stone." Both assertions are now proved to be erroneous; and in the construction, form, and object of these Mexican *teocallis*, there is a striking analogy to the tumuli and pyramids of the old world. According to Herodotus, the temple of Belus was a pyramid, built of brick and asphaltum, solid throughout (πυργος στερεος), and it had eight stories. A temple (ναος) was erected on its top, and another at its base. In like manner, in the Mexican *teocallis*, the lower ναος was distinguished from the temple on the platform; a distinction clearly pointed out in the letters of Cortes. Diodorus Siculus states, that the Babylonian temple served as an observatory to the Chaldeans; so, the Mexican priests, says Humboldt, made observations on the stars from the summit of the *teocallis*, and announced to the people, by the sound of the horn, the hour of the night. The pyramid of Belus was at once a temple and a tomb. In like manner, the *tumulus* (χωμα) of Calisto in Arcadia, described by Pausanias as a cone made by the hands of man, but covered with vegetation, bore on its top a temple of Diana. The *teocallis* were also both temples and tombs; and the plain in which are built the houses of the sun and moon at Teotihuacan, is called the *path of the dead*. The groupe of pyramids at Gheeza and Sakkara in Egypt; the triangular pyramid of the queen of the Scythians, mentioned by Diodorus; the fourteen Etruscan pyramids which are said to have

by a flight of 120 steps.* In this elevated area, which comprises about 3,500 square yards,† a small chapel, surrounded with evergreen cypress-trees, and dedicated to the Virgin (*Nuestra Señora de los Remedios*), has succeeded to the temple of Quetzalcoatl, the Mexican Indra or god of the air. Here, mass is celebrated every day, by an ecclesiastic of Indian extraction, who constantly resides on the summit of this ancient monument; and here, the natives assemble in crowds from distant quarters, to celebrate the festival of the Virgin. When the author of "Notes on Mexico" was here in 1822, some additions were being made to the eastern side of the church. Mr. Bullock was present during the celebration of mass, when the chapel was crowded with Indians. It is built in the shape of a cross, about 90 feet in length, with two towers and a dome. The interior, he says, is kept remarkably neat and clean; and its silver and gilt ornaments were, on this occasion, adorned with a fine display of fresh flowers,

been enclosed in the labyrinth of King Porsenna at Clusium; the tumulus of Alyattes at Lydia (see Modern Traveller, *Syria and Asia Minor*, vol. ii. p. 162); the sepulchres of the Scandinavian king Gormus and his queen Daneboda; and the tumuli found in Virginia, Canada, and Peru, in which numerous galleries, built with stone and communicating with each other by shafts, fill up the interior of artificial hills;—are referred to by the learned Traveller as sepulchral monuments of a similar character, but differing from the *teocallis* in not being at the same time surmounted with temples. It is perhaps too hastily assumed, however, that none of these were destined to serve as bases for altars; and the assertion is much too unqualified, that "the pagodas of Hindostan have nothing in common with the Mexican temples." That of Tanjore, notwithstanding that the altar is not at the top, bears a striking analogy in other respects to the *teocallis*.—See HUMBOLDT'S *Researches*, vol. i. pp. 81—107; *Pol. Essay*, vol. ii. pp. 146—9.

* "We ascended by a steep, winding road, partly cut into steps."—BULLOCK. "We alighted, and ascended a flight of stone steps to the platform."—*Notes on Mexico*.

† Humboldt says, 4,200 square metres.

(among them some very fine carnations,) the offerings of the Indians. At the top of the steps of the entrance is a richly sculptured stone cross, with the date 1666 inscribed on it; near it, a short hymn in Spanish, to the Virgin, is engraved on a tablet. From this elevated platform, is seen an extensive and magnificent landscape. Beneath the spectator, lies the city of Cholula, with its great square crowded with Indians, and its numerous churches, surrounded by corn-fields, aloe-plantations, and neatly cultivated gardens. The plain is bounded by the *Malinche* range, which formerly separated the territory of the Cholulans from that of the Tlascalans; while the snowy peak of the gigantic Orizaba, and the still more majestic form of Popocatepetl, as well as the Iztaccihuatl, are seen towering above the distant mountains. The view takes in three mountains higher than Mont Blanc, two of which are volcanoes.

On descending to the plain, Mr. Bullock proceeded to examine "two detached masses, constructed, like the great pyramid, of unburnt brick and clay. The one to the north-east," he says, "had been cut or taken away; its sides were broken, and so perpendicular as to prevent access to its summit, on which a cross had been erected. The other was easy of ascent, and appears to me to have been a fortified place, with a ditch and a wall on the top, forming an enclosure nearly resembling the figure ∞, and about a hundred feet in length. Here I found among the loose earth, many human bones, pieces of red earthenware, and fragments of obsidian,'—the knives, spears, and arrow-heads of the ancient Mexicans. An excavation of this pile would probably prove an object of high interest to the antiquary. I know of no engraving of it. The other detached piece has been engraved by

Humboldt, whose figure of the great pyramid conveys no idea of its present state; nor is the church on its summit *at all like the original.*

"We were told of a fine picture in a church half a mile distant, and we walked to see it, but found its merit principally consisted in its grand frame and plate glass. The churchyard was, however, neatly planted with cypress, orange, rose-trees, &c. On our return to the *posada*, I inquired of our hostess the number of inhabitants which the village contained; but my designation of the place was indignantly repelled, and I was answered, that it had always ranked among the first Mexican cities;—that all the world knew, it was the warriors of Cholula who assisted the great captain in subduing the pagan capital, though, at the present time, the number of its population amounted only to 6,000." *

Cholula is described by Mr. Bullock as covering a large space of ground, and containing many regular and broad streets; the houses are mostly of one story, and flat-roofed. We could have wished for more minute information respecting a city which is described by Cortes as more beautiful than any in Spain, and well fortified, and in which, from the top of a *mosque* (as he calls the *teocalli*), he states that he reckoned more than four hundred towers. "On quitting Cholula," continues this Traveller, "we passed for a considerable distance under triumphal arches, formed of palm-trees and flowers, which had

* Bullock's Six Months in Mexico, pp. 114—16. Humboldt, however, states the population of the city in 1802, at 16,000. The district of Cholula, he says, contained, in 1793, a population of 22,423 souls. The villages amounted to 42, and the *haciendas* to 45. Both Tlascala and Cholula have doubtless declined in consequence of their proximity to Puebla.

been erected a few days previously, for a religious procession. Our road, or rather tract, lay through extensive plantations of the maguey, which is here raised in large quantities for the supply of the inhabitants of Puebla with their favourite *pulque*. After a drive of about two hours, we joined the great road, and, passing a few tracts of cultivated land, arrived in the evening at the town of St. Martin's." Here there is a very tolerable *mesón*, called the Holy Trinity, from the balcony of which, in a fair day, may be enjoyed what the Mexicans regard as the finest view of the volcanoes of Puebla. There are also a church and a convent, and, attached to the latter, a large, well-cultivated garden.

On leaving St. Martin's, the traveller enters on a tract of country covered with loose stones of porphyry, and thinly wooded with pines and cedars. The road soon begins to wind round the hills that separate the valley of Mexico from the plains of Puebla. At three hours' distance is a solitary *mesón* at the *Puente de Tesmelucos*, one of the vilest of Mexican inns. Three leagues further is Rio Frio, where also there is a *mesón* and shop, with a few wooden huts round it, inhabited by Indians. From this valley, the ascent is steep, winding round hills covered with fine woods of oak and pine, and carpeted with wild flowers. On gaining the summit of the pass, the traveller descends for some time through a thick wood, till, emerging from it into open country, he catches the first view of the valley of Mexico, with its lakes, its insulated hills, its snowy mountains, and its cultivated fields, interspersed with *haciendas* and villages, spread like a map beneath him. The city itself is concealed from view by an intervening mountain. It is a magnificent sight; but its beauties

vanish as the traveller rapidly descends into the valley. "The margins of the lakes are covered with marsh, and they are too much like stagnant pools; the fields are not well cultivated; the villages are built of mud, and the inhabitants are in rags. We passed," continues the American Traveller, "the *venta* of Cordova, whence there is a good view of the valley; and leaving the town of Chalco on our left, proceeded to the village of Yztapaluca. Chalco is situated at the north-eastern extremity of the lake, which is navigable for flat-bottomed boats from this place to the capital, by means of the canal of Iztapalapan. We stopped but a short time at Yztapaluca, and after passing through the small towns of Tlapizahua and Los Reyes, entered on a *calzada*, or paved causeway, about eighty feet wide, that traverses the margin of the lake of Tezcuco; having on the right, the whole expanse of the lake covered with white gulls and other water-fowl, and, on the left, low, marshy lands with pools of water, on which were vast numbers of wild ducks. As we drove along, my attention was attracted by swarms of very small, black, winged insects, fluttering in the ditches by the road side. They were driven forward by the wind, and were so numerous as to resemble, as they moved along, the flow of a stream of dark water: they flowed through one of the ditches leading to the lake, until lost in the water, blackening the surface to a great distance. About two or three miles before we reached the causeway, we distinguished the spires and churches of Mexico."

"The celebrated and splendid capital of New Spain, when first seen," says Mr. Bullock, "is discovered to be situated in a swamp. We proceeded over what was formerly a causeway across the lake; but still

this ancient and imperial city offers no ostentatious appearance: all is dismal and solitary. We had passed but one miserable hut in several miles; and the country in its immediate vicinity resembles the worst parts of Lincolnshire. Nothing around gives any idea of the magnificent city to which you are approaching. We arrived at the barriers,* and passing through a part of the shabby-looking troops that surrounded the city, entered the suburbs, which are mean and dirty, the people inhabiting them, covered with rags, or only wrapped in a blanket. So great was my disappointment, that I could scarcely bring myself to believe that I was in the capital of New Spain, the great mart of the precious metals, whence they flow to all parts of the habitable world. A few minutes more, however, brought us into the city, and I felt repaid for all the dangers and troubles I had undergone."

CITY OF MEXICO.

BEFORE, however, we enter the city, it may be interesting to recur to the very different aspect which the valley of Mexico and the capital of Montezuma presented to the "great captain" in 1520. Tenochtitlan was built, as has already been mentioned, on a groupe of islands in the midst of a lake. The centre of the present city is not less than 14,763 feet distant from the lake of Tezcuco, and nearly 30,000 from the lake of Chalco; yet, says Humboldt, "the city has certainly not changed its place; for the cathedral of Mexico occupies exactly the ground where the

* During the revolution, Mexico was surrounded with a breastwork of *pisé*, a very weak defence against a regular army, but formidable to the desultory forces that attacked it.

temple of Huitzilopochtli stood; and the present street of Tacuba is the old street of Tlacopan, through which Cortes made his famous retreat in the *melancholy night* (*noche triste*) of July 1, 1520. The difference of situation arises solely from the diminution of water in the lake of Tezcuco. It appears extremely probable, from geological observations, that the lakes had been on the decrease long before the arrival of the Spaniards, and before the construction of the canal of Huehuetoca.

The present city is situated entirely on the continent, (occupying a part only of the site of Tenochtitlan,*) between the extremities of the lakes of Tezcuco and Xochimilco. "Many circumstances," says Humboldt, "have contributed to this new order of things. The part of the salt-water lake between the southern and western dikes, was always the shallowest. Cortes complained that his flotilla, the brigantines which he constructed at Tezcuco, could not, notwithstanding the openings in the dikes, make the circuit of the besieged city. Sheets of water of small depth became insensibly marshes, which, when intersected with trenches or small defluous canals, were converted into *chinampas* and arable land. The lake of Tezcuco, which Valmont de Bomare supposed to communicate with the ocean, though it is at an elevation of 7468 feet, has no particular sources, like the lake of Chalco. When we consider, on the one hand, the small volume of water with which in dry seasons this lake is furnished by

* "We proceed for more than an hour on the road to Tanepantla and Ahuahuetes, among the ruins of the old city. We perceive there, as well as on the road to Tacuba and Iztapalapan, how much the Mexico rebuilt by Cortes is smaller than Tenochtitlan under the last Montezuma." — HUMBOLDT.

very inconsiderable rivers, and, on the other, the enormous rapidity of evaporation in the table-land of Mexico, of which I have made repeated experiments, we must admit, what geological observations appear also to confirm, that, for centuries, the want of equilibrium between the water lost by evaporation, and the mass of water flowing in, has progressively circumscribed the lake of Tezcuco within more narrow limits. We learn from the Mexican annals, that in the reign of *King* Ahuizotl, this salt-water lake experienced such a want of water as to interrupt navigation; and that to obviate this evil, and to increase its supplies, an aqueduct was constructed from Coyohuacan to Tenochtitlan. This aqueduct brought the sources of Huitzilopochco to several canals of the city which were dried up.

"This diminution of water, experienced before the arrival of the Spaniards, would no doubt have been very slow and very insensible, if the hand of man, since the period of the conquest, had not contributed to reverse the order of nature. Those who have travelled in the Peninsula know how much, even in Europe, the Spaniards hate all plantations which yield a shade round towns or villages. It would appear, that the first conquerors wished the beautiful valley of Tenochtitlan to resemble the Castilian soil, which is dry and destitute of vegetation. Since the sixteenth century, they have inconsiderately cut, not only the trees of the plain in which the capital is situated, but those on the mountains which surround it. The construction of the new city, begun in 1524, required a great quantity of timber for building and piles. They destroyed, and they daily destroy, without planting any thing in its stead, except around the capital, where the last viceroys have

perpetuated their memory by promenades (*paseos*, *alumedas*), which bear their names. The want of vegetation exposes the soil to the direct influence of the solar rays; and the humidity which is not lost by filtration through the amygdaloid, basaltic, and spongy rock, is rapidly evaporated and dissolved in air, wherever the foliage of the trees or a luxuriant verdure does not defend the soil from the influence of the sun and the dry winds of the south.

"As the same cause operates throughout the whole valley, the abundance and circulation of water have sensibly diminished. The lake of Tezcuco, the finest of the five lakes, which Cortes in his letters habitually calls an interior *sea*, receives much less water from infiltration than it did in the sixteenth century. Every where the clearing and destruction of forests have produced the same effects. General Andreossi, in his classical work on the Canal *du Midi*, has proved that the springs have diminished around the reservoir of St. Feneol, merely through a false system introduced in the management of the forests. In the province of Caraccas, the picturesque lake of Tacarigua has been drying up gradually ever since the sun darted his rays without interposition on the naked and defenceless soil of the valleys of Aragua.

"But the circumstance which has contributed the most to the diminution of the lake of Tezcuco, is the famous open drain, known by the name of the *Desaque real de Huehuetoca*. This *cut in the mountain*, first begun in 1607, in the form of a subterranean tunnel, has not only reduced within very narrow limits the two lakes in the northern part of the valley, i. e. the lakes of Zumpango (*Tzompango*) and San Christobal; but has also prevented their waters in the rainy season from flowing into the basin

of the lake of Tezcuco. — These waters formerly inundated the plains, and purified a soil strongly covered with carbonate and muriate of soda. At present, without settling into pools, and thereby increasing the humidity of the Mexican atmosphere, they are drawn off by an artificial canal into the river of Panuco, which flows into the Atlantic Ocean.

" This state of things has been brought about from the desire of converting the ancient city of Mexico into a capital better adapted for carriages, and less exposed to the danger of inundation. The water and vegetation have in fact diminished with the same rapidity with which the *tequesquite*, or carbonate of soda, has increased. In the time of Montezuma, and long afterwards, the suburb of Tlatelolco, the *barios* of San Sebastian, San Juan, and Santa Cruz, were celebrated for the beautiful verdure of their gardens; but these places now, and especially the plains of San Lazaro, exhibit nothing but a crust of efflorescent salts. The fertility of the plain, though yet considerable in the southern part, is by no means what it was when the city was surrounded by the lake. A wise distribution of water, particularly by means of small canals of irrigation, might restore the ancient fertility of the soil, and re-enrich a valley which nature appears to have destined for the capital of a great empire.

" The actual bounds of the lake of Tezcuco are not very well determined, the soil being so argillaceous and smooth that the difference of level for a mile is not more than 7.874 inches. When the east winds blow with any violence, the water withdraws towards the western bank of the lake, and sometimes leaves an extent of more than 1968 feet dry. Perhaps the

periodical operation of these winds suggested to Cortes the idea of regular tides, of which the existence has not been confirmed by late observations. The lake of Tezcuco is, in general, only from nine feet to sixteen feet in depth, and in some places even less than three. Hence, the commerce of the inhabitants of the small town of Tezcuco suffers much in the very dry months of January and February; for the want of water prevents them from going in canoes to the capital. The lake of Xochimilco is free from this inconvenience; for from Chalco, Mesquic, and Tlahuac, the navigation is never interrupted, and Mexico receives daily, by the canal of Iztapalapan, roots, fruits, and flowers in abundance." *

But if, in point of situation, the present city lies under disadvantages from the bare, marshy, and barren aspect of the surrounding plain; and if, in point of extent, it covers less ground than the Aztec Venice; in every other respect the city of Cortes

* "Of the five lakes of the valley of Mexico, the lake of Tezcuco is most impregnated with muriate and carbonate of soda. The nitrate of barytes proves that this water contains no sulphate in dissolution. The most pure and limpid water is that of the lake of Xochimilco, the specific weight of which I found to be 1.0009, when that of water distilled at the temperature of 54° Fahrenheit was 1.000, and when water from the lake of Tezcuco was 1.0215. The water of this last lake is consequently heavier than that of the Baltic sea, and not so heavy as that of the ocean, which, under different latitudes, has been found between 1.0269 and 1.0285. The quantity of sulphurated hydrogen which is detached from the surface of all the Mexican lakes, and which the acetite of lead indicates in great abundance in the lakes of Tezcuco and Chalco, undoubtedly contributes in certain seasons to the unhealthiness of the air of the valley. However, and the fact is curious, intermittent fevers are very rare on the banks of these very lakes, of which the surface is partly concealed by rushes and aquatic herbs."

must be pronounced as superior to Tenochtitlan as the Rome of Augustus was to the Rome of Numa. "Mexico is undoubtedly," says Humboldt, "one of the finest cities ever built by Europeans in either hemisphere. With the exception of Petersburgh, Berlin, Philadelphia, and some quarters of Westminster, there does not exist a city of the same extent which can be compared to the capital of New Spain, for the uniform level of the ground on which it stands, for the regularity and breadth of the streets, and the extent of the public places. The architecture is generally of a very pure style; and there are even edifices of very beautiful structure. The exterior of the houses is not loaded with ornament. Two sorts of hewn stone (the porous amygdaloid, called *tetzontli*, and especially a porphyry of vitreous feldspar without quartz,) give to the Mexican buildings an air of solidity, and sometimes of magnificence. There are none of those wooden balconies and galleries to be seen which disfigure so much all the European cities in both the Indies. The balustrades and gates are all of Biscay iron, ornamented with bronze; and the houses, instead of roofs, have terraces like those in Italy and other southern countries..... However, it must be agreed, that it is much less from the grandeur and beauty of the public buildings, than from the breadth and straightness of its streets, and from its uniform regularity, its extent, and its position, that the capital attracts the admiration of Europeans." *

* M. Humboldt states, that he had seen successively, within a short space of time, Lima, Mexico, Philadelphia, Washington, Paris, Rome, Naples, and the largest cities of Germany: and yet, on comparing the impressions made by them respectively, he says, that Mexico had left on his mind a recollection of distinguishing grandeur, which he attributes in part to the majestic character of its situation and the surrounding scenery.

Many of the streets, Mr. Bullock states, are nearly two miles in length, perfectly level and straight, and with the ends terminating in a view of the mountains that surround the valley. The houses are, in general, of a uniform height, most of them having three stories, each from fifteen to twenty feet high. The fronts of most of the houses, like those of Puebla, are painted in distemper, white, crimson, brown, or light green; and owing to the dryness of the atmosphere, they retain their beauty unimpaired many years. Some have inscriptions upon them taken from Scripture, or stanzas addressed to the Virgin. "Numbers of houses are entirely covered with glazed porcelain in a variety of elegant designs and patterns, often with subjects from sacred history, giving the whole a rich mosaic-like appearance. The walls of the great staircases are frequently covered in the same manner, and mixed with a profusion of gilding, which, in contrast with the blue and white porcelain, has really a splendid effect. The walls of several of the churches are finished in the same manner."

The *Plaza Major*, or grand square, is one of the finest that is to be seen in any metropolis.* The east side is occupied by the cathedral; the north, by the splendid palace of the viceroy; the south, by a fine row of houses, in the centre of which is the palace of the Marquess de Valle (Cortes), now called the *Casa del Estado*;† and the west has a range of buildings, with a piazza in front, consisting of many good shops, public offices, granaries, &c. About the centre of the square is a colossal equestrian statue of Charles IV., on a pedestal of Mexican marble; said to be the finest

* See plate.

† Built on the site of the palace of Montezuma. See p. 38, *note*.

Engd on steel. by H. Adlard.

VIEW OF THE GREAT SQUARE AT MEXICO.

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specimen of casting in the New World.* The pleasing effect of the grand square is, however, much impaired, Mr. Bullock states, by the intrusion of a "trumpery building called the *Parian*, a kind of market or bazaar, held principally by the Spanish shopkeepers. This erection is a disgrace to the taste of the Government which permitted it to spoil one of the noblest squares they have; but the revenues it brings to the city are at present so necessary, that its speedy removal is hopeless."

The cathedral, which stands on the ruins of the great *teocalli* of the god Mexitli, is a somewhat heterogeneous edifice. The front is very singular. One part of it is low and of bad Gothic architecture: the other part, which is of recent construction, is in the Italian style, and has much symmetry and beauty. Its two handsome towers are ornamented with pilasters and statues. "The interior is imposing,—larger, loftier, and more magnificent than the cathedral of Puebla. The distribution is the same, but the great altar not quite so rich. The dome is bold, and is painted with great taste. The sanctuaries contain some tolerable paintings, and are neatly ornamented.

* This statue was executed at the expense of the viceroy, Marquess de Branciforte (brother-in-law to the Prince of Peace). "It weighs 450 quintals, and was modelled, founded, and placed by the same artist, M. Tolsa, whose name," adds Humboldt, "deserves a distinguished place in the history of Spanish sculpture." In the chapel of the *Hospital de los Naturales*, there is a sepulchral monument, erected by the Duke de Monteleone to the memory of his great ancestor, which is executed by the same artist. It is adorned with a bust in bronze, representing Cortes in the prime of life. "Wherever we traverse Spanish America," remarks Humboldt, "from Buenos Ayres to Monterey, and from Trinidad and Porto Rico to Panama and Veragua, we no where meet with a national monument erected by the public gratitude to the glory of Christopher Columbus or of Hernan Cortes!"

On the whole, this church would do credit to any city in Europe." * It is about 500 feet in length. "On entering," says Mr. Bullock, "I felt something like disappointment, notwithstanding the extent and magnificence of the interior. The centre is nearly filled by the ponderous erections which entirely obstruct its otherwise fine appearance, and the high altar is, as well as that in the cathedral of Puebla, too large for the place it occupies. Like most of the churches in this country, it is loaded with a profusion of massive carved and gilt ornaments, pictures, and painted statues. Many of the smaller paintings appeared to be of value, and works of the old Spanish and Italian masters; but they are so placed, and in such an obscure light, that it is not possible to judge decisively of their merit. There are in the apartments adjoining the cathedral, allegorical and sacred subjects, pictures of a prodigious size, and of considerable skill in their composition and design, though few of them are executed by masters held in estimation in Europe.

"The high altar and its appendages are enclosed by a massive railing, of great extent, of cast metal, said to have been founded in China, from models sent from Mexico. The figures which ornament it are very numerous, but of poor execution and design. The metal, resembling brass, is considered to be of such value, on account of the gold it contains, that a silversmith of Mexico is said to have made an offer to the bishop to construct a new rail of solid silver, of the same weight, in exchange for it.

"Divine service is celebrated here with great magnificence. Mass is regularly said every half hour from daylight till one o'clock, exclusive of the high mass,

* Notes on Mexico, p. 54.

and other occasional masses. In no place are religious ceremonies observed with greater pomp or splendour. The procession which I saw from this cathedral far exceeded, in order and regularity, in the grandeur of the vestments, in the costliness and value of the sacred ornaments, and in gold and silver, any thing I ever witnessed. The processions of Rome, or any other city of Europe, suffer much in the comparison.

"In the Mexican churches we do not meet with that distinction so universal with us, of pews and seats. Here, on the same floor, the poorest Indians, and the highest personages in the land, mix indiscriminately in their prayers to that Being to whom earthly distinctions are unknown. In South America, persons of property are (or were till lately) always preceded to church by slaves, carrying handsome cushions for their masters, but this is a luxury unknown in this country. The newly-arrived European is shocked at the idea of kneeling on the boards which form the floors of the churches, and which are left loose to receive the bodies of the dead; for this is the place of burial: but it is not customary to erect any monument, nor is even the name inscribed to point out to surviving relatives or friends the spot of interment. In no part of New Spain did I observe any memorial of the dead, except in the chapel which contains the bones of the conqueror Cortes; where a fine bronze bust, cast by Tolsa, is placed near them. Funerals are performed here in a very unostentatious manner; the same coffin being used for ages to remove the bodies of the deceased. How different in this respect are the pleasing customs of the Swedes and other northern nations of Europe, where the graves of the departed are kept in the greatest order by surviving relations, and weekly

visited and planted with fresh flowers! I have often witnessed in Sweden, and in some parts of North Wales, with pleasure, on a Saturday evening, whole families employed in this affectionate office."

Within the enclosure of the cathedral, (which is of stone pillars and chains,) and sunk in the earth, so that the surface alone is visible, is the remarkable stone called the Stone of Sacrifices. It was found, together with a great number of idols and other remains of Aztec sculpture, in Dec. 1790, in digging twenty or thirty feet deep, in order to level the great square. It is of porphyry, about nine feet broad, or twenty-five in circumference, of a cylindrical form. In the centre is a head in relief, surrounded by twenty groupes * of two figures each, all represented in the same attitude; and one of the figures is always the same,—a warrior with his right hand resting on the helmet of a man who is offering him flowers in token of submission. The other figure, supposed to be the vanquished warrior, wears the dress of the nation to which he belongs, and behind him is a hieroglyphic denoting the conquered province. In the upper surface of the stone, there is a groove of some depth, which is thought to have been designed to let the blood of the victims run off. "As the Mexican prisoners were offered up in the temples, it would," Humboldt remarks, "appear natural enough, that the triumphs of a warrior king should be figured round the fatal stone on which the *topiltzin* (sacrificing priest) tore out the heart of the unhappy victim. Notwithstanding, I am inclined to think, that the Stone of the Sacrifices was never placed at the top of a *teocalli*, but was one of those

* So says Humboldt, and M. Dupé copied the whole relief; yet Mr. Bullock, who also took casts of the whole, says, that it consists of *fifteen* groupes.

stones called *temalacatl*, on which the combat of the gladiators took place between the prisoners of rank destined to be sacrificed, and a Mexican warrior. Placed on the *temalacatl*, surrounded by an immense crowd of spectators, they were to fight six Mexican warriors in succession: if they were fortunate enough to conquer them, their liberty was granted them, and they were permitted to return to their own country; if, on the contrary, the prisoner sank under the strokes of one of his adversaries, a priest dragged him, dead or living, to the altar, and tore out his heart."*

At the same time that this stone was discovered, two other very curious Aztec monuments were brought to light; the Calendar Stone, and the colossal statue of the goddess Teoyaomiqui.† The former, popularly called "Montezuma's watch," is worked vertically into the wall of the cathedral, so as to expose the whole surface. It is of basaltic porphyry; its actual weight more than twenty-four tons; and as no mountain within eight or ten leagues of the city could furnish a porphyry of this grain and colour, we may imagine the difficulties which the Mexicans must have had to surmount, in transporting so enormous a mass to the foot of the *teocalli*. In the centre is a hideous

* See, for the learned Traveller's reasons and authorities for this opinion, *Researches*, vol. i. p. 266. Mr. Bullock states, that he has seen the Indians, as they passed, throw stones at this supposed altar; "and I once saw," he adds, "a boy jump upon it, clench his fist, stamp with his foot, and use other gesticulations of the greatest abhorrence."

† A "very credible person" assured M. Humboldt, that the foundations of the cathedral are surrounded by an immense quantity of idols and reliefs; and that the three masses of porphyry above mentioned, were the *smallest* of those discovered in digging to the depth of twelve metres. Near the *Capilla del Sagrario*, a sculptured rock was found, seven metres long, six broad, and three in height.

head, sculptured in relief, representing, we are told, "the sun in his four motions." It is surrounded by a double circle of hieroglyphics, and beyond them are three other circles richly ornamented in relief. The circles, with all their numerous divisions and subdivisions, are traced with mathematical precision. "The more minutely the detail of this sculpture is examined," remarks Humboldt, "the greater taste we find in the repetition of the same forms, that attention to order, and that feeling of symmetry which, among half-civilised nations, is a substitute for the feeling of the beautiful."* If the Aztecs had no other tools than such as were made of obsidian, it would be inexplicable how they could have executed this rich sculpture on so hard a stone; but it is certain that they had also edge-tools of copper mixed with tin, which were almost as sharp as steel instruments. † The colossal statue, which lies concealed by a few inches of earth in one of the galleries of the university, was disinterred in compliance with the request of Mr. Bullock, (a favour previously granted to M. Humboldt,) to allow him to take a cast of it; it was then replaced, and again hidden from the gaze of the vulgar. We have already given that gentleman's description of this hideous idol.‡—From the summit of the towers of the cathedral, there is a fine view of the plain, of which both Humboldt and our American Traveller speak in high terms.

* Humboldt has given a representation of this curious sculpture (*Researches*, plate xxiii.); and Mr. Bullock brought home an impression of it in plaster, which forms one of the articles of his Exhibition of Ancient Mexico. The yawning mouth and protruded tongue of the god *Tonatiuh* (or the Sun) remind us, Humboldt remarks, of the figure of a Hindoo divinity, — Krishna assuming the form of *Kala*, Time: it is *Chronos* devouring his children.

† Humboldt, Pol. Essay, vol. iii. p. 113. ‡ See page 200, *note*.

The Palace, or Government-house, is described by Mr. Bullock as a truly magnificent building. "It is nearly square, its front measuring several hundred feet. In its interior are four large square courts, round which most of the public offices are distributed, together with the prison, the mint, barracks, and the botanic garden." The Mint, "the largest and richest in the whole world," and the house of separation (*casa del apartado*), in which is carried on the separation of the gold and silver of the ingots of auriferous silver, are among the chief objects of interest to a stranger. The latter contains three sorts of works; a glass manufactory, the preparation of nitrous acid, and the separation of the gold and silver. All the three processes are conducted in a very imperfect manner; and as the description would but little interest the general reader, we shall content ourselves with referring for the details to the great work of Humboldt.* He mentions an opinion entertained by several persons "interested in the works," that the vapours of nitrous acid which are diffused by their means through the most populous quarters of the city, serve to decompose the *miasmata* of the surrounding lakes and marshes. The works of the Mint (*moneda*) consist of ten sets of rollers, moved by sixty mules, to press out the bars to the required size; fifty-two circular cutters; nine adjusting-tables; twenty milling-machines and stamping-presses; and five mills for amalgamating the filings and sweepings. † Each stamping-press is said

* Humboldt's Pol. Essay, vol. iii. pp. 484—7; see also Notes on Mexico, p. 59. The glass is composed of 0.46 of quartz and 0.54 of soda.

† "The rooms, staircases, and every part of the building are carefully swept from time to time. At the last change of the administration, as the rooms had not been swept for several years, this operation yielded 20,000 dollars."—*Notes on Mexico*, p. 60.

to be capable of coining upwards of 15,000 dollars in ten hours, so that they are able to manufacture daily from 14 to 15,000 marcs of silver. The silver produced in all the mines of Europe together would not suffice, Humboldt states, to employ the mint of Mexico more than fifteen days. The operations, however, are performed in a very awkward manner, and the machinery is very imperfect. "At present (1823), about 200 workmen are employed;* but when the mines were in full operation, 400 men were engaged, and 80,000 dollars *per diem* were coined here, independently of what was done by the other mints." Humboldt has given a table of the annual coinage from 1690 to 1803 inclusive, from which it appears, that the total amount of gold and silver which passed through the mint of Mexico within that period (114 years), was 1,353,452,020 piasters, equal to 284,224,924*l.* sterling. Another table, furnished by the author of Notes on Mexico, giving an account of the coinage of gold, silver, and copper, from 1802 to 1821 inclusive, presents a total of 303,319,928 dollars.† But, besides the vast amount of *specie* thus sent into circulation, the quantity of the precious metals converted into plate at Mexico, was proportionably large. "There are few countries," says Humboldt, "in which a more considerable number of large pieces of wrought plate, vases, and church ornaments, are annually executed, than in Mexico. The smallest towns have gold and silver smiths, in whose shops workmen of all castes are employed. The Academy of Fine Arts, and the schools for drawing in Mexico and Xalapa, have very

* Exclusive of 15 engravers, 5 assayers, and 30 persons in the different offices; and there are never fewer than 100 mules in the stables.

† Pol. Essay, vol. iii. p. 291; Notes on Mexico, p. 63.

much contributed to diffuse a taste for beautiful antique forms. Services of plate to the value of 150 or 200,000 francs have been lately manufactured at Mexico, which, for elegance and fine workmanship, may rival the finest work of the kind ever executed in the most civilised parts of Europe. The quantity of precious metals which, between 1798 and 1802, was converted into plate at Mexico, amounted, at an average, to 385 marcs of gold (Castile weight), and 26,803 marcs of silver, *per annum*." * Mr. Bullock, however, draws a melancholy picture of the altered aspect of things in this golden capital. "The existing state of this city," he says, "exhibits only a shadow of the grandeur it had once attained. The present internal decorations but ill accord with the magnificent houses and palaces on which thousands have been lavished, and which prove at once the poverty of the present Mexicans, and the wealth of their ancestors. The massive silver tables, staircases, and chandeliers, &c., have all disappeared. The profusion of jewels, and the extravagant equipages, are no longer to be seen in the streets." The American Traveller states, that the houses are not so well furnished as those of the cities in the United States, although the apartments are more lofty and spacious, and there is an air of solidity and grandeur about the whole habitation. Yet, on festival days, Mexico still wears a splendid appearance.

To return from this digression, and resume our office of *cicerone*. The Botanical Garden, which occupies one of the courts of the viceroy's palace, is very small, but it is extremely rich in rare and interesting productions. "Though situated," says Mr. Bullock,

* Pol. Essay, vol. iii. pp. 477, 8.

"in the centre of a large and populous city, every vegetable production seems in perfect health and vigour. It affords to the stranger a most delightful retreat from the mid-day sun, and to the botanist, or admirer of the works of nature, a treat not to be met with elsewhere in New Spain, or perhaps in the world. It is handsomely laid out in the Spanish fashion, with flagged walks, bordered with elegant large pots of flowers. The walks are rendered cool by the creeping plants that are trained over them. They diverge from a large stone basin in the centre, constantly supplied by a fountain with water, which, in small rivulets, spreads itself over every part of this little paradise,—imparting freshness and life to thousands of elegant plants and flowers, unknown to the eye of a European, but which here, in a climate of eternal spring, in the open air, bloom and send forth their fragrance without the assistance of man, and produce a very different appearance from the dwarfish, sickly exotics of our hot-house, which, with every possible care and attention, with difficulty linger a few years without re-producing their species. Apples, pears, peaches, quinces, and other European fruits flourish here, in company with bananas, avocatas, and the most delicious sapotas I ever tasted. The celebrated hand-tree, which has excited so much attention among botanists, is in great perfection here."

To describe all the public buildings in Mexico, would require a separate publication. An American gentleman counted one hundred and five cupolas, spires, and domes, within the limits of the city; and there are said to be fifty-six churches, besides the cathedral.* The convents are thirty-eight in number;

* Notes on Mexico, p. 72.

twenty-three of monks, and fifteen of nuns. The Franciscan convent is an immense establishment, with an annual income of nearly 21,000*l.*, arising principally from alms. Its church is a fine one, and, as well as the numerous apartments, courts, and cloisters of the monastery, which form a perfect labyrinth, is covered with large paintings, describing the miracles and life of the saint. The church of San Domingo, which is attached to the Dominican monastery, is splendidly ornamented. The capitals of the columns and the sanctuaries in the interior, are richly gilded, and the whole has an aspect of magnificence. The convent is of great extent, and contains a numerous collection of pictures and statues. Since the Revolution, it has been occasionally used as a temporary place of confinement for state prisoners. "A few months before my arrival," says Mr. Bullock, "it contained some of the principal members of the congress, who had here comfortable apartments, and were well entertained. Escape from it was impossible, though it contains sufficient space to lodge several thousand persons, allowing ample room for exercise. In the paved yard or court in front of the church, we were shewn a large flat stone, with a square hole in its centre, in which, my informant told me, was fixed the stake to which the victims of the Inquisition were formerly fastened, previously to their being burnt. This tribunal was, till its abolition by the ex-emperor in 1820, under the jurisdiction of the Dominicans.

"The Palace of the Inquisition is on the opposite side of the street, and near the place of execution. In this house, persons accused of ecclesiastical crimes were confined. I had been told, previously to my arrival in Mexico, of its horrible subterraneous cells, in which the wretched captives were imprisoned; but

this must evidently have been an exaggeration, as no subterraneous places ever existed in the city of Mexico, nor ever can exist, as, wherever the ground is excavated, even for a few feet, water instantly springs up. In the great square, while I was digging for the purpose of taking a cast of the sacrificial stone, at only three feet, we were obliged to employ persons constantly to lade out the water. This palace is very elegant, and exhibits little or no appearance of the purposes for which it was intended. It was occupied as a polytechnical school at the time I was in the city, but was then on sale.

"The monastery of the *Professa* is also well worthy the attention of strangers: the fitting up of its elegant church is in a more modern style than the others, and its appearance is as fresh and brilliant as at the hour it was finished. When lighted up on particular or great occasions, the profusion of its superb silver and gilt chandeliers and massive candelabras, filled with wax-lights, produce a magnificent effect."*

St. Augustine's church, it is added, should not be missed. Among the others which deserve the traveller's notice, the church of Sta. Theresa is very handsomely ornamented, and the architecture is in good taste; that of *La Encarnacion*, attached to a large

* In this convent, there is a curious series of pictures, representing the heart of man possessed by the devil and the deadly sins, and the regeneration of it to religion and virtue. "The first picture represents a large heart with a human head on the top of it; within are depicted a frog, a serpent, a goat, a tiger, a tortoise, a peacock, and a hog, with the devil in the centre, with a long tail and a pitchfork. In the second picture, the devil and all these animals are represented half-way out of the heart, and a white dove half-way in. In the third, the devil and the animals are afar off, and the dove has entire possession of the heart."—*Notes, &c.* p. 73.

convent, is very rich and splendid, and its principal altar is surmounted by a pyramid of embossed silver, at least 15 feet high; that of *Espiritu Santo* is excessively gaudy, and in the worst taste possible; that of *Enseñanza*, attached to a convent, is all gilding and glitter; those of the Carmelite convent and San Inez are very neat and handsome; but the Author of "Notes on Mexico" was most pleased, he states, with the church of Jesus Maria, attached to a nunnery. "A row of Corinthian columns with gilt capitals extend round the church; the dome and ceiling are richly decorated and painted in the best manner; and the whole church is fitted up with great elegance and in the purest taste."

"In front of the churches, and in the neighbourhood of them," adds this Traveller, "we saw an unusual number of beggars; and they openly exposed their disgusting sores and deformities to excite our compassion. No city in Italy contains so many miserable beggars, and no town in the world so many blind. This is, I think, to be attributed to constant exposure, want, and the excessive use of ardent spirits. Many are blind from the effects of the small-pox, which, before the introduction of vaccination, raged frequently in this country, and was a fatal disease."

The hospital of Jesus or *de los Naturales*, founded by Cortes, deserves to rank among the most interesting objects in the capital. It is for the maintenance of children and old people, and now unites two separate foundations. "This establishment," says Humboldt, "in which both order and cleanliness may be seen, but little industry, has a revenue of 250,000 francs (10,470*l.* sterling)." In one of the rooms are several family portraits, among which is one of the great captain himself. Here, too, is shewn "the

identical embroidered standard under which he wrested the empire from the unfortunate Montezuma;" also, a massive mahogany table which belonged to Cortes. In the chapel, a strong iron-bound chest is exhibited, containing the bones of the conqueror of New Spain. Mr. Bullock was allowed to inspect them, and he attentively examined, he says, the cranium; but all he was enabled to infer from it, was, that the person of Cortes must have been small.

The *Mineria*, or School of Mines, was originally a magnificent building, but, owing to want of proper care in piling, or some other defect in the foundation, it has settled in several places, and the front is visibly out of the perpendicular. In the interior, the building is still more disfigured; the walls are cracked and broken, and in some places, the ceilings have fallen in; so that, though recently completed, it has the appearance of being in ruins. Part had already been taken down at the period of Mr. Bullock's visit; and the whole must eventually follow. There was a good philosophical apparatus in one of the rooms, where lectures used to be delivered, and the students were taught every branch of natural history and philosophy, to qualify them to be useful superintendents of mines; but the funds of this excellent institution have been diverted to other uses, and the lectures and studies, in 1822, had ceased. In one of the apartments is a collection of minerals,—a very limited one; and on the *azotea* (terrace roof) is the observatory where Humboldt made his astronomical observations.

The Academy of Painting and Sculpture (*Academia de los Nobles Artes de Mexico*), an institution which owed its existence to the patriotism of several public-spirited individuals, and the patronage of the minister Galvez,—has shared the fate of the School of Mines.

The spacious building assigned to it by the Government, is neglected and falling to ruin, owing to the funds being diverted to other uses to meet the exigencies of the State.* "There is not now," says Mr. Bullock, "a single pupil in the academy; and though the venerable president still lives, he is in a state of indigence, and nearly blind." There is a very fine collection of casts here, which is said to have cost the King of Spain upwards of 8,000*l.* "We are astonished," says Humboldt, "on seeing that the Belvidere Apollo, the Laocoon, and still more colossal

* "The revenues of the Academy of Fine Arts amount to 125,000 francs (5,200*l.* sterling); of which the Government gives 60,000, the body of Mexican miners nearly 25,000, and the *consulado* or association of merchants more than 15,000.....Instruction is communicated *gratis*. It is not confined to the drawing of landscapes and figures; they have had the good sense to employ other means for exciting the national industry. The Academy labours successfully to introduce among the artisans a taste for elegance and beautiful forms. Large rooms, well lighted by Argand's lamps, contain every evening some hundreds of young people, of whom some draw from *relievo*, or living models, while others copy drawings of furniture, chandeliers, or other ornaments in bronze. In this assemblage, (and this is very remarkable in the midst of a country where prejudices of the nobility against the castes are so inveterate,) rank, colour, and race are confounded. We see the Indian and the Mestizo sitting beside the White, and the son of a poor artisan in emulation with the children of the great lords of the country. It is a consolation to observe, that under every zone, the cultivation of science and art establishes a certain equality among men, and obliterates, for a time at least, all those petty passions of which the effects are so prejudicial to social happiness."—HUMBOLDT'S *Pol. Essay*, vol. i. pp. 213, 14. In the Report made by the Secretary of State to the Sovereign Constituent Congress, Nov. 8, 1823, this establishment, which still remained closed for want of funds, is specially recommended to the attention of the legislature, together with the other public institutions that had suffered dilapidation and impoverishment. It is also recommended to Congress to appropriate the *Hospital de los Naturales* for the purpose of a national museum and school of medicine, and to lay out a new botanic garden.

statues, have been conveyed through mountainous roads at least as narrow as those of St. Gothard; and we are surprised at finding these masterpieces of antiquity collected together under the torrid zone, in a table-land higher than the convent of the great St. Bernard." These casts were still, in 1822, in excellent preservation; but how long they might remain so, was doubtful: the roof was partly off immediately over them, and the rain fell upon the floor. A few pictures, none of them very good, were thinly scattered along the walls; and there was to be seen a long line of benches and desks, with designs and models for the pupils, "as if they had left them on the yesterday," whereas no lessons had been given for more than a year. This institution had scarcely existed long enough to have left any decided traces of its efficiency. Mr. Bullock gives a deplorable account of the present state of the arts in Mexico. "Not one landscape or architectural painter," he says, "remains in this great city; and the only few artists are those who copy religious subjects for the churches, and some who attempt portraits, but they are deplorably bad. The principal employment for the pencil seems to be in the decorations of coach-bodies, and the heads of the wooden bedsteads; and in the metropolis, a few pictures of the Infant Saviour, the Virgin, Magdalen, St. Joseph, St. Anthony, or St. Cuthbert, are the only productions of modern painters which are to be met with. Of the myriads of pictures with which the churches, convents, cloisters, &c. &c. are crowded, I saw few worth the expense of removing. The churches and cathedrals may, amongst the great numbers with which they are encumbered, have some good, and I am inclined to think they have; but the quantity of light admitted into these superb temples is too little,

even in the brightest day, to render it practicable to discover their merits: they are lost to the world in the sacred gloom that pervades the place. The public, too, are prevented from a near approach by clumsy railings; but, from what information I was enabled to obtain by peeping through, it appeared to me that some of the finest productions of the Italian and Spanish schools may be here buried in oblivion.

"I visited the houses of many of the nobility, but found little worthy of notice. The Count of Valenciana's drawing-room has a set of prints from Claude, which, with the exception of a few fine things in the palace of the Bishop of Puebla, are the only works worth mentioning, connected with the old masters, that came under my inspection.

"In the many rambles I made through the city, I often examined the brokers' and furniture shops; as, amongst the countless number of statues and pictures of saints and martyrs, I expected to have found something worth bringing home: but all my researches in this way only produced me two small pictures; one on copper, (the Adoration of the Shepherds,) an early picture, or a copy, of Correggio; the other a Holy Family, somewhat in the style of Carlo Maratti.

"I had imagined that the amazing and rapid accumulation of wealth which had accrued to several individuals from the working of the silver mines, would have caused some of the productions of European art, either through devotion or taste, to have made the voyage across the Atlantic; but this does not appear to have been the case, or, if it was, they have accompanied the Spaniards in their retreat to their mother-country.

"I saw no traces of the occupation of the sculptor in marble: this may be accounted for by the customs

of the country forbidding the use of monuments,—nor are there any fire-places which could admit of such ornaments. Of carvers in wood there are many, as every house has a statue of a saint or madonna, painted and generally superbly dressed. The art of engraving on stone is unknown in Mexico; but the Indians greatly excel in the modelling and working in wax. The specimens of different tribes with their costumes, with the habiliments of the gentry of the country, which I have brought over, will amply testify their merits in this department. They also model fruit and vegetables in a beautiful manner. A lady at Puebla de los Angeles executes, in a singular style, from pieces of old linen cloth, groupes of comic figures, some of which I have also brought to England. Such was her skill, that, from having only seen me for a short time, on my first passing through the city, I was surprised to find, on my return, that she had executed a portrait of me in this style, which was immediately recognised by my friends."

We must not omit to notice the university and the public library, although both the edifice and the collection are pronounced by Humboldt to be unworthy of so great and ancient an establishment. The university was founded in 1551. The building is very spacious, and the institution is said to be well endowed: there have been as many as 200 students at one time, but there were in 1822, very few. Besides the university, there are inferior colleges and several large schools under the direction of the regular clergy. "Most of the people in the cities," says the American Traveller, "can read and write. I would not be understood as including the *leperos*; but I have frequently remarked men clothed in the garb of extreme poverty, reading the gazettes in the street.

Of these there are three published every other day in the week, which are sold for 12½ *cents* a-piece; and pamphlets and loose sheets are hawked about and sold at a reasonable rate. There are several booksellers' shops, which are but scantily supplied with books. The booksellers have hitherto laboured under all the disadvantages of the prohibitory system of the Roman Catholic church, but are now endeavouring to furnish themselves with the best modern works. The few books to be found in the shops are extravagantly dear. There are several valuable private libraries; and many Creole gentlemen, who have visited Europe, have a taste both for literature and the fine arts. This is certainly more rare among those who have never been out of their own country. The means of education were more limited under the colonial system, and liberal studies were discouraged. The Latin language, law, theology, and philosophy, were taught in the colleges, and only so much of the latter as the clergy thought might be taught with safety. To give some idea of the influence of this class in the city of Mexico, I will merely observe, that there are five hundred and fifty secular, and sixteen hundred and forty-six regular clergy. Humboldt says, that, in the twenty-three convents of monks in the capital, there are twelve hundred individuals, of whom five hundred and eighty are priests and choristers; and, in the fifteen convents of nuns, there are two thousand one hundred individuals, of whom about nine hundred are professed nuns." *

The children of the nobility and wealthy inhabitants are principally taught at home. The places

* Notes on Mexico, pp. 83, 84.

of public instruction in the greatest repute, are the *Seminario* and *San Ildefonza*. Lancastrian schools were established in the capital by the emperor; and his ex-majesty assured Mr. Bullock, that it was his intention to extend them throughout the provinces. "There are now," says this Traveller, "three or four daily papers (1823); but they contain very little information; they are only just beginning to insert advertisements, *gratis*, in the same manner as they were in England at the commencement of our newspapers."

Medical and chirurgical knowledge is represented to be at the lowest ebb. Dissections are not allowed by law. "An able oculist would be a valuable acquisition and blessing to Mexico, where diseases of the eye are so prevalent: there is not a native who can perform an operation. Several young physicians from the United States had arrived, and were getting into practice, although labouring under the great disadvantage of not knowing the Spanish language."

Since the period of this Traveller's visit to Mexico, there is reason, however, to believe that some improvement has taken place. One of the first objects to which all the republican governments have turned their attention, has been the means of public instruction. The Report of Don Lucas Alaman, the Secretary of State, to the Sovereign Constituent Congress, in Nov. 1823, contains this noble declaration: "WITHOUT EDUCATION, LIBERTY CANNOT EXIST; and the more diffused is the former, so much the more solidly cemented will be the latter. The intimate conviction of this truth" (the Report proceeds to state) "induced the Government, in the midst of its pecuniary difficulties, to foster the establishments destined for this important object by every

means in its power." Under the head of PRIMARY SCHOOLS, it is stated: "The constitution entrusted the care of these to the city councils, which, for want of funds, have not been able to give them that perfect organization of which they are susceptible. There are many places where there are no primary schools, and in others, they are almost useless from the incapacity of the masters, owing to the lowness of the salaries; and almost every where is remarked, a culpable neglect on the part of the fathers, who forget the obligation imposed upon them by society and religion, to give their children a Christian education. The Government has encouraged a society, founded in this capital by some individuals zealous for the public good, for the purpose of establishing the system of mutual instruction which has made such rapid progress in Great Britain, in the greater part of Europe, and in the United States. With this object, a school has been established in a convent, capable of containing 1,600 children, who will be taught, not only the first rudiments, but other branches of literature by the same method. Government would wish that, on the model of this society, and in imitation of it, others might be established, in correspondence with it, so as to procure those succours which can be furnished only by an establishment already formed, and which are less scarce in this capital, than in other cities of our territory." Further, under the head of READING ROOMS, the Report states: "In order to facilitate general instruction by reading, and to place before all the acts of Government, so that, by being better known, they may be more punctually executed; it has been ordered, that in every city-hall there should be a public reading-room, to be furnished with all the laws and other papers circulated

by Government, so that all persons may read and understand them. And the political chiefs have been directed to invite the inhabitants to contribute small sums monthly towards the support of these establishments, which might then subscribe for periodical papers and other useful works, as has already been done in some cities."* These regulations, together with others suggested in this interesting Report, cannot fail to be attended with the most beneficial results.

Among the public institutions must be enumerated the "national establishment for affording temporary relief to persons in pecuniary distress,"—in other words, a government establishment for pledging goods, which occupies an extensive building opposite the Franciscan monastery. Mendicity, we are told, prevailed in the days of Montezuma; but the Mexicans had not then advanced so far in civilisation as to have pawnbrokers' shops. These, however, are very naturally connected in the New World, as well as in older countries, with the propensities to gambling and intoxication ascribed to the *leperos* of Mexico. Mr. Bullock, having procured an introduction to the director of this establishment, a highly esteemed ecclesiastic, gives the following particular description of it. "I was shewn property of all kinds, deposited as pledges for money advanced. A room of great extent and strength was filled with various articles of value. Whole services of plate were piled up one upon another. Massive silver vessels, dishes, crucifixes, statues of saints, pictures with silver frames, articles of female decoration, diamonds, pearls, and some very fine rubies and emeralds, by their presence,

* Notes on Mexico; Appendix.

impress upon the beholder at once the past opulence and present reduced condition of the country. Property sent here remains for a certain term on the payment of a small interest, when, if not redeemed, it is offered for sale by private contract, with the lowest price affixed to each article. If, in a given period, it remains unsold, it is then put up in a monthly sale by auction, sold to the best bidder, and the overplus of what has been advanced, after deducting interest and expenses, is paid over to the original proprietor. The establishment is open every afternoon. The crowd that filled the court attested the humble fortunes of the bulk of the people. We remarked, that the jewellery deposites were less in proportion than any other species of property; and the conductor accounted for it by observing, that those Spaniards who had returned, or were about to return to the mother-country, converted their dollars into more portable articles, that they might convey them about their persons with greater security. This, too, accounts for my having sold the old doubloons which I had brought with me to the capital, for twenty-two dollars, though intrinsically worth only sixteen: they afterwards fell to eighteen. The discerning reader will at once perceive the difference between this establishment and the pawnbrokers' shops of England. With us, the distressed individual is but too often at the mercy of an interested person; but the public functionary of the Mexican institution has no interest of his own to serve; and perhaps, a still greater public advantage accrues from the American plan, by preventing the facility with which stolen property is disposed of with us."

PUBLIC AMUSEMENTS.

In a Roman Catholic country, religious shows and festivals occupy the first rank among public amusements. Mexico has but one place of dramatic exhibition: it is a good building, and of considerable size; the interior shaped like a horse-shoe, narrowing considerably towards the stage, so that few of the spectators in the boxes can see the whole of it. There are four tiers; every box having a projecting balcony, where the ladies display themselves and their finery to great advantage. The pit has three divisions, each a different price; and every seat is separated by arms, and numbered. The house is lighted from above by glass lamps. The orchestra, Mr. Bullock styles indifferent; the scenery, dresses, and machinery, inferior to the theatrical exhibitions seen at Bartholomew fair; and the performers, below mediocrity. The American Traveller witnessed the performance of a translation from the French opera of *Cœur de Lion*. "His Imperial majesty," Don Augustin Iturbidé, sat in a box next the stage, fitted up very magnificently; but his presence did not seem either to animate the audience, or to inspire the actors, and the play went off very heavily.* When Mr. Bullock was there the

* The writer had the honour of being presented to his Imperial Majesty, and he gives the following account of the interview, and of the impression which it left upon his mind. "The Emperor was in his cabinet, and received us with great politeness. Two of his favourites were with him. We were all seated, and he conversed with us for half an hour in an easy, unembarrassed manner, taking occasion to compliment the United States and our institutions, and to lament that they were not suited to the circumstances of his country. He modestly insinuated that he had yielded very reluctantly to the wishes of the people, but had been compelled to

following year, "the woful change that had taken place among the inhabitants of this once gay city," was visible in the depopulated boxes of the theatre. "Not a tenth part of the house was occupied; and of those present, but very few were females, and they were not dressed for the occasion as in Europe,—wearing no ornaments, except one young lady of distinction who had a plume of black feathers on her head.

suffer them to place the crown upon his head, to prevent misrule and anarchy. He is about five feet ten or eleven inches high, stoutly made, and very well proportioned. His face is oval, and his features are very good, except his eyes, which were constantly bent on the ground, or averted. His hair is brown, with red whiskers, and his complexion fair and ruddy, more like that of a German, than of a Spaniard. As you will hear his name pronounced differently, let me tell you that you must accent equally every syllable, I-tur-bi-de. I will not repeat the tales I hear daily of the character and the conduct of this man. Prior to the late successful revolution, he commanded a small force in the service of the Royalists, and he is accused of having been the most cruel and blood-thirsty persecutor of the Patriots, and never to have spared a prisoner. His official letters to the Viceroy substantiate this fact. In the interval between the defeat of the Patriot cause and the last revolution, he resided in the capital; and, in a society not remarkable for strict morals, he was distinguished for his immorality. His usurpation of the chief authority has been the most glaring and unjustifiable; and his exercise of power, arbitrary and tyrannical. With a pleasing address and prepossessing exterior, and by lavish profusion, he has attached the officers and soldiers to his person; and so long as he possesses the means of paying and rewarding them, so long he will maintain himself on the throne: when these fail, he will be precipitated from it. It is a maxim of history, which will probably be again illustrated by his example, that a government not founded on public opinion, but established and supported by corruption and violence, cannot exist without ample means to pay the soldiery, and to maintain pensioners and partisans. To judge Iturbidé from his public papers, I do not think him a man of talents. He is prompt, bold, and decisive, and not scrupulous about the means he employs to obtain his ends."—*Notes, &c.* pp. 66—8.

Two or three Canton crape shawls were the only coloured articles of dress to be seen. With very few exceptions, all present, of either sex, pursued their favourite habit of smoking; the ladies even in the boxes, with a fan in one hand, and a cigar in the other, enveloped in a smoke that rendered it difficult to see from one side of the house to another."* The theatre was open every night, and *twice on Sunday*, on which day, and on holydays, the price of admission was double. But the establishment paid so ill, that its final close was announced from the stage while Mr. Bullock was present.

A Spanish capital cannot be supposed to be without its *plaza de toros* for bull-fights. A large circular enclosure is appropriated for this national diversion, fitted up exactly like that at Madrid, and nearly as large, calculated to contain between two and three thousand spectators. In 1822, a company of equestrians from the United States, had erected a circus within the spacious area, where they performed their feats of horsemanship before an immense crowd of spectators. Cock-fighting too, we are informed, is a national amusement in Spanish America; and the Government derives (or did derive) a considerable revenue from the pits. Mr. Bullock witnessed a cock-

* The American Traveller was astonished to see several "young ladies, pretty and well dressed," smoking cigars in the public walk. "I knew," he says, "that it was the custom of the ladies to smoke, but supposed they would do so only in private. The Mexican gentlemen do not seem to dislike it; and the tale of love is whispered, and vows of fidelity are interchanged, amidst volumes of smoke;—a bad omen, which, if report speaks correctly, is too often verified." Near the suburbs is the cigar manufactory, in which from five to six hundred persons are employed in making up *cigarros* and *puros*.

fight on Whitsunday,* which was crowded with persons of both sexes and all ages, including several well-dressed females, who seemed to take no small interest in the inhuman pastime.

The *Alameda*, or public promenade, situated on the north side of the city, did not appear to this Traveller worthy of the other establishments. It is laid out in paved walks diverging from different centres, with fountains and statues "in very bad taste and worse execution." The roads are wide enough to admit the passage of carriages, and it is much frequented on Sundays and festivals. There is a fountain in the centre, supplied with water from the great aqueduct leading from Santa Fe to the city. The water is carried along in trenches, so as to water the plants and trees, and is then discharged into the lake. This aqueduct, which passes close by the Alameda, is 33,464 feet in length: it is supported on arches of brick and stone, plastered over. The springs of Santa Fe are near the chain of mountains that separate the Valley of Mexico from that of Lerma and Toluca. Another aqueduct, 10,826 feet in length, conducts the water of Chapoltepec to the city. The arches of this aqueduct, 904 in number, are nine feet six inches apart; the columns are four feet thick; and the width is about six feet six inches. The column of water is two feet three inches wide, and two feet deep. The water of Chapoltepec is the best; that of Santa Fe being impregnated with carbonate of lime. The ancient city of Tenochtitlan had several extensive aqueducts; and the remains of the work by which the waters of Amilco (a spring near Santa Fe) were con-

* It is due to this Traveller to state, that he apologises for having consented to accompany his host to this exhibition,—the first he had ever witnessed.

veyed, may still be seen. It had double pipes of baked earth, one set of which served to convey the water while the other was cleaned.

There is another drive and ride, called the *Paseo Nuevo;* a broad road, raised about three feet above the meadow-land that surrounds the city, and planted on both sides with a species of willow, "a tall, stiff, conical tree resembling the Lombardy poplar." It is about two miles long, and terminates suddenly near a bridge and gate, through which passes the canal of Chalco. The American writer describes it as he saw it, crowded with carriages; "some whirling rapidly along, and others drawn up round the open circle in the middle of the road, where the ladies amuse themselves for hours, examining the equipages that roll by, and nodding, smiling, and shaking their fans at their acquaintance as they pass. This constitutes the afternoon's amusement of the wealthy. The bodies of their coaches are large, but of a very good form and well painted; a little too fine, as will be thought when I add, that Guido's Aurora frequently adorns the middle pannel. The carriage is very clumsy: from the axle of the fore, to that of the hind wheel, the distance is not less than twelve feet; and there is moreover a projection of two or three feet before and behind, on which are fastened the leathers that suspend the coach. They are very easy vehicles to ride in, and I shall soon be reconciled to their appearance."*

There is a third drive, called the *Paseo de las*

* Coach-makers excel all the other mechanical arts practised in Mexico. Their vehicles are firmly put together, of handsome forms, and well finished. The best painters of the country are employed in their decoration; and the gilding and varnishing equal what is done in Europe, whence the handles and ornamental parts in metal are procured."—BULLOCK, p. 211.

Vigas, a raised causeway planted with trees, along the side of the canal leading to the lakes of Xochimilco and Chalco; but it is not much frequented. Friar Gage, an English traveller of two hundred years ago, describes the Alameda as "a pleasant, shady field, like unto *our Moorfields*." This comparison will but little assist the reader in imagining the place, unless he has seen, in some history of London, a representation of what Moorfields was at the period referred to. The *Paseo Nuevo* seems to resemble the ring in Hyde Park.

The market may not inappropriately be mentioned among the amusements of the capital. "One of the most interesting sights to an inquisitive stranger in Mexico," says Mr. Bullock, "is a ramble early in the morning to the canal which leads to the Lake of Chalco. There, hundreds of Indian canoes, of different forms and sizes, freighted with the greatest variety of the animal and vegetable productions of the neighbourhood, are constantly arriving: they are frequently navigated by native women, accompanied by their families. The finest cultivated vegetables which are produced in European gardens, with the numberless fruits of the torrid zone, of many of which even the names are not known to us, are piled up in pyramids, and decorated with the most gaudy flowers. In the front of the canoes, the Indian women, very slightly clothed, with their long, glossy tresses of jet-black hair flowing luxuriously to the waist, and often with an infant fastened to their backs, push the canoes forward with long slender poles. In the centre, under cover, the remainder of the family are seated, mostly employed in spinning cotton, or weaving it, in their simple portable looms, into narrow webs of blue and white cloth, which forms their principal clothing.

Other boats are loaded with meat, fowls, turkeys, and a profusion of wild ducks, which they pluck and prepare on their road to market; generally throwing the feathers, which they consider of no value, into the water. Others again are freighted with Indian corn in bulk or straw, the general food for horses, reared like floating pyramids. Milk, butter, fruit, and young kids, are all in the greatest plenty; and, what adds to the picturesque appearance of the whole, is, that nearly every canoe has a quantity of red and white poppies spread on the top of the other commodities; and, if there be a man on board, he is usually employed in strumming on a simple guitar for the amusement of the rest. The whole of this busy scene is conducted with the greatest harmony and cordiality. These simple people seldom pass each other without saluting. 'Buenos dias, Señor, or Señora,' is in every mouth, and they embrace each other with all the appearance of sincerity.

"They land their cargoes a little to the south of the palace, near the great market; and remove their various commodities on their backs to the place where they deposit them for sale. This market is well worth visiting at an early hour;—then, thousands of Indians, assembled with their various commodities for sale, many of them from a considerable distance, form one of the most animated sights that can be witnessed."

The meat market is tolerably well supplied with beef, mutton, and pork, not of the very best quality, but "by no means bad;" and there is game in abundance,—wild ducks,* birds of various sorts, venison,

* The quantity of wild ducks of various kinds, brought to market, is, we are told, surprising; 25,000 have been sold in a year, and at a very low price. The most plentiful are the shoveller

hares, rabbits, turkeys,—not to speak of tortoises, frogs, a sort of shrimp, and axolotes,* (a species of salamander resembling a water-newt,) all good eating. The profusion and variety of fruits and vegetables are greater than in any other market in Europe or America. "The great market," says Mr. Bullock, "is larger than Covent Garden, but yet unequal to contain the quantity daily exposed to sale. The ground is entirely covered with every European kind, and with many the very names of which we have scarcely heard. Besides the articles furnished for the table, numbers of Indians dispose of wool, cotton, coarse calico, manufactured skins, earthenware, baskets, &c.; and it is an amusing scene to witness them collected in large parties, with their children, seated on the ground, enjoying their frugal meals of *tortillos* and *chile*. But, unfortunately, in the lanes near the market are found numbers of pulque-shops (*pulquerias*), where the men are seen enjoying their favourite beverage, and indulging in their propensity to gaming; and in more than one instance, I have noticed these generally good-natured creatures, when heated by *pulque* or *aguardiente*, and soured by the ill fortune of the day, venting their disappointment on the persons of their unoffending wives."

TRADES AND COSTUME.

"THE appearance of the shops in Mexico," continues the same Traveller, "affords no indication of the

(*anas clypeata*) and the teal (*anas crecca*). They are chiefly eaten by the poor.

* These were so plentiful in the time of Cortes, that his army principally subsisted on them. "I have seen them by thousands," says Mr. Bullock, "in the markets of Toluca."

wealth of the city. Nothing is exposed in the windows. All are open, in the same manner as in London till the sixteenth century;" (he might have said much later;) "few have signs or even names in front; and most trades are carried on in the shops in which the articles are sold." Goldsmiths and silversmiths must rank at the head of the trades: numbers of this craft are to be found in every city and town in Mexico. All the ornaments are finished by hand; there are some good chasers, but, in general, Mr. Bullock says, the work is clumsy. In the manufacture of gold and silver thread for embroidery, they excel. In 1803, the manufactured gold amounted to 385 marcs, and that of silver to 26,803 marcs. Precious stones and pearls are dearer than in Europe, and there are few good, except rubies. The coach-makers have already been honourably mentioned as standing at the head of the Mexican mechanics. The cabinet-work is coarsely and clumsily made; the wood used is chiefly cedar and pine, mahogany being scarcely known.* The tailors sit on stools, instead of the shop-board; no wonder that clothes "are seldom well made," though 300 *per cent* dearer than in England. Cloth coats, Mr. Bullock says, were only beginning to supersede the printed calico jacket. The milliners are "brawny fellows of all complexions, with mustachios." Confectionary is a good trade; there are five hundred different kinds of *dulces*. "The druggists' and apothecaries' trades," adds this gentleman, "must also

* "Most of the chairs in the best houses are made in the United States. It will be learned with surprise, that in this country, the saw (except a small hand-frame) is still unknown: every plank, and the timber used in the erection of all the Spanish American cities, are hewn by Indians with light axes from the solid trees, which make each but one board." — BULLOCK.

be excellent ones: their prices are exorbitant." This, however, is not always a fair criterion, especially considering the large stock which appears to be required. "An apothecary's store," it is added, "generally occupies six times the space which a similar establishment does in England. I was shewn one in Puebla, which engrossed the whole of a very large house. Thousands of boxes, drawers, cases, bottles, and jars were arranged in the greatest order, together with an extensive chemical apparatus. Among the drugs, we observed many long exploded in Europe; such as parts of various serpents, &c. &c." As at Xalapa and Puebla, barbers assert their ancient importance, and the price of a clean beard is half a physician's fee. "Their shops are numerous, and generally make a handsome show with the display of the utensils of their trade, mixed with pictures and prints, grinding-stones, and burnished brass basins, resplendent as the helmet of Mambrino." Of coopers, Mr. Bullock saw none: the skins of hogs are substituted for barrels. Bakers' shops are large establishments, and no where can better bread be had, than here. *Pulquerias* and brandy-shops are but too numerous, and "by the gay display of their variously coloured poisons in handsome decanters, present such a temptation to the poor Indians, that few who possess a *media* can carry it home."* The water-carriers are a numerous body: they bring it from the aqueducts to private houses, in large globular jars, poised on their backs, and supported by a strap from their heads, from which is suspended another smaller one, to serve as a counterpoise. "These men," says Mr. Bullock,

* Humboldt states the quantity of *pulque* annually consumed at Mexico, at the enormous number of 44 millions of bottles.

"seem to have a great aversion to the article in which they deal; for, at an early hour, they may be seen in a *pulquefied* state, stretched on the bare ground in the fulness of enjoyment."

In all the towns, hats, shoes, and sadlery are manufactured. The beaver hats made in the capital are excellent; and those of wool, used by the peasants, are well adapted to the country. The tanned leather is very indifferent. The making of cutlery and hardware is scarcely attempted: what is done, is wretchedly executed. Cast iron is almost unknown in New Spain, its use for culinary purposes being supplied by their excellent earthenware. Paper has never hitherto been made in Mexico, but has been imported from Europe. Nor are there any native watch-makers: the few watches that are worn, are cheap articles, chiefly of French or Swiss manufacture.* There is a manufactory of playing-cards, and one of coarse printed cottons; but the manufactures have suffered much; and comparing their state in 1822, with what they are represented to have been by Humboldt in 1802, their produce is supposed to have diminished one half. Nothing can be worse than the system on which they are conducted, both as to the principle and their effect on society. "Every manufactory that requires many hands, is strictly a prison, from which the wretched inmates cannot remove, and where they are treated with the utmost rigour. Many of them are really confined for a number of years for crimes against the laws; and others, by borrowing a sum of money from the owners, pledge their persons and their labours till they redeem it, which, it often

* Messrs. Roskell, of Liverpool, have recently established a house at Mexico in this line of business.

happens, is never done. The proprietor, instead of paying them in money, supplies them with spirits, tobacco, &c.; and by these means they increase, rather than liquidate the original debt. They have mass said for the wretched inmates on the premises; but high walls, double doors, barred windows, and severe corporal punishments inflicted in these places of forced industry, make them as bad as the worst conducted gaol in Europe. As the people receive their ideas of manufactories from such places, can we wonder," adds Mr. Bullock, "at the detestation in which they are held? What must their opinion of Europe be, which they are taught to consider as the place where all the manufactured articles imported are produced, and, as they suppose, by the same system? But this state of things cannot long remain. A liberal government like the present, will surely devise a remedy for so great an evil; while the introduction of artisans from Europe, and the steam-engines which are now erecting at two of the mines, will give the natives an idea of our mechanical knowledge, and tend greatly to prepare them for improvement." In fact, in the Report of Don Lucas Alaman, already referred to, the Government recommends the repeal of all duties on the importation of machinery, with a view to favour their introduction into the country. Some machines for spinning cotton were already, it is stated, established at Puebla; and in the neighbourhood of the capital, an individual was about to erect a paper-mill.

British manufactured goods were beginning to come into vogue in the capital, especially our muslins and calicoes, printed and plain, and cotton stockings; but the low-priced French woollens and German linens were preferred to the English. Our blue and white

earthenware was in great request, as also English beer and porter, which sometimes sold at four or five dollars the bottle, the bottle itself costing half a dollar. Breweries, however, were about to be established.

There is one calling or profession in Mexico, which we have not noticed, to which reference is made by the American Traveller in the following description of a morning's walk through the city. "In my walk this morning, under the porticoes leading to the principal square, I was struck with the singular exhibition they presented of the busy, the idle, and the devout. The shops were filled with tradesmen and purchasers. Under the porticoes were men and women selling fruits and flowers, and wax-work representing with great accuracy the costumes of the country; the work of Indians, and the best of the sort I have ever seen. *Leperos* were leaning against the columns, sunning themselves; and beggars, and little urchins selling pamphlets and gazettes, followed us with loud clamours. In the midst of this scene of noise and confusion, I observed two women on their knees before a picture of the Virgin, which is enclosed in a glass case, and has always tapers burning before it. They were abstracted from all that was passing around them, and appeared to be really and devoutly absorbed in prayer. While looking at them and at the crowd, the tinkling of a small bell was heard; it announced the passage of the host from the cathedral to the death-bed of a sinner. In an instant all was still. Shopkeepers and their customers, *leperos* and noisy children, all doffed their hats and knelt on the pavement, where they remained till the host was out of sight, devoutly crossing themselves all the while. We then rose, and the hum, and bustle, and clamour were gradually renewed.

We crossed the square, where there are always a number of hackney coaches standing, (better, I think, than the *jarvies* and *fiacres* of London and Paris,) to the statue of Charles IV.; where, seated on the steps of the enclosure, we found a class of men called *evangelistas*. Their business is, to indite memorials and epistles for those who cannot write themselves. Wrapped in his blanket, and furnished with pen and ink, and a basket full of paper, the evangelist is ready to furnish letters in verse or prose to all who apply for them. I listened for some time to one of them, who was writing a letter for a pretty young girl, and was artfully drawing her sentiments from her. The facility with which these men write, is surprising. Memorials to ministers and judges, letters of condolence or congratulation, and epistles breathing love and friendship, succeed each other rapidly, and appear to cost but little effort. Some of them are tolerable *improvisatori* — a faculty more common among the people of Spanish America, than it is even among the Italians."

The costumes of the various classes vary considerably. "The dresses of the Spaniards," says Mr. Bullock, "and higher class of white natives, differ but little from those worn in Europe. The men and boys often appear in the streets in the long cloak; and in the house, light jackets of printed calico are generally worn. They shave less often than we do; and when on a journey, or as long as they are indisposed, that operation is not performed.

"The dresses of the ladies, and even of children, in the streets, is universally black; the head of the former generally uncovered, or only a slight veil thrown over it. They take great pains with

their fine hair, and are particularly neat about the feet, the stocking being usually of fine silk. This is their morning appearance, in which they are seen going to, or returning from church, to the duties of which they are very attentive. No well regulated family omits hearing mass every morning, mostly before breakfast.

"On holydays, processions, and other public occasions, the dresses of the ladies are very gay, but not of such expensive materials as those worn by our fashionables; artificial flowers are used in abundance, but ostrich feathers sparingly. It is generally in their carriages that the ladies appear in public, and very seldom on horseback.

"The dress of the country gentlemen, or *paysanos*, is showy and expensive; and, when mounted on their handsome and spirited little horses, they make an elegant appearance. The lower dress consists of embroidered breeches, chiefly of coloured leather, open at the knees, and ornamented with numbers of round silver buttons, and broad silver lace; a worked shirt with high collar; and a short jacket of printed calico, over which is generally thrown an elegant manga or cloak of velvet, fine cloth, or fine figured cotton, the manufacture of the country; these are often embroidered, or covered with a profusion of gold lace. On the feet are soft leather shoes or boots, over which is tied a kind of gaiter, peculiar to the country; they are commonly of cinnamon-coloured leather, wrapped round the leg, and tied with an ornamental garter: these are very expensive articles, the leather being cut in relievo in a variety of elegant patterns, which is done by the Indians in the interior provinces, in a manner that it would be difficult to copy in Europe. They are sold from eight to forty or fifty

dollars the pair, and at that price yield a poor remuneration to the makers. Yet they are an article of great consequence in the fitting-out of the Mexican beau, who often appears in this kind of boot, richly embroidered in gold and silver, which costs upwards of one hundred dollars. The stirrups and spurs correspond in magnificence and workmanship to the boots. The hat is of various colours, large, and the crown very flat and low, bound with broad gold or silver lace, and with a large round band and fringe of the same. They are elegant and well calculated to guard the sun from the head and shoulders. The decorations of the horse are also expensive; the great Spanish saddle, with its broad flaps, is richly embroidered with silk, gold, and silver, and the high-raised front is covered with the same metals. The stirrups are often of silver, while those of the lower classes are of wood. The bridle is small, with a very large and powerful bit, by means of which the riders suddenly stop their fine little horses when at full speed.

"The dresses of the country ladies are showy, but not elegant: worked shifts, with a light open jacket, and a richly embroidered or spangled petticoat, of bright coloured soft cloth (often scarlet or pink), seem to be the unvarying costume."

The dresses of the poorer classes and Indians have already been described.* The American Traveller says: "These Indians are much darker than those of our borders; their hair is straight and glossy, the lips rather thick, the nose small, and the eye inclining upwards, like that of the Chinese and Mongols. Their bodies are stout, and their limbs nervous.

* See page 203.

They are not generally tall, but are strong and active. According to our notions of beauty, they are not a well-favoured race. The women are not well formed, have harsh features, and, like those in Europe who are much exposed to the weather, and who labour hard, look old and wrinkled very early in life. They have all a melancholy expression, and are remarkably docile and obedient. To the Europeans they are very submissive, and are mild and even polite in their demeanour to each other. I have not yet witnessed any altercation among them that bore the semblance of a quarrel. They all talk the Aztec or Ottomic, and the Spanish, which they speak very purely. I have made them frequently pronounce the name of the capital in their own language, and find they all pronounce it Mexico, as we do, and not with the Spanish sound of the *x*, Mec-hico." *

Humboldt represents the city of Mexico as distinguished for its excellent police. "The streets for the most part have very broad pavements; and they are clean and well lighted. These advantages are the fruits of the activity of the Count de Revillagigedo, who found the capital extremely dirty." If in this respect, however, the police is good, in our usual sense of the term it is far otherwise. "The porter of our house," says the American Citizen, "seeing me go out in the evening when I first arrived without being armed, remonstrated on what he was pleased to call my rashness; and on inquiry, I found that it was deemed imprudent to do so. I was told that robberies and assassinations were frequent, and

* The name Mexico is of Indian origin, signifying, in the Aztec language, the habitation of Mexitli, the god of war, otherwise called Huitzilopochtli.

that not fewer than 1200 assassinations had been committed since the entrance of the revolutionary army into the capital. On looking over the journal of the first *junta*, I perceive that these disorders were a frequent subject of debate, and were attributed to the soldiery. I could not learn that any of them had been detected and punished. The city, notwithstanding, is lighted, and guarded by watchmen: the lamps are furnished with reverberators, and many of the streets are better lighted than those of New York or Philadelphia." The Report of the Secretary of State to Congress, adverts to the scandalous violations of personal safety not only on the public roads and throughout the country, but even in the interior of the towns. "An obstinate and bloody war," it is said, "which for twelve years laid waste our country, and transformed the instruments of husbandry into weapons of death and destruction,—the ruin of farms, and other inevitable consequences of domestic tumults,—accustomed the inhabitants to violence and assassinations." The most decisive measures have since been adopted to secure the prompt administration of public justice and the establishment of internal tranquillity.

The population of the capital, in 1802, (including the troops, who were reckoned at from 5 to 6000 men, regulars and militia,) was estimated by Humboldt at 137,000 souls; of whom 2,500 were Europeans; 65,000 Creoles; 26,500 mestizoes (many of them almost as white as the preceding classes); 10,000 mulattoes; and 33,000 copper-coloured natives. Of this number, nearly 3000 were clergy, monks, and nuns. A subsequent census made the population amount to 160,000 souls. One still later reduced it to 126,000. "From all the information I

could obtain," says the Author of Notes on Mexico, "I am disposed to estimate the actual population at between 150 and 160,000 inhabitants. The extent of the city is computed to be a square of between three and four miles, and it is compactly built up." *

The physical situation of the city of Mexico, considered in reference to its communication with the rest of the civilised world, is, in some respects, peculiarly advantageous. Humboldt may, however, be thought to have over-rated the importance of its geographical position, when he remarks, that, "placed on an isthmus washed by the South Sea and the Atlantic Ocean, Mexico appears destined to possess a powerful influence over the political events which agitate the two continents." It may be true, that the government might transmit its orders in five weeks to the European continent, and in six weeks to the Philippine islands in Asia; as well as that this vast kingdom might, under a careful cultivation, produce almost all that commerce collects together from the rest of the globe. But the state of the coasts and the want of

* Humboldt says: "It forms a square of which each side is nearly 2,750 metres (9000 feet). The streets being very spacious, they in general appear rather deserted; the more so, as in a climate considered as cold by the inhabitants of the tropics, people expose themselves less to the free air than at the foot of the Cordillera." It is decidedly the most populous city of the New World, although Rio bids fair to rival it in this respect. In 1802, the births were 6,155, the deaths 5,166; a smaller number of births, and a greater mortality, than in the country, where the births are reckoned as 1 to 17 of the population, and the deaths as 1 to 30. For the mortality, Humboldt accounts by the conflux of patients to the capital for medical aid. The convents, the celibacy of the clergy, the militia, the progress of luxury, and the indigence and habits of the *leperos*, are assigned in explanation of the small number of births. The consumption of wheaten bread is equal to that of the cities of Europe; and yet, the consumption of maize is almost as large as that of wheat.

ports, as well as the very configuration of the country, preclude its ever becoming a great maritime power, while they oppose obstacles to its commercial prosperity; and neither the wealth nor the greatness of a nation depends on the variety of its productions. Humboldt determines the latitude of the capital to be 9° 25′ 45″; the longitude, 101° 25′ 30″.—We must now take a brief survey of

THE ENVIRONS OF MEXICO.

THE valley of Mexico, situated in the very centre of the Cordillera, is of an oval form, about 67 leagues in circumference, and comprising 244½ square leagues, of which 22 only, or less than one-tenth, are now occupied by the lakes. The crest of the porphyritic mountains which surround it like a circular wall, is most elevated on the south, particularly on the south-east, where the great volcanoes of Puebla bound the valley. One of the roads to Cholula and Puebla passes between the Popocatepetl and Iztaccihuatl, by Tlamanalco, Ameca, La Cumbre, and La Cruz del Coreo. It was by this road that Cortes passed, with his troop and 6,000 Tlascalans, on his first invasion, when Diego Ordaz is said to have made the attempt to reach the summit of Popocatepetl, for which Charles V. gave him permission to enter a volcano in his coat of arms.*

* Mr. Bullock could not find, he says, that any one now living had seen a volcanic eruption, although in Humboldt's picturesque atlas the peak of Orizaba is represented as still smoking. For this, however, the learned Traveller himself apologises, admitting that he never observed any smoke come from it. "I have no doubt," he says, "that the Iztaccihuatl is an extinguished volcano; but no Indian tradition goes back to the time when this mountain vomited fire. The same observation applies to the *nevado* of Toluca....M. Bonpland and myself saw a mass of ashes and very

During his stay at Mexico, M. Humboldt saw such immense falls of snow in the mountains, that the two volcanoes were almost united by one band of snow. Six great roads from the capital cross the Cordillera in different directions: 1. What is termed the new road of La Puebla, by Rio Frio and Tesmelucos, which has been described in the preceding pages. 2. The old road, by S. Bonaventura, and the Llanos de Apan, which passes between the volcanoes. 3. The road of Pachuco, which leads to the celebrated mines of Real del Monte, by the *Cerro Ventoso*, covered with oak, cypress, and rose-trees almost perpetually in flower. 4. The road of Queretaro, Guanaxuato, and Durango, called the road of the interior (*el camino de tierra adentro*), which leads, in a northerly direction, over hills scarcely 260 feet above the pavement of the great square. 5. The road of Toluca, by Tianguillo and Lerma; a magnificent causeway, constructed with great art, partly on arches. 6. The road over the summit called La Cruz del Marques, and through Cuernavaca, to Acapulco.

One of the pleasantest excursions in the immediate vicinity of the city, is to Chapoltepec, distant about a league on the road to Toluca; an insulated hill of porphyry, surrounded by a most luxuriant vegetation, the summit of which is crowned with a castle, or rather villa (*chateau de plaisance*), built by the young viceroy Galvez, at an expense (to the crown) of upwards of 60,000*l*. The castle has been finished externally, but the apartments were never furnished, the project being disapproved by the court of Madrid, after this enormous expense had been incurred; and

dense vapours issue from the mouth of the Popocatepetl on the 24th of January, 1804. The peak of Orizaba had its strongest eruptions between 1545 and 1566."—*Pol. Essay*, vol. i. pp. cxxii. iv.

it is now in a state of great dilapidation. "The plan of this edifice," says Humboldt, "is very singular. It is fortified on the side of the city. We perceive salient walls and parapets adapted for cannon, though all these parts have the appearance of mere architectural ornaments. Towards the north, there are fosses and vast vaults capable of containing provisions for several months. The common opinion at Mexico is, that the house of the viceroy at Chapoltepec is a disguised fortress. Count Bernardo de Galvez was accused of having conceived the project of rendering New Spain independent of the Peninsula; and it was supposed that the rock of Chapoltepec was destined for an asylum and defence in case of attack from the European troops." There is now a manufactory of arms here, belonging to the Government. The grounds, for some distance round the mountain, are laid out in walks, or terraces, raised above the level of the surrounding country, and beautifully shaded by cypress and mastic trees.* From the castle, there is a magnificent view of the whole basin of Mexico. "Nothing," says the learned Traveller, "can present a more rich and varied appearance than the valley, when, in a fine summer morning, the sky without a cloud, and of that deep azure which is peculiar to the dry and rarefied air of high mountains, we transport ourselves to the top of one of the towers of the cathedral of Mexico, or ascend the hill of Chapoltepec. A beautiful vegetation surrounds this hill. Old cypress trunks of more than fifty feet in circumference, raise

* "The *schinus*," says the American Traveller, describing this spot, "is somewhat like our weeping-willow, but more elegant, and is an evergreen. The berries, which are red, hang in clusters very ornamentally, are aromatic, and are used by the natives to season their food."

their naked heads above those of the *schinus*, which resemble in their appearance the weeping-willows of the East. From the centre of this solitude, the summit of the porphyritical rock of Chapoltepec, the eye sweeps over a vast plain of carefully cultivated fields, which extend to the very feet of the colossal mountains covered with perpetual snow. The city appears as if washed by the waters of the lake of Tezcuco, whose basin, surrounded with villages and hamlets, brings to mind the most beautiful lakes of the mountains of Switzerland.* Large avenues of elms and poplars lead in every direction to the capital; and two aqueducts, constructed over arches of very great elevation, cross the plain, and exhibit an appearance equally agreeable and interesting. The magnificent convent of *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe* appears joined to the mountain of Tepeyacac, among ravines which shelter a few date and young *yucca* trees. Towards the south, the whole tract between San Angel, Tacabaya, and San Augustin de las Cuevas, appears an immense garden of orange, peach, apple, cherry, and other European fruit-trees. This beautiful cultivation forms a singular contrast with the wild appearance of the naked mountains which enclose the valley, among which the famous volcanoes of La Puebla,

* "The refraction of the sun's rays from large masses of snow," remarks the American writer, "is beyond description magnificent, and no colouring can do justice to the variety and richness of the tints which, in some situations, are thrown upon a whole landscape. The scenes of Mexico and Switzerland have *only this feature in common;* but that is so strikingly beautiful, as frequently to carry me back to the delightful period when I wandered over the mountains of the Alps." The prospect which Humboldt describes as so beautiful on a fine summer's morning, this Traveller speaks of in similar terms as it appeared towards sunset, and mellowed in the shades of twilight, till he had watched the last rays of the sun refracted in splendid tints from the snowy mountains.

Popocatepetl and Iztaccihuatl, are the most distinguished."

The magnificent church of *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe*, built on the barren, rocky hill of Tepeyayac, is a short distance from the city. It is famed for possessing a miraculous picture of the Virgin, with regard to the finding of which by a peasant, there is a ridiculous legend, which is recorded in a huge folio, and is here devoutly believed. The church is munificently endowed, and "the picture has wrought and continues to work many miracles." Silver medals of the Virgin are sold by the priest at a high price, as talismans to be worn round the necks of the faithful. At a short distance from the church, there is a small chapel, and a spring of mineral water.

There is another mineral spring at the *Peñon de los Baños* (rock of baths), where there are baths constructed for the use of invalids, which are much frequented. These waters contain carbonic acid, sulphate of lime and soda, and muriate of soda. Those of the *Peñon* are very warm. Near this spring, there are some salt-works, which are as old as the time of Montezuma; nor has any change taken place in the rude process by which the muriate of soda is separated from the clay, except the substitution of caldrons of beaten copper for the old earthern vats. The water, after the earth is washed, is not found to contain more than 12 or 13 *per cent* of salt, and what is thus manufactured is very impure; but it sells for a dollar the *arroba* (25 lbs.).

Another interesting excursion is, to ascend the canals of Istacalco and Chalco to the *chinampas*, or floating gardens, and the lake of Chalco. There are two sorts of *chinampas*, floating and fixed; but the number of the former, to which alone the name of

floating gardens properly applies, is daily diminishing. Plots of earth carried away by the floods, first suggested, probably, the invention; but the industry of the ancient Mexicans carried this system of cultivation to perfection. The moveable *chinampas*, which were numerous at the time of the conquest, and some of which still exist in the lake of Chalco, are rafts formed of reeds, rushes, roots, and branches of brushwood, and covered with black mould obtained from the bottom of the lake. They are moved by the winds, but can also be pushed in any direction by means of long poles. They sometimes contain even the cottage of the Indian who superintends a groupe of these floating gardens.* The fixed *chinampas* are parallelograms of from three to four hundred feet long, and twenty wide, (there are some much smaller,) separated by narrow ditches, the soil of which serves to raise the garden, and to manure it. They are in general from three to four feet above the surface of the water. "We saw labourers employed in cleaning the ditches," says the American, "and scattering the weeds over the beds. Others were hoeing the ground. On these *chinampas*, they cultivate beans and peas, chile pepper, cauliflowers, artichokes, and a great variety of vegetables and flowers. The soil is a rich vegetable mould, resembling our rice-swamps; and as it is easy to water these narrow strips of land, they produce with great

* The frequent inundations to which the ancient city of Tenochtitlan was liable, and the circumstance of their being surrounded with hostile tribes, rendered these *chinampas* highly important to the Aztec population. Floating gardens are also to be met with in the rivers and canals of China. Natural floating islands are found in every zone. "I have seen them," says Humboldt, "in the kingdom of Quito, on the river Guayaquil, of from 25 to 30 feet in length, floating in the midst of the current."—See also MODERN TRAVELLER, *Brazil*, vol. ii. p. 189.

luxuriance. A great part of the low land that intervenes between the lake of Tezcuco and that of Chalco, is laid out in these gardens, and cultivated by the Indians." They are generally bordered with flower beds, and sometimes with a hedge of low bushes. The "promenade in boats" around the chinampas of Istacalco, is described as one of the most agreeable that can be enjoyed in the environs of Mexico. "In the fine evenings during the dry season, hundreds of canoes of various sizes, mostly with awnings, crowded with Indians neatly dressed, their heads crowned with the most gaudy flowers, are seen passing in every direction; each boat with its musician seated on the stern, playing on the guitar, and some of the party singing, or dancing, or both."*

The intendency of Mexico extends from latitude 16° 34′ to 21° 57′ N. It is bounded on the north, by San Luis Potosi; on the west, by Guanaxuato and Valladolid; on the east, by Vera Cruz and Puebla; and extends along the coast of the Pacific from Acapulco to Zacatula, a distance of 82 leagues. Its extreme length is 136 leagues; its greatest breadth, 92 leagues. More than two-thirds of the territory are mountainous or high table-land; and from Chalco to Queretaro there extend almost uninterrupted plains, fifty leagues in length by eight or ten in breadth. The population in 1803, was estimated at 1,511,800, being 255 inhabitants to the square league. Besides the capital, the most remarkable cities and towns of the intendency are, *Tezcuco*, which formerly possessed very considerable cotton manufactories, and had, in 1803, a population of 5000; *Cuyoacan*; *Tacubaya*, containing the archbishop's

* Humboldt's Pol. Essay, vol. ii. pp. 73—76; Notes on Mexico, pp. 78, 79; Bullock, p. 176.

palace and a beautiful plantation of European olive-trees; *Tacuba*; *Cuernavaca*, on the southern declivity of the Cordillera, in a delicious climate; *Chilpansingo*; *Tasco*, (or *Tlacheo*,) containing a beautiful parish church, constructed and endowed, towards the middle of the eighteenth century, by Joseph de Laborde, a Frenchman, who rapidly gained immense wealth by mining;* *Acapulco*; *Zacatula*, a small seaport on the frontier of Valladolid; *Lerma*; *Toluca*; *Pachuca*, reckoned, next to Tasco, the oldest mining place in the kingdom; *Cadereita*, famed for its quarries of porphyry; *San Juan del Rio*; and *Queretaro*, the next place in importance to the capital.

The most important mines of this intendency, considered in relation to their present wealth, are stated (by Humboldt) to be, *La Veta Biscaina de Real del Monte*, near Pachuca; *Zimapan*, *el Doctor*, and Tehulilotepec, near Tasco. The mines of Themascaltepec (or Temascaltepec), visited by Mr. Bullock, belong to the groupe of Tasco, classed by Humboldt as the seventh in importance, extending from lat. 18° 10′ to 19° 20′, and from long. 101° 30′ to 102° 45′ W. (from Paris.)† We shall avail ourselves of the English

* The building of the church alone cost its founder upwards of 87,000*l.* sterling. He was afterwards, through reverses, reduced to great poverty; and he obtained permission of the archbishop to sell, for his own benefit, to the metropolitan cathedral, the magnificent *custodia* set with diamonds, which, in his better days, he had presented to the church at Tasco. With the produce of this sale (about 21,800*l.*), he withdrew to Zacatecas, and again set to work on the *veta grande*, where, a second time, he acquired immense wealth, and, at his death, left his only son a fortune of 125,000*l.* The son afterwards entered the church.

† He distributes the principal mines of Mexico into eight groupes, naming them from the chief place or central point: 1. Central Groupe (Guanaxuato, Catorce, and Zacatecas). 2. Groupe of Durango and Sonora. 3. Groupe of Chihuahua. 4. Groupe of

Traveller's account of his visit to these mines, distant from the capital about thirty leagues.

FROM MEXICO TO TEMASCALTEPEC.

HAVING received an invitation from Mr. Smith Wilcox, the American Consul-general, to visit a silver-mine, on which he was then erecting a steam-engine for the purpose of clearing it of the water that had prevented its being worked for several years,—Mr. Bullock and his friends left the city early in the day, in a carriage drawn by seven mules, and at eight o'clock in the evening reached Lerma. Their route led by the hill of Chapoltepec, and, two miles further, through the "village" of Tacubaya, "finely situated on the first rising ground, and principally composed of the beautiful houses, villas, and superb gardens of the nobility and rich citizens of the capital." A little above the town, not far from the bishop's palace, is gained, Mr. Bullock says, the noblest view of the city, although not equal, probably, as a view of the valley, to that from the towers of the cathedral, or that from Chapoltepec. An uninteresting road succeeds, constantly ascending, for nearly ten miles, to a *hacienda*, near which rises "the fine stream of water that forms the principal supply for the capital." The springs of Santa Fé must be alluded to, which rise in the mountains that separate the valley of Mexico from that of Toluca. Having crossed these mountains, they descended to Lerma, which is situated at the entry of the valley or plain, in a marshy ground. It is a regularly built town, but

la Biscaina (Pachuca). 5. Groupe of Zimapan. 6. Groupe of New Gallicia (Guadalaxara). 7. Groupe of Tasco. 8. Groupe of Oaxaca.—*Pol. Essay*, vol. iii. p. 145.

consists principally of small houses, and appears never to have been finished.

The next morning, leaving Lerma soon after daylight, the travellers passed the end of a lake which has evidently been much larger, and proceeding across a highly cultivated plain, studded with *haciendas*, in two hours reached Toluca, a distance of twelve miles. This town is described by Humboldt as lying at the foot of the porphyritic mountain of San Miguel de Tutucuitlalpilco, in a valley abounding in plantations of maguey and fields of maize. "Like most of the Mexican cities," says Mr. Bullock, "it is handsome, and regularly built. Its exterior presents an appearance of prosperity I had not seen before: several new buildings were constructing. It has considerable manufactories of soap and candles; the best hams and sausages in New Spain are said to be cured here; we observed several manufactories of them, and admired their fine breed of hogs.

"We left Toluca in the coach, and proceeded about two leagues further, where the road for wheel-carriages ceases. Here, having procured horses and mules for the whole party, which had been augmented by the addition of several persons going to the mine (among them a Yorkshire blacksmith), we ascended about a league, and then entered an extensive wood, which crowned the Cordillera, on the west side of the table-land of Mexico. This was by much the most beautiful scene I had witnessed in America; abounding with trees of the noblest form and loftiest height, most of them entirely new to me, but among them oaks and pines, whose size and luxuriance eclipsed any thing seen in the Alps or in Norway. We still continued to rise, and in one elevated open place caught the last view of the mountains that surround the vale of

Mexico: on our left lay the volcano of Toluca, covered with perpetual snow; and shortly after, we reached a defile in the mountain, and began to descend towards the Pacific Ocean.

"The scenery was now inexpressibly grand. The ground, being broken into abrupt hills, afforded many openings, through which the tops of the immense forests below were seen to the greatest advantage. In many places, for a considerable distance, our path was shaded by trees of an amazing height, so close as almost to exclude the light, on emerging suddenly from which, the most enchanting prospects were spread beneath our feet; the summits of gigantic volcanoes, receding like steps beneath us, seemed to lead the eye to the waters of the Pacific, to which the mountain-torrents we passed were hastening. The descent now became very steep, so that in many places we were obliged to alight from our mules, and proceed with cautious steps over broken masses of basalt and other volcanic substances, where not a trace of the labour of man was visible, or any circumstances that could remind us of being in an inhabited country; except occasionally meeting small groupes of Indians, carrying the productions of their little farms to the market of Toluca, or even as far as Mexico. From these simple people the unprotected traveller has nothing to fear; they are the most courteous, gentle, and unoffending creatures in existence, and never pass without saluting a stranger. Their burthens consisted generally of fruit, fowls, turkeys, mats, shingles of wood for roofs of houses, and sometimes of charcoal. They generally had their wives and daughters with them; clean, modest-looking women, carrying heavy burthens exclusive of the children usually fastened on their backs. After a descent

of several hours through this ever-varying and sublime scenery, to the effect of which a thunder-storm added much majesty, we arrived at a small plain, surrounded on all sides by pine-capped mountains. In the centre of this, in the midst of highly cultivated ground, rose the neat little Indian church and village of St. Miguel de los Ranchos, placed in one of the most delightful situations and lovely climates in the world. On the mountain we might almost have complained of cold, but the descent had brought us into a temperature resembling the finest parts of Europe, and our approach to the village just before sunset brought home strongly to our recollection. Our path lay through corn-fields, orchards, and gardens. Apples, pears, and peaches, almost obstructed our way; and fields of potatoes and beans in blossom might, but for the swarthy and thinly clothed inhabitants, who gazed with surprise at our advance, and the luxuriance of the nopal, or the great American aloe, in full bloom, have made us fancy ourselves in England."

A small room, called the *comunidad*, adjoining the church, is provided by Government for the accommodation of strangers. Having spread their mattresses here, and ordered supper, Mr. Bullock walked out to examine the village. It was the eve of St. Mark, "or, as the Indians called him, *Nuestro Bueno Amigo* (our good friend)." The church, which is gaudily ornamented with pictures and statues, had been dressed for the festival, with fruits, flowers, palm-blossoms, &c., disposed in arches, chaplets, and other devices; and opposite the door, under a venerable cedar, was a small altar decorated in a similar manner, with the strange and barbarous addition of "several human skulls quite clean, and as white as ivory." Respecting the meaning or origin of this

ornament, our Traveller does not seem to have made any inquiry; there can be little doubt of its being a relic of the old idolatry, in strict harmony with the subsequent performances. That the skulls were honestly obtained, may be taken for granted, as these gentle, unoffending Indians are, moreover, Christians. Round the great tree, some men were employed in splitting pieces of "candle-wood," a species of pine which, when lighted, burns with a clear flame; and before Mr. Bullock had completed his ramble through the village and the surrounding maguey-plantations, the performance in honour of St. Mark began. "The bell suddenly tolled in a quick manner, and in an instant the churchyard was brilliantly illuminated by the flame of eight piles of the candle-wood, prepared for that purpose; the effect was heightened by its being quite unexpected. On my entering the churchyard, four men discharged a flight of rockets, which was instantly answered by a similar salute from every house in the place: this was the commencement of the fête for the following day. In a quarter of an hour the bonfires were extinguished, and the church doors closed; and we retired to our place of rest, to take the homely supper provided for us by our new friends, which had been prepared in a house in the village. Our meal was not finished when a message requested our speedy attendance in the church: on entering, we found it illuminated, and crowded by numbers of persons of both sexes. Dancing, with singular Indian ceremonies, had commenced in front of the altar, which, to my astonishment, I immediately recognised to be of the same nature as those in use before the introduction of Christianity. The actors consisted of five men and three women, grotesquely but richly dressed, in the fashion

of the time of Montezuma. One young man, meant to personate that monarch, wore a high crown, from which rose a plume of red feathers. The first part of the drama consisted of the representation of a warrior taking leave of his family preparatory to going to battle: a man and woman danced in front of the altar, and clearly expressed the parting scene, and knelt down and solemnly prayed for the success of his undertaking. The next act commenced with two warriors, superbly dressed; one, a Mexican, was distinguished by the superior height of his head-dress, and by a piece of crimson silk suspended from his shoulders: after dancing some time, a mock fight began, which, after various evolutions, terminated of course in the Mexican taking his enemy prisoner, and dragging him by his hair into the presence of his sovereign; when the dance was resumed, and the vanquished frequently implored mercy, both from his conqueror and the monarch. The various parts were admirably performed: no pantomime could be better; and I almost expected to see the captive sacrificed to the gods. The audience seemed pleased with our attendance, except one old man, who appeared to think we had seen too much; he was a little elevated with pulque, but some of the younger ones carried him out. In dancing, the women accompanied their motions and the music with a slight instrument in the right hand; it was a rattle, made of a small gourd ornamented with silver bells, and had a pleasing effect. I tried to buy one of these, but they refused to part with it. One old man seemed to act in a threefold capacity: he was fiddler, or leader of the band; master of the ceremonies; and, if I mistake not, represented the high-priest. He wore a white dress, over which were placed wreaths of small green leaves; and he apparently regulated

the whole performance of the drama. On one occasion, when the royal Montezuma received the homage of his prisoner, the monarch remained standing, which being contrary to the etiquette of his court, he was gently reminded of the error by getting a smart stroke on the cheek with the fiddlestick of the high priest; on which his majesty immediately squatted, and received with propriety the address of his general and the supplication of his prisoner."

On retiring to rest, Mr. Bullock and his friends were serenaded, and the party knocked for admission, but were very properly denied. About midnight, the revels recommenced, and were concluded with a flight of rockets. And this is what the Church of Rome has taught these poor "children of nature" to consider as Christian devotion!

The travellers regretted not being able to stay to see the fête of the ensuing day; but, being still eighteen miles from the mine, they thought it desirable to push forward. After half an hour's ride through the little farms and plantations extending round the town, they again plunged into magnificent woods, and soon began to ascend towards the mountain regions. A more open and cultivated country succeeded, and they travelled for some time near a rapid river, the banks of which were covered with fields of wheat and maize. Among the fruits that presented themselves in their tangled path, were "our common blackberry, in greater perfection than in Europe," and some very good strawberries. At length, passing a few barren hills, worn by torrents into the most extraordinary forms, through a sterile, sandy district, they came in view of a fine country; and a mile of steep and difficult descent brought them to the town of Themascaltepec, romantically situated in a deep

valley, on the only spot sufficiently level for the purpose, near the junction of three rapid mountain-streams. The town, which is now in a state of decay, contains, Mr. Bullock supposes, about one thousand inhabitants. He was the first Englishman who had visited it. "The situations of mines," he remarks, "are, in general, in sterile and barren districts, but those of Themascaltepec are an exception. It would be difficult for the traveller to point out a more lovely or romantic situation than the little town in which this mine is situated. The plentifully supplied market exhibits a profusion of every variety of vegetable and animal production that can be met with in Europe and America. In the same field may be seen the finest European wheat, plantations of sugar-cane, and fences of the Agave Americana. The culinary vegetables are equally fine and cheap; the market well supplied with beef, mutton, pork, and poultry, at a reasonable rate. The climate is still finer than at Mexico; it is seldom warmer, and never so cold; there is scarcely a change except during the wet season, when rain may be expected every afternoon. At this time the vegetation is surprisingly luxuriant. The variety of flowers and ornamental plants yet unknown to European botanists, exceeds all enumeration. The roads in the neighbourhood are almost impassable, from the festoons and arches formed by the variety of creepers which choke the way: wild vines, convolvuli, and passifloras, form thickets that are penetrated with difficulty. One undescribed tree, twenty feet high, with its bright green foliage, and flowers like clusters of roses,* is seen at every step as you traverse the banks of the three streams that surround the town, and whose

* "Now growing in the botanic garden at Chelsea."

waters flow through every part, brought by means of aqueducts. Themascaltepec is the capital of one of the smallest mining districts in New Spain; yet, its average annual produce, during the time the mines were at work, was 260,000 marcs of silver. The town is situated in a small valley surrounded by mountains containing silver, copper, and lead, and whose surfaces are mostly covered with wood, among which the Indian cottages and plantations produce a very pleasing effect. The houses are mostly of one story, and covered with a large projecting roof of wooden shingles, admirably adapted to the climate: they have but few glass windows, and no chimneys, as the temperature is such as to render fire at all times unnecessary, except for culinary purposes, when charcoal only is used in simple brick stoves.

"The inhabitants of Themascaltepec are courteous and civil to strangers; they are very constant in their devotions at church, most of the ladies attending Divine service every morning and evening, and their behaviour is as modest as I ever witnessed. The town has a well-supplied weekly market on Sundays, when the assemblage of Indians is very numerous, and their conduct decent and becoming: here they are very unlike those of Mexico. The respect and civility with which they treat strangers, border almost on servility." There is an "upper town" of not very inviting appearance, about four miles from the lower town. The numerous streams which unite near this place, are stated to form a considerable river,—a branch, we apprehend, of the Santiago.

Mr. Bullock subsequently paid a second visit to Themascaltepec, for the purpose of taking formal possession of the silver mine of *Del Bada*, which he had purchased in the interim. The ceremony was

similar to that of infeftment, still practised in some parts of Scotland. In the presence of some of the principal inhabitants and the *padre* of the town, the proper officer took the new proprietor by the hand at the mouth of the mine, and declared him, in the name of the Government, its right and lawful owner. Mr. B. was then directed to take three stones and cast them in different directions, and afterwards to pluck up some weeds and throw them away, in token that the land and whatever it produced were at his disposal. A refection, consisting of wines, Spanish brandy, cakes, and dulces, with a few appropriate toasts and a blessing from the *padre*, closed the transaction.*

At the time of this second visit, Mr. Wilcox had nearly surmounted the difficulties he had to encounter in transporting the large pieces of his steam-engine from Vera Cruz: part had arrived, and the remainder was within a few leagues. One waggon with the beam, had nineteen mules to draw it. The machinery was transported from Vera Cruz to Toluca in waggons, and thence through the woods by rude wooden carriages built on the spot. "A shed, in the form of a cross, and as large as a cathedral, had been very ably constructed and roofed with shingles, under the direction of Don Jose Benitas, by Indians only, and without the use of iron, being lashed firmly together with thongs of raw hides." And yet, while displaying so much architectural ingenuity, they had no better expedient for removing rubbish from the mine, than dragging about half as much earth on a raw hide, which employed two men, as one man might with

* We understand that this gentleman has since disposed of his mine.

ease have removed by a common wheelbarrow. A saw for cutting planks, they had never seen, and its operation astonished them. But with regard to the extraordinary tales related of the powers of steam, they maintained an obstinate incredulity.

During his stay at Themascaltepec, Mr. Bullock witnessed a curious exhibition of Mexican agility, answering to our rope-dancing, by some itinerant native performers. Some of the feats, he says, were exactly the same as those performed before Cortes on his first arrival. "A fellow placed himself on the ground, raised his bare feet, and received on them a beam of wood, eight feet long, and eight inches thick, which he threw several times into the air, catching it again on the soles of his feet; he then caused it to spin round like the fly of a jack,—when, changing his manner of striking it, he made it turn lengthways, with great velocity throwing it from one foot to the other, so that the bells fastened to the ends of it kept time to the music. After amusing us awhile in this way, he rested a few minutes, when two boys were suspended to the ends of the beam, which he again balanced and threw with them into the air, receiving them altogether on his feet. They were then put into rotatory motion, and turned with such violence, that one of the lads fainted: this put an end to the exhibition, which was attended by some of the first people in the place, who provided their own seats, though some families had only a mat spread on the ground. Ices, dulces, &c. were served during the time of exhibition. The place was illuminated by two fires of candle-wood, raised about seven feet from the ground. The company seemed highly delighted, and the behaviour of the lower classes was very orderly, although

there was no lack of mirth, as the Indian who enacted the clown, performed his part in a manner which would not have disgraced Grimaldi himself. His comical remarks excited the most boisterous merriment, in which I was obliged to join at my own expense, as he made several pointed allusions to a stranger who had arrived at Themascaltepec from the other side of the world, to feast on humming-birds, beetles, butterflies, and lizards." *

MEXICO TO TEZCUCO AND OTUMBA.

"THE only ancient monuments in the valley of Mexico, which, from their size or their masses, can strike the eye of a European, are, the remains of the two pyramids of San Juan de Teotihuacan, situated to the north-east of the lake of Tezcuco, consecrated to the sun and moon, and called by the Indians *Tonatiuh Ytzaqual* (house of the sun), and *Metzli Yizaqual* (house of the moon)." Soon after Mr. Bullock's return from Themascaltepec, he set out on an excursion in search of the interesting remains thus designated by Humboldt, attended by an Indian guide. The usual road lay round the borders of the lake of Tezcuco, but its sandy bed was now quite dry, and his conductor led him across it, which shortened the journey above a league. "Only seven weeks before, the ditches were filled with water, and covered by

* The rocks round the town abound with an elegant species of lizard, of a dark blue and orange colour. Fire-flies are very numerous and beautiful. Mr. Bullock shot several humming-birds, and, among some birds of undescribed species, "a species of thrush of a deep lead colour, whose note is not surpassed by any of that musical family."

myriads of shoveller ducks and other aquatic birds, and Indians were employed in fishing; but, owing to the unusually dry season, the whole had become an arid desert, and sent forth such effluvia as, in a less elevated country, would have been productive of the worst consequences." For some time before the traveller reaches the gates of Tezcuco, he is apprised of his approach to a place of ancient importance, by a large aqueduct, still in use, and the ruins of several stone buildings of great strength. A bridge over which the road passes, *Puente des Brigantinas*, points out the place where Cortes launched his brigantines; but it is now a league and a half from the water. A little beyond, there are foundations of ancient edifices of considerable magnitude.

On entering the gates, several *tumuli* are seen on the right, which Mr. Bullock supposes to have been *teocallis*; but he gives no further description of them. During the Revolution, the town was surrounded by a fosse, in digging which the foundations of several large structures were brought to light. The "Spanish palace," built soon after the conquest, is large, and has been handsome, but is now in a ruinous state. The "Spanish quarters or barracks built by the young cazique of Tezcuco for Cortes," are still entire: they are surrounded by a wall twenty feet high, "on the top of which the traces of the walks of the Spanish centinels are distinctly visible;" and a recess in the wall is shewn, which was used for the celebration of mass. But the most important remain is what Mr. Bullock calls the site of the palace of the ancient caziques or kings of Tezcuco, and which far surpassed, he says, though in ruins, every idea that he had formed of the architectural abilities of the ancient Mexicans.

"It extended for 300 feet, forming one side of the great square, and was placed on sloping terraces, raised one above the other by small steps. Some of these terraces are still entire, and are covered with cement, very hard, and equal in beauty to that found in ancient Roman buildings. From what is known of the extensive foundations of this palace, it must have occupied some acres of ground. It was composed of huge blocks of basaltic stone, of about four or five feet long, and two and a half, or three feet thick, cut and polished with the utmost exactness. The great church, which stands close by, is almost entirely built of materials taken from the palace, many of the sculptured stones from which may be seen in the walls, though most of the ornaments are turned inwards. Indeed, our guide informed us, that whoever built a house at Tezcuco, made the ruins of the palace serve as his quarry." This spot will particularly deserve the attention of future travellers. It is to be regretted, that Mr. Bullock does not give the height and other measurements of the terraces; from his description, however, they would seem to have been the basis of a *teocalli*, rather than of a palace. In many parts of the walls and pavements, fragments of sculptured stones may be seen; and in a small house, Mr. B. found the spread eagle and nopal, "the ancient arms of Mexico," with hieroglyphic characters. Raised mounds of bricks are seen on all sides, with ruined aqueducts and other remains; and in fact, Tezcuco, styled by a Spanish historian the Athens of Anahuac, would seem to invite above all other places in Mexico, the investigations of the antiquary. It was here, in the market-place, that the zeal of the first bishop led him, possibly in imitation of the Ephesian magi, to

commit to the flames all the Aztec paintings and hieroglyphic writings which he could collect, amid the unavailing remonstrances of the natives.

About two leagues from Tezcuco, is another highly interesting spot, called *Baño de Montezuma*, Montezuma's Bath, on the summit of a conical hill, called Tescosingo. For an interesting description of this singular place, we are indebted to the same Traveller. "We employed our horses as far as they could take us, but the unevenness of the ground at last obliged us to dismount. Having fastened them to a nopal-tree, we scrambled with great difficulty through bushes and over loose stones, which were in great quantities on all sides, and at last perceived that we were on the ruins of a very large building; the cemented stones remaining in some places covered with stucco, and forming walks and terraces, but much encumbered with earth fallen from above, and overgrown with a wood of nopal, which made it difficult to ascend. In some places, the terraces were carried over chasms by solid pieces of masonry; in others, cut through the living rock: but, as we endeavoured to proceed in a straight line, our labour was very great, being sometimes obliged to climb on our hands and knees. By the assistance of underwood, however, at length, after passing several buildings and terraces, the stucco of which appeared fresh and of a fine peach colour, we arrived at about two-thirds of the height of the hill, almost exhausted with our exertions; and great indeed was our disappointment when we found that our guide had mistaken the situation, and did not know exactly where we were. Greatly chagrined, we began to retrace our steps; and luckily, in a few minutes, we perceived the object of our search. It was cut in the solid rock, and standing out like a martin's

nest from the side of a house. It is not only an extraordinary bath, but still more extraordinarily placed. It is a beautiful basin, about twelve feet long by eight wide, having a well about five feet by four deep in the centre, surrounded by a parapet or rim two feet six inches high, with a throne or chair, such as is represented in ancient pictures to have been used by the kings. There are steps to descend into the basin or bath; the whole cut out of the living porphyry rock with the most mathematical precision, and polished in the most beautiful manner. This bath commands one of the finest prospects in the Mexican valley, including the greater part of the lake of Tezcuco, and the city of Mexico, from which it is distant about thirty miles. As we descended, our guide shewed us in the rock a large reservoir for supplying with water the palace, whose walls still remain eight feet high; and as we examined further, we found that the whole mountain had been covered with palaces, temples, baths, hanging-gardens, &c. Yet, this place has never been noticed by any writer.* In our way down, we collected specimens of the stucco which covered the terrace, still as hard and beautiful as any found at Portici or Herculaneum. Don Trinidad Rosalia informed us, that we had seen but the commencement of the wonders of the place; that there were traces of buildings to the very top still discernible; that the mountain was perforated by artificial excavations; and that a flight of steps led to one near the top, which he himself had entered, but which no one as yet had had courage to explore, although it was believed that immense treasures were buried in it."

* It is remarkable that Humboldt should not have visited Tezcuco, or its neighbourhood. All that he says respecting it, is, that it formerly possessed large cotton manufactories.

About two miles from Tezcuco is the Indian village of Huexotla, which has also been a place of considerable importance, as its extensive and strong walls and other ruins still testify. "On our approach," continues Mr. Bullock, "we observed several of the small pyramidical mounts, composed of alternate layers of clay and unburnt brick. One of them had evidently an entrance to the centre, which was discovered by part of it having fallen in." Within the town are seen the foundations of a palace; and two large reservoirs by which it was supplied with water, remain in tolerable preservation: one of them, indeed, covered with a rose-coloured cement, is entire. The town is mostly in ruins, and consists of half-demolished buildings, in which the Indian and the Spanish architecture are so blended as to be with difficulty discriminated. The ancient wall, almost thirty feet high, and very thick, extends to a considerable distance. It is of a very singular construction, divided into five unequal parts. "The broadest division is built of large oval stones, with the ends standing out so as to give it the appearance of having been formed of human skulls, and it is divided from the rest by a projecting cornice." At the end of the town, beyond the walls, on the road leading to Tezcuco, a broad, covered way runs between two huge walls, terminating near a river, which has, apparently, been one of the entrances to the town. Over the bed of the river, which was now dry, and formed a deep ravine, there is a remarkable bridge with a pointed arch, nearly forty feet high, supported, on one side, by a mass of masonry in a pyramidal shape. It is ascribed to the ancient Mexicans; but, if constructed on the principle of the arch, must of course have been the work of European architects. The effect is highly picturesque. In front

of the church is a large area, entirely covered with cement, in which grow some remarkably fine olive-trees, many of them nearly thirty feet in circumference.

Mr. Bullock was unable to obtain any information at Tezcuco, respecting the celebrated pyramids of San Juan de Teotihuacan;—so little interest do the antiquities of the country excite in the minds of the present inhabitants! And what is still more singular, not even the padre at Otumba could satisfy his inquiries, although the pyramids were in full view from the windows of his own house. Otumba, which is said to have once contained 50,000 inhabitants, is now a wretched and deserted place, where even the water is so bad that necessity alone can induce any person to use it. The road from Tezcuco lies for two hours over a fine country, on which the number of handsome churches and *haciendas* exceeds that of any part of Mexico through which Mr. Bullock had hitherto travelled. It then passes over a barren mountain of "a soft, iron-coloured stone, in which the continual passing of horses had worn deep tracks up to the animals' knees." Upon descending the mountain, the pyramids are seen in the plain at about five or six miles' distance. "As we approached them," says Mr. B., "the square and perfect form of the largest became at every step more and more visibly distinct, and the terraces could now be counted. We rode first to the lesser, which is the most dilapidated of the two, and ascended to the top, over masses of falling stone and ruins of masonry, with less difficulty than we expected. On the summit are the remains of an ancient building, forty-seven feet long and fourteen wide; the walls are principally of unhewn stone, three feet thick and eight feet high; the entrance at the south end, with three windows on each side, and

on the north end it appears to have been divided at about a third of its length. At the front of the building, with the great pyramid before us, and many smaller ones at our feet, we sat down to contemplate the scene of ancient wonders,—where the eye takes in the greater part of the vale of Mexico, its lake and city, and commands an extensive view of the plains beneath and the mountains that bound the west of the valley.

"We soon arrived at the foot of the largest pyramid, and began to ascend. It was less difficult than we expected, though, the whole way up, lime and cement are mixed with fallen stones. The terraces are perfectly visible, particularly the second, which is about thirty-eight feet wide, covered with a coat of red cement eight or ten inches thick, composed of small pebble-stones and lime. In many places, as you ascend, the nopal-trees have destroyed the regularity of the steps, but no where injured the general figure of the square, which is as perfect in this respect as the great pyramid of Egypt. We every where observed broken pieces of instruments like knives, arrow and spear heads, &c. of obsidian, the same as those found on the small hills of Cholula; and, on reaching the summit, we found a flat surface of considerable size, but which has been much broken and disturbed. On it was probably a temple or some other building: report says, a statue covered with gold. We rested some time on the summit, enjoying one of the finest prospects imaginable, in which the city of Mexico is included. Here I found fragments of small statues and earthenware, and, what surprised me more, oyster-shells, the first that I had seen in Mexico: they are a new species, and I have brought specimens home. In descending, I also found some ornamental pieces of

earthenware, the pattern one of which is in relief, much resembling those of China, the other has a grotesque human face. On the north-east side, at about half-way down, at some remote period, an opening has been attempted. This should have been from the south to the north, and on a level with the ground, or only a few feet above it; as all the remains of similar buildings have been found to have their entrances in that direction."

According to the measurements made in 1803, by Dr. Oteyza, a young Mexican *savant*, the larger pyramid has a base of 682 feet in length, and a perpendicular elevation of 180 feet. Mr. Bullock is inclined to believe that the altitude must be nearer half the breadth. The pyramid of the moon is stated to be 36 feet lower, and its base is much smaller. They are constructed of clay mixed with small stones, covered with a thick facing of porous amygdaloid, over which was laid a coating of cement. There are four stages, which are sub-divided into smaller steps, three feet three inches high, of which the edges are still distinguishable. A stair of large hewn stones formerly led to their summits, on each of which, according to the accounts of the early travellers, there were statues covered with gold. The same writers mention the prevailing tradition that their interior is hollow, for which it is natural to suppose that there must be some foundation; and it is highly probable that they will be found, like that of Cholula, to contain sepulchral chambers. The groupes, or streets, of smaller *tumuli*,* disposed round the two large pyramids, and, according to the tradition, dedicated to the stars, leave little

* There are said to be several hundreds in the plain; in general, about thirty feet high.

room to doubt that the whole plain is a vast burial-place. This is, indeed, intimated by its Aztec name, *Micæotl*, signifying "the road of the dead," which the Spaniards, borrowing a word from the language of the Island of Cuba, have rendered *Llano de los Cues*.* These monuments, according to the accounts of the first travellers, were the models of the Aztec *teocallis*, and they are supposed to be the most ancient of all the Mexican monuments. The modern Mexicans are better informed. "On asking an old Indian woman we met near the pyramids," says Mr. Bullock, "if she could tell who made them, she replied, '*Si, Señor, St. Francisco.*'"

Another ancient monument worthy of the traveller's attention, is mentioned by Humboldt as situated within this intendency, but in a different direction; the "military entrenchment of Xochicalco," near Tetlama, within the parish of Xochitepec, two leagues to the S. S. W. of the town of Cuernavaca,† which occurs in the road to Acapulco. It is an insulated hill about 370 feet high, formed into five terraces, which are covered with masonry; the whole forming a truncated pyramid, of which the four faces accurately correspond, like the pyramids of Teotihuacan, to the four cardinal points. The porphyry stones are of a very regular cut, and are adorned with hieroglyphic figures, among which are to be seen crocodiles spouting up water, and what is very remarkable, men sitting cross-legged in the Asiatic manner. The base is surrounded with ditches or trenches, on which account, apparently, Humboldt styles it "a military entrenchment," although answering in all respects to the character of

* Humboldt, Pol. Essay, vol. ii. pp. 46, 52. See note at p. 255.

† Cuernavaca is about twenty leagues from Mexico.

a teocalli, except that, from its magnitude, it appears certain that the "hill" cannot be an artificial elevation. There is nothing in the circumstance of its having been made use of as a military position, or fortified for security, that precludes the opinion that it was also a temple. The platform of this extraordinary monument exhibits the ruins of a small square edifice, which, says Humboldt, "undoubtedly served for a last retreat to the besieged." *

ACAPULCO.

Of the other towns in this intendency, the only one which appears to claim distinct notice, is what this Traveller justly styles, in reference alike to its appearance and its unhealthiness, "the miserable town" of Acapulco, but of which Captain Basil Hall speaks in the following terms. "On the 8th of March (1822) we anchored in Acapulco harbour, a name familiar to the memory of most people, from its being the port whence the rich Spanish galleons, of former days, took their departure to spread the wealth of the Western over the Eastern world. It is celebrated also in Anson's delightful Voyage, and occupies a conspicuous place in the very interesting accounts of the Buccaneers: to a sailor, therefore, it is classic ground in every sense. I cannot express the universal professional admiration excited by a sight of this celebrated port, which is, moreover, the very beau ideal of a harbour. It is easy of access; very capacious; the water not too deep; the holding-

* Pol. Essay, vol. ii. p. 52.—The platform is stated to contain more than 9,000 square metres, which the translator makes to be equal to 96,825 square feet. We suspect that a very material error has crept into this statement.

ground good; quite free from hidden dangers; and as secure as the basin in the centre of Portsmouth dock-yard. From the interior of the harbour the sea cannot be discovered; and a stranger coming to the spot by land would imagine he was looking over a sequestered mountain-lake.

"The appearance of the country people at Acapulco differs from that of the South Americans. Their features and colour partake somewhat of the Malay character; their foreheads are broad and square; their eyes small, and not deep-seated; their cheek-bones prominent; and their heads covered with black straight hair; their stature about the medium standard; their frame compact and well made. These are the country people who come to market with poultry, fruit, and vegetables, and are generally seen seated in the shade under the verandas of the houses, or in their own ranchas, which are sheds made of mats loosely pinned together.

"We took notice of another class, less savage in appearance than that just described, and rather more interesting: they are the labourers and carriers of burdens employed about the town,—a tall, bold-looking, strong race of men; they wear a hat, the crown of which is raised not more than three inches above a rim of such unusual width, that it serves as an umbrella to shade the whole body. Round their neck is suspended a large flap of stiff yellow leather, reaching below the middle, and nearly meeting a pair of greaves of the same material, which envelope the thigh; the calves of the leg are in like manner wrapped round with pieces of leather tied carelessly on with a thong; over the foot is drawn a sort of wide, unlaced half-boot, which is left to float out like a wing from the ankle. These figures are

striking and highly picturesque. Their colour is a bright copper, and they probably have some intermixture of Spanish blood in their veins.

"The negroes form a third class at Acapulco. They were originally imported from Africa; but in the course of time, they have become a mixed race, with the aborigines, and thus, also, may possibly partake of a slight dash of Spanish blood. The result, however, is a very fine race of men: they retain the sleek, glossy skin, the dark tint of the negro, and his thick lip; along with which we now see the smaller form, the higher forehead, prominent cheek-bone, the smaller eye, and the straight hair of the Mexicans; together with many other mingled traits which a closer observation would be able to discriminate; but which a stranger is merely conscious of seeing, without his being able to define exactly in what the peculiarities consist.

"With the exception of its splendid harbour, Acapulco is, commercially speaking, an insignificant place, and has been so ever since the days of the galleons. It is not well situated for commerce, as the country lying between it and Mexico is difficult to cross, and is not rich either in agricultural produce or in mines. The town, at present, consists of not more than thirty houses, with a large suburb of huts, built of reeds, wattled in open basket-work to give admission to the air.* It is guarded by an extensive and formidable fortress, called the Castle of San Carlos, standing on a height commanding the whole harbour. The inhabitants told us, when we expressed our surprise at the smallness of the town, that the greater

* Humboldt states the resident population at 4,000, adding, that it is inhabited almost exclusively by people of colour: at the time of the arrival of the Manilla galleon, it used to rise to 9,000.

part of it had been shaken down by an earthquake. If this be true, the people have been uncommonly careful in removing the materials, for not a trace remained that we could see of any ruins." *

The port of Acapulco lies, according to the observations of Humboldt, in lat. 16° 50′ 29″ N., and long. 102° 6′ W. of Paris. Captain Hall makes the longitude 99° 53′ 47″ W. of Greenwich; a variation of about 8′. The former styles it not only "the finest port of all those on the coast of the Great Ocean," but, "one of the finest in the known world." He describes it as an immense basin, excavated in granite rocks, nearly 20,000 feet in breadth from east to west. The rocky coast is so steep, that a ship of the line may almost touch it without running the least danger, as there is every where from 10 to 12 fathoms water. "I have seen," he says, "few situations in either hemisphere of a more savage aspect — more dismal, and at the same time more romantic." Yet, while the port of Vera Cruz, which affords but a bad anchorage among sand-banks, annually received from 4 to 500 vessels, that of Acapulco scarcely received ten; its whole commerce being confined to the Manilla galleon, the coasting-trade with Guatimala, Zacatula, and San Blas, and the four or five vessels annually despatched to Guayaquil and Lima. For this, various causes may be assigned, among which Humboldt mentions, the distance from the coast of China, the monopoly of the Philippine Company, and the extreme difficulty of ascending against the current and winds towards the coast of Peru. The passage from Acapulco to Lima, is frequently longer and more difficult than the voyage

* Hall's Journal, vol. ii. pp. 171—9.

from Lima to Europe. Nor is the passage from the coast of Peru to Mexico much less dangerous, owing to the dead calms which prevail near the line, the furious *papagallos* or north-easters, and the dangers of the landing. From Lima to Guayaquil may be easily navigated in six or eight days; but the passage from Guayaquil to Acapulco requires three, four, and five weeks.*

The Mexican muleteers reckon the road from Acapulco to Mexico at 110 leagues: other itineraries make it five or six leagues less; but the muleteers, Humboldt says, reckoning by time, shorten the leagues as the road becomes more difficult." †

* Capt. Hall sailed from Panama to Acapulco in thirty days (Feb. 5 to March 7). It is only from December to May inclusive, he says, that it is advisable to navigate this coast. For further important information respecting the navigation, see Hall's Journal, vol. ii., Appendix, No. 12; Humboldt, Pol. Essay, vol. i. pp. xxxiv. 85; vol. iv. pp. 55—76.

† The following computation, however, which is given as their itinerary, makes the distance only 102 leagues, unless some post be omitted.

	Leagues.
From Acapulco to the Passo d'Aguacatillo	4
To El Limon	3
— Los dos Aroyos	5
— Alto de Camaron	4
— La Guarita de los Caminos	3
— La Moxonera	½
— Quaxiniquilapa	2½
— Acaguisotla	4
— Masatlan	4
— *Chilpansingo*	4
— *Sampango*	3
— Sapilote	4
— Venta Vieja	4
	45

	Leagues.
Brought up	45
To *Mescala*	4
— Estola	5
— Palula	1½
— La Tranca del Conexo	1½
— Cuagolotal	1
— Tuspa, or Pueblo Nuevo	4
— Los Amates	3
— Tepetlalapa	5
— Puente de Istla	4
— Alpuyeco	6
— *Xochitepec*	2
— *Cuernavaca*	2
— S. Maria	¾
— *Guchilaque*	2½
	97¼

The only other sea-port in this intendency mentioned by Humboldt, is that of Zacatula, situated on the right bank of the river of that name, about a league and a half from its mouths. In 1819, it was the head-quarters of the patriot chieftain Guerrero; and Mr. Robinson gives the following description of this part of the coast.

"The river Zacatula discharges itself into the Pacific Ocean nearly in the latitude of 18° 0′ N. It has two mouths, about a league distant from each other: both these are obstructed by bars, but the northernmost one affords an entrance for boats. About 60 miles E.S.E. from this river is the harbour of Siguantanejo, which, for beauty, spaciousness, and security, is exceeded by none on the shores of the Pacific. The Spaniards, fearful lest it should become known to foreigners, have rigorously prohibited all traffic whatever at this port. Lord Anson, we believe, was the first and only foreigner that ever entered it. About fifteen miles north from Zacatula, there is also an excellent bay (*ensenada*), called Petacalco. The anchorage therein is convenient and safe, and the water is smooth during the greater part of the year. The sea-breeze sets in regularly at eight o'clock in the morning, and continues till sunset, when it is succeeded by a land-breeze, which usually blows until six or seven in the morning." * This will be found to apply, we apprehend, to certain seasons only, as at

Brought up.. 87¼	Brought up.. 95¼
To Sacapisca..... 2	To San Augustin de las Cuevas 3
— La Cruz del Marques .. 2	— Mexico..... 4
— El Guarda..... 2	102¼
— Axusco..... 2	
95¼	

* Robinson's Memoirs of the Mexican Revolution, vol. ii. p. 207.

Acapulco and San Blas. This part of the coast is, however, almost unknown. The dangers of the navigation prevent its being approached in the passage from Acapulco to San Blas; and Capt. Hall gives us no account of it. The harbour of Siguantanejo, however, would seem to deserve investigation. It is named byHumboldt as a port, but he does not say a word in description of it, stating merely, that Zacatula is situated "between the ports of Siguantanejo and Colima." The latter is within Guadalaxara; and the whole intermediate coast of Valladolid, an extent of 38 leagues, is thus passed over without remark. Mr. Robinson states, that between Zacatula and Colima, extends a wilderness impassable by an army. The probability is, that it will be found to partake of the arid and insalubrious character of the *tierra caliente* of Vera Cruz. Zacatula itself is represented as a strong position, as it can be approached from the table-land only by a road which lies along the right bank of the river, and passes over the mountains for about 30 leagues, every mile of which offers defiles "where one hundred resolute men could arrest the march of one thousand." On the other hand, the difficulties of the road, and the barred entrance of the port, render it a place incapable of rising into importance.

FROM TAMPICO TO MEXICO.

Of the road to Pachuca and Real del Monte, which leads over the valley of Mexico in a northerly direction, the most detailed account we have, is contained in a narrative of a journey from Tampico, on the coast of Vera Cruz, to the capital, furnished by a friend of the Author of "Notes on Mexico." It was performed on a mule, and occupied twelve days, of

which time 86 hours were actually spent on the road. The distance is computed to be 104 leagues, or 312 miles: the rate of travelling, therefore, was rather more than three miles and a half an hour. It was in the month of June (1822), towards the close of the dry season. The first sixteen leagues lay through a very level country, with a rich, black soil, few trees, except palms, and a thinly scattered population, who suffer much in the dry season from drought. The next thirteen leagues led through a broken and hilly country, the soil much inferior; the *Rio Chiguian* was passed, nearly dried up. The fourth day's journey, seven leagues, was through a hilly country, though, in comparison of the mountains which the travellers were now approaching, the elevations are so inconsiderable, that it classes with the plains. The soil is very rich, but the timber small and scarce. Within the last league, the travellers passed the *Rio Caloboso*, whose pure, translucid waters afforded a delightful bath. On the fifth day, they travelled eleven leagues through a similar country, crossed the *Rio Tampia* and *Rio Zagualtipan*, two rivers with wide channels, but little water, and lodged at La Pesca, a village on a high hill, from which is gained a view of the mountains.

They had now travelled a hundred and forty miles through a country offering, apparently, every inducement to the husbandman, but almost without inhabitants. The fact is, that, during a great portion of the year, this district is almost destitute of water, and the rich soil cakes, hardens, and cracks to a great depth. "Of this," says the writer, "we saw many instances, and were more than once obliged to ride twenty miles and upwards, without being able to give water to our mules. Through this fine district, we

also travelled a distance of a hundred miles, without being able to purchase a feed of corn or grain of any kind. The only food the muleteers depend upon for the support of their animals, is the leaves of various bushes or little trees."

On the sixth day, they began to ascend part of the great chain of the *Sierra Madre*, and, at the distance of six leagues from La Pesca, reached the Indian village called Papatipan, at a great elevation. The ascent is very tedious and fatiguing. At mid-day, the travellers passed a very pretty stream called *Rio Zocutipan*. The seventh day, they reached the summit of the mountain, having passed some fine springs of water, and soon began to descend the southern declivity, which is still steeper, so that it was deemed safer to dismount and follow the mules. In three quarters of an hour they reached the village of Clacalula (Tlacalula?), composed of reed huts with roofs sloping to the ground. "At this village," says the writer, "we saw for the first time the natives employed in weaving a coarse cotton cloth, which is used by the women for mantles, that answer at once for bonnet and shawl. The same cloth also serves for shirts and pantaloons for such of the men as wear either: they more usually make a cotton blanket, which they dignify with the name of cloak, and a miserable pair of leather breeches, answer all the necessary purposes of clothes. After leaving Clacalula, we passed through another Indian village, called Chapula, and entered upon a most horrible road, which is, in fact, the bed of the river Cañada, but which, now partially uncovered, afforded us a passage at once difficult, curious, and sublime. This river passes, for three leagues, through a valley varying in breadth from 150 to 500 feet, bounded on either side

by precipices of white rock, in many places quite perpendicular, and from 2 to 600 feet high. In this narrow valley the river is confined; and within the space above mentioned, we crossed it seventy-six times: the whole of the road, in fact, consists in crossing and re-crossing it. On leaving the river, we commenced the ascent of the immense mountain Penulco, which consumed two hours. The ascent is steep, and the road, which is excellent, being ten or twelve feet wide and free of stones or rocks, is extremely tortuous, bringing you at every turn to the edge of precipices which regularly increase in height, danger, and magnificence. At eight o'clock on a calm and sultry evening, we reached the summit. Penulco much exceeded in height any eminence we had passed. We had travelled this day ten leagues, and passed a road that cannot be used after the rains begin to fall. Our eighth day's journey was short: we only rode from Penulco to Zagualtipan, a distance of three leagues. During this ride, however, we ascended much higher. The road was good and safe, and although the ascent was continual, it was regular. There was a freshness in the air that we had not before experienced, and we travelled without much fatigue. A fine view presented itself as we made the small descent that led us to the town of Zagualtipan, which is a place of considerable size, and has some good houses built of brick and stone. The quarries of the latter are very extensive and fine. The stone, a white limestone, is easy to work, soon becomes hard, and has a handsome appearance. With the exception of one house on the top of Penulco, the buildings we saw at this place and at Tantayanca (on the fourth day), were the only ones constructed of durable materials."

They were informed that the town contained 12,000 souls, but the writer supposes that half that number would be a large allowance. He counted only 200 buildings, churches and public offices included.

They had now reached the table-land. From Zagualtipan, a sterile, chalky descent of three leagues, in which no vegetation was visible except the prickly pear and the maguey, led them to the dry bed of the *Rio Oquilcalco*. Four leagues more, over a similar range of hilly country, but more lofty and rugged, led them to the valley of the *Rio Grande*. The descent to this river is so steep that they were again obliged to leave their saddles. The valley of Rio Grande, which is described as very beautiful, afforded a most grateful sight after the arid track they had traversed. Not more than a mile in width, enclosed between lofty mountains, it has the appearance of a large garden. It is divided into large beds by small trenches cut at right angles, which being well supplied with water from the river, completely irrigate the whole valley. The sugar-cane, maize, peas, beans, bananas, oranges, and the alligator pear, were found growing here in great abundance. The river had still much water in its channel, and "no doubt, after the rainy season, is fully entitled to its name."

The travellers passed the night at *Rio Grande*, in order to have their mules refreshed and the better prepared to encounter "the dread of muleteers, the mountain of *San Ammonica*." At day-light, on the tenth day, they commenced the ascent, and found it not very difficult till they had nearly reached the summit, where there is a pass of a peculiar character. "As you approach it, you would conclude it impossible to mount the perpendicular precipice of about 150

feet, that presents its front to you. When you reach the foot of this precipice, a small road is perceived, which, in eight short, steep, and desperate turns, conducts you to the top, shuddering at every turn as you look down and behold under you the vast abyss. From the valley of *Rio Grande* to the summit of *San Ammonica*, occupied an hour and a quarter. On reaching the top of this mountain, a large plain is seen, through which the road continues without interruption, to the foot of Real del Monte, — a distance of twenty-two miles. This plain appears well adapted for cultivation, being nearly level, and bounded by hills that are not very lofty. Many successful attempts at the production of sugar and grain were to be seen, and one immense estate, on which the buildings are handsome and extensive." At eleven o'clock the travellers reached the town of *Pueblo Grande de Mittan*, on the plain. There is a fine church here, and some tolerably good houses, built of unburnt brick and plaster. "Want of fuel renders it impossible to burn the bricks." The town is supplied with water from the neighbouring heights by an aqueduct. A commandant resides here, to whom the travellers were required to shew their passports. In the afternoon, they proceeded three leagues further, over a rich and partially cultivated part of the plain, to *Mittan Chiquito* (little Mittan), a small town within a mile of the foot of Real del Monte, with but few inhabitants. This completed a day's journey of nine leagues from Rio Grande.

On the eleventh day, soon after leaving Mittan Chiquito, they entered on the paved road of the Real del Monte, and passed the celebrated silver mines. The largest is now filled with water. Some of the smaller mines are still worked, though not with the same

vigour as formerly. An hour and a half brought them to the town of Real del Monte, " or rather to the remains of the town," for the principal part has been destroyed in civil conflicts. A rich and handsome church still remains, and a striking contrast is exhibited in its glittering wealth and the squalid poverty of the worshippers. In the tower are eight fine-toned bells, which have a very good effect as heard in the mountains. In another hour, the travellers reached the valley of Mexico, having the town of Pachuca on their right, distant about six miles. The road continues over the level plain for nearly eight leagues to *San Matteo Grande*, a village consisting of a fine church and a few half-demolished mud-huts. Such is the general character of the villages scattered over the plain in this direction: each has a fine, costly church, with several large bells, and the people live in mud-cabins without floors or windows, with no fuel, and almost no clothing. From a hill near San Matteo, the writer counted fifty spires in view at once, which, rising above the dwarf shrubs that conceal the wretched habitations of the people, have the appearance, he says, of so many watch-towers or telegraphic posts.

On the twelfth day, having started early from *San Matteo Grande*, the writer passed *San Matteo Chico;* and a little after sunrise, had the satisfaction of beholding the summit of Popocatepetl, distant about 150 miles. At first, he supposed it to be a silvery cloud, but its continued brilliancy, produced by the sun shining on the snow, soon undeceived him. In three leagues, he reached St. Anna; in one more, Tecama, where there is a large and richly decorated church; and in the course of the next seven leagues, he passed the villages of St. Francisco, Zumbia, Chi-

conautla, Santa Maria, San Christoval, Popatlaca, and some few others. The lakes of Tezcuco and Christoval were nearly dry, and he rode for a mile or two over the bottom of the former. At five o'clock he reached Guadaloupe, where he injudiciously determined to pass the night. This arrangement allowed him, however, to visit the splendid church of Our Lady, and *la Capilla del Pozo* (the chapel of the well). The former he describes as a large and beautiful structure: "the aisle that leads from the altar to the choir, has a massy balustrade of solid silver on either side, and is lighted by twenty-four candles, supported by as many figures of men about eighteen inches high, made also of silver." The organ is of great size. The chapel of the well is a very rich church, though not nearly so large. It has a dome about 50 feet wide and 80 feet high, handsomely decorated with good paintings, carved work, and much gilding. "At its entrance is a large well of water of a reddish colour, which is supposed to be of great service to paralytic persons: there is a great deal of fixed air in the water, but this is given to it by artificial means. The taste is pungent and pleasant, though the water is rather warm." "A fine paved way, with a double row of large trees, and a wide ditch on each side," about a league in length, conducts to the capital.*

* The following are the stages, with the distances as calculated by a guide.

	Leagues.		Leagues.
From Pueblo Viejo de Tampico—		Brought up	16
To El Arroyo del Monte ..	3½	To Los Huevas (a hacienda)	13
— Esterilla (a hacienda) ..	12½	— Tantayanca (village) ..	4
	16	— Las Flores (hacienda) .	3
			36

This road from the coast is longer, and apparently presents greater difficulties, than that from Vera Cruz.* At one time, however, the inhabitants of Mexico were so discontented with that port, that it was seriously contemplated by the Government to fix on some other point of the coast; and Tampico was one of the four places which were thought of. The other three were, Sotto la Marina near the bar of the Santander, and the mouths of the rivers Alvarado and Guasalcualco, to the south of Vera Cruz. Scarcely any of the places mentioned in the preceding narrative, except Real del Monte, are either named by Humboldt or noticed in his map; and our knowledge of the topography of the whole tract of country is very imperfect. Yet, in this direction, both westward and eastward of the route, there are some places of peculiar interest. To the north of Pachuca,

	Leagues.
Brought over	36
To La Pesca (village)	11
— Papatipan (ditto)	6
— Summit of Penulco	10
— Zagualtipan	3
— Rio Oquilcalco	3
	69

	Leagues.
Brought up	69
To Rio Grande	4
— Mittan Grande	3
— Mittan Chiquito	6
— St. Matteo	10
— Mexico	12
	104

* The following itinerary is given by the same Traveller; the distances as estimated by a guide.

From Mexico—	Leagues.
To Cordoba	10
— Rio Frio	5
— St. Martin's	8
— Puebla	8
— Nopaluca	11
— Ojo del Agua	2
— Tepeyalco	6
	50

	Leagues.
Brought up	50
To Perote	7
— Las Vegas	1
— Xalapa	7
— Plan del Rio	8
— Puente del Rey	6
— Santa Fe	8
— Vera Cruz	3
	93

Travelled in a carriage in twelve days: sixty-three hours and a quarter on the road.

and westward of the route to Tampico, are the *mining* districts of Zimapan and El Doctor; and to the eastward and north-eastward of Real del Monte are other mining districts, which comprise some objects of peculiar interest.* The geological character of the region is thus described by Humboldt.

The valley of Mexico is separated from the basin of *Totonilco el Grande* by a chain of porphyritic mountains, the highest summit of which, the peak of the Xacal, rises to an elevation of 10,248 feet above the level of the sea. These "enormous columns of trappean porphyry," crowned with pines and oaks, are of a very picturesque character: it is from them that the ancient Mexicans obtained the *itzli*, or obsidian, of which they formed their sharp instruments.† This porphyritic formation serves for base to the porous amygdaloid which surrounds the lakes of Tezcuco, Zumpango, and San Christobal. To the north-east of the district of Real del Monte, it is concealed under the columnar basalt of Regla, and further on, in the valley of Totonilco, under beds of secondary formation. The Alpine limestone, of a greyish blue, in which is the famous cavern of *Danto*, called "*the*

* The mines of Pachuca, one of the richest *reals* in all America, "have been wholly abandoned since the terrible fire which took place in the famous mine *del Encino*, which alone furnished more than 20,000 lb. troy of silver annually. The wooden work which supported the roof of the galleries was consumed by fire, and the greater number of the miners were suffocated before they could reach the shafts. A similar conflagration in 1787, put a stop to the working of the mines of Bolanos, which were only begun to be cleared out in 1792. The working of the mines of Moran was only resumed within these few years."—HUMBOLDT'S *Pol. Essay*, vol. iii. p. 212.

† It is described by Humboldt as "volcanic glass." The ancient mines are found between the *hacienda* of Zembo and the Indian village of Omitlan, and the spot is still called, *El Cerro de las Navajas*, the mountain of knives.

pierced mountain," or, " the bridge of the Mother of God" (*puente de la Madre de Dios*), appears to repose immediately on the porphyry of Moran.

THE BASALTIC ROCKS AND CASCADE OF REGLA

FORM one of the most remarkable natural curiosities in Mexico. The annexed plate will enable our readers to enter into Humboldt's brief description of the scene.

" The cascade of Regla is situated at a distance of twenty-five leagues north-east from Mexico, between the celebrated mines of Real del Monte and the thermal waters of Totonilco. A small river, which moves the wheel of the amalgamation-mill at Regla, forces its way across the groupes of basaltic columns. The sheet of water that rushes down, is considerable, but the fall is not above twenty-five feet. The surrounding rocks, (which remind us of the cave of Fingal at Staffa, in the Hebrides,) the contrasts of vegetation, the wild appearance, and the solitude of the place, render this small cascade extremely picturesque. On both sides of the ravine, the basaltic columns rise to more than a hundred feet in height, and on them grow tufts of cactus and *yucca filamentosa*. The prisms have generally five or six sides, and are sometimes as much as from three to four feet in breadth: several present very regular articulations. Each column has a cylindrical nucleus, of a denser mass than the surrounding parts: these nuclei are as it were enchased in the prisms, which, in their horizontal fracture, offer very remarkable convexities. This structure, which is also found in the basalts of Fairhead, is shewn in the foreground of the drawing, towards the left. The greater part of the columns are perpendicular; though some very

Engd on Steel. by H. Adlard.

BASALTIC ROCKS & CASCADE OF REGLA.

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near the cascade have an inclination of 45° towards the east, and further on, there are others horizontal. Each groupe, at the time of its formation, appears to have followed particular attractions. The mass of these basalts is very homogeneous. The prisms repose on a bed of clay, under which is again found basalt, superposed on the porphyry of Real del Monte. The whole of this basaltic region is 6,500 feet above the level of the ocean." *

Of the cavern of Danto, which is near Totonilco, we have no account.† Like almost all natural excavations, it is found in a limestone rock. A floëtz limestone serves as a base to the basalt of Totonilco; and in the environs of Tasco, Tehuilotepec, and Limon, within the mining district, a porous compact limestone is found resting on primitive slate. The richest veins are found traversing the limestone formation. An extraordinary event occurred in the month of February 1802, which was the ruin of the works in that direction. The mines of Tehuilotepec, like those of Guautla, have at all times wanted a stream of water of sufficient volume to put in motion the requisite machinery. The most abundant stream used in the works, issued from a cavern in the limestone rock, called the *Cueva de San Felipe*. This rivulet disappeared in the night of Feb. 16; and five days afterwards, a new spring was found at five leagues' distance from the cavern, near the village of Platanillo. From this circumstance and other

* Humboldt's Researches, vol. i. pp. 273—5.

† M. Humboldt merely states, that it bears a general resemblance, or rather analogy, to the natural bridge of Icononzo in Colombia, that of Cedar Creek in Virginia, and the pierced rock near Grandola in Portugal, which will be noticed in their respective places.

geological researches, it appears, that between the villages of Chamacasapa, Platanillo, and Tehuilotepec, there exists in the heart of the calcareous mountains, a series of caverns and natural galleries; and that subterraneous rivers, "like those of Derbyshire," traverse those galleries, which communicate with one another.

Mr. Bullock gives an account of a remarkable cavern near "Tilotepec," which appears to be the very village referred to by Humboldt under a somewhat different orthography. He made an excursion to this place from Xalapa. About a league from that town, on the road to Mexico, he turned off to the right; and a few hundred yards brought him to the edge of the mountain, commanding the whole valley of Tilotepec, romantically shut in by towering cliffs and volcanic pinnacles, and covered with the richest tropical vegetation. "The town, with its crowded streets, perfectly distinct, lay almost beneath our feet, but at an amazing depth. In front of the elegant little church rises a sugar-loaf mountain, with steps cut in the solid rock, crowned by a temple in good taste,—a Spanish erection, soon after the conquest; and directly behind the town, descending from the high impending cliffs, is seen an amazingly fine waterfall, dashing its white foam in five distinct steps into the valley." Half an hour's descent brought the travellers to the stream, from which there is a slight rise to the town. The route to the cavern now lay for a short mile through a fertile valley, passing a silver mine; it then crossed, by a steep, narrow ascent, a ridge of low hills, beyond which a long valley extended to the feet of lofty and precipitous crags, thickly wooded, from the summit of which fell another cascade. Mr. Bullock halted at a *hacienda*,

and soon after leaving it, he entered on a steep ascent through a tract strewed with huge masses of compact lava, yet in the midst of which were seen many neat cottages. The scene which presented itself on gaining the summit, we give in his own words. "If I was surprised in passing the crater of the volcano, in my way to Perote,* I was astonished at here beholding the contents probably of that very crater before me, filling an extensive valley, many leagues in length, with an immense sea of lava, which, from the slope of the mountain that bounded it, I should judge in several places to be many hundred fathoms thick, — converting what had been a deep valley into a vast plain of solid rock, on whose surface the marks of its progress and violent agitation, when in a state of fusion, are as fresh as if the event had taken place but yesterday, except that in some places a few stunted and scanty specimens of vegetation appeared in some of the fissures of the iron-like lava. We rode on for about a mile and a half with tolerable ease, when the route gradually became worse. It began to assume a wave-like appearance, and the cracks or fissures were so large that our horses were in momentary danger of falling into them, so that it was impossible to take them further: we therefore left them with the Indians who had the charge of our dinner, and despatched three of our guides to the cavern, to prepare the way to the entrance, now about a mile distant, and to which they informed us it was necessary to clear the road with axes from the vegetation which had choked it up. We accordingly rested about half an hour, which gave me time to examine the place where we had halted, which certainly exhibits one of

*. See p. 237.

the most extraordinary and wonderful effects of the convulsions of nature that have ever come under my observation. The basaltic formation of the Giant's Causeway, of Staffa, or the more gigantic one of the Shant Isles, falls far short of the wondrous appearance of this valley. On our first entrance upon it, the lava appeared to have cooled in almost a quiescent state, its surface being only marked by slight concentric circles: but in a short time these increased in size, and rose in sharp ridges of several feet high, and occasionally swelled in the bubble-like form seen in the crater: to these succeeded large waves, rising to a considerable height, and their tops rent into the most fantastic shapes. In other places, the lava exhibited the appearance of huge boiling caldrons, which had burst and emptied themselves in violent torrents. On the left, near the edges, cataracts, several hundred yards wide, had swept down immense masses of broken rocks, some of them many hundred tons weight;—these, floating like corks on the melted lava, had met with some impediment in their way, and remain piled upon each other by the impetuous burning stream, in the most extraordinary manner; leaving to distant ages these striking proofs of the horrid combustion of internal subterraneous fires, by which the higher mountain districts have been formed.

"One of our guides having returned to say they had found the cave, and to accompany us to it, we commenced our short journey over the scene of desolation I have been attempting to describe. We moved forward with difficulty, as, independently of the steep and sharp precipices we had to cross, there was much danger of falling into the deep fissures and rents formed by the cooling and shrinking of the melted matter which occupied the whole valley.

"We at length arrived opposite the mouth of the cave, which a smoke made by the Indians pointed out to us. It is situated about 150 feet high, on the steep side of the ridge of mountains that form the valley, amidst a thick cover of trees and underwood, in a place where there was not the slightest indication of its existence. To this it was necessary for us to climb in an almost perpendicular direction, obstructed by the roots and fallen trees often piled together, or lying one over the other: in some parts, it would have been impossible to force a passage, had not the Indians with their bills cut down the opposing bushes. Completely exhausted, breathless, and soaked in perspiration, I lay down as soon as I reached a spot where it could be done in safety; for, in the ascent, the ground was so soft that we sunk knee-deep, when unsupported by the roots and branches on its surface. After cooling for a few minutes, our flambeaus of torch-wood being lighted, we entered the cavern, and were greatly disappointed in our object, as this cave, the wonder of the neighbourhood, did not repay the labour of climbing to it. It is in a rock of limestone of no size or depth: — some large mutilated pieces of stalactite on the floor and low roof, had been magnified into statues and gods; the rest was all imagination."

The warm spring of Totonilco is probably connected with volcanic phenomena. This also will claim the attention of future travellers.

The mines of Real del Monte and Pachuca belong to the groupe of *La Biscaina*, the fourth in Humboldt's enumeration, which extends from lat. 20° 5′ to 20° 15′ N.; and from long. 100° 45′ to 100° 52′ W. They were among the first wrought by the Spaniards, and in point of the quantity of the precious metal

actually drawn from them, rank immediately after those of the central groupe. Like Guanaxuato and Zacatecas, the Real del Monte contains only one principal vein. The *veta de la Biscaina*, of less considerable dimensions, but perhaps still richer than the *veta madre* of Guanaxuato, was successfully wrought from the sixteenth to the beginning of the eighteenth century. In 1726 and 1727, the two mines of Biscaina and Xacal were still producing together 542,700 marcs of silver (356,182lb. troy), when the miners were compelled to abandon the works, owing to the quantity of water that had filtrated through the porphyritic rock, and which they had no means of drawing off. The Count de Regla had already drawn, in 1774, a net profit of more than a million sterling from the mine of Biscaina. Besides presenting two ships of war to his sovereign, Charles III., one of them of 120 guns, he *lent* to the Court of Madrid 200,000*l*., which were never repaid; he erected the great works of Regla, at an expense of 400,000*l*., and he purchased estates of an immense extent, bequeathing to his children a fortune which has been equalled in Mexico only by that of the Count de la Valenciana. In 1803, the mine of the Count de Regla was still yielding annually more than from 50 to 60,000 marcs, or from 30 to 40,000 lb. troy. The mines of Moran, formerly of great celebrity, had been abandoned for forty years, on account of the water having gained upon the works. Those of Tasco and Tehuilotepec, situated on the western slope of the Cordillera, have lost their celebrity since the end of the eighteenth century. They differ from those of the Real del Monte in consisting of a great number of rich veins of small size, within a short distance. Hydraulic operations and machinery, under scientific management,

may, however, yet render these mines again productive. The intendency of Mexico includes seven mining districts;* 1. Pachuca (including the Real del Monte); 2. El Doctor; 3. Zimapan; 4. Tasco; 5. Zacualpan; 6. Sultepec; 7. Temascaltepec. The mines of Zimapan and El Doctor form Humboldt's fifth groupe; those of Tasco, Zacualpan, Sultepec, and Temascaltepec, his seventh.

FROM MEXICO TO GUANAXUATO.

We are indebted to the "Citizen of the United States," whose "Notes" have been so repeatedly referred to, for the only account to which we have at present access, of the road leading from Mexico into the interior—*el camino de tierra adentro.* Having hired a coach, which was to convey him to Guanaxuato or St. Luis for 300 dollars, the Author left the capital on the 11th of November, at 2 P.M., and having passed the low, barren hills which skirt the basin of Anahuac in that direction, reached, a little after dark (about six o'clock), the village of Guautitlan. "Dirt, fleas, and all the indescribable torments of a Mexican inn," here afforded a specimen of the accommodations which await the traveller at every further stage of his progress. A two hours' stage over a

* Under the viceroyalty of New Spain was divided into 37 mining districts, each having its presiding council or deputation: viz. 1 in Guanaxuato; 4 in Zacatecas; 5 in San Luis Potosi; 7 in Mexico; 3 in Guadalaxara; 5 in Durango; 7 in Sonora; 4 in Valladolid; and 1 in Oaxaca. Besides these districts, there were "scattered mines" (*realitos*) in Puebla, Vera Cruz, and Old California, which were not under the cognizance of any deputation. Within these districts were comprised nearly 500 *reales* or places surrounded with mines, comprehending, Humboldt supposes, nearly 3000 mines.—*Pol. Essay*, vol. iii. p. 118.

poorly cultivated country brought him, the next morning, to Huehuetoca, where he halted for the day, in order to examine the famous *desague*, or drain, which deservedly ranks among the wonders of Mexico. It was designed to carry off the waters of the lakes of Zumpango and San Christoval, which formerly overflowed into that of Tezcuco, swelling the latter so as to endanger the safety of the city.* The first project was, to construct a tunnel, or subterranean gallery, to turn off the course of the river Guautitlan, and drain the lake of Zumpango. It was begun in November 1607, by the engineer Enrico Martinez; and 15,000 Indians were compelled to toil at the work for eleven months, during which they were treated with the most unfeeling severity, till at length a subterranean passage was effected upwards of 20,000 feet in length. This first tunnel, however, filled up, owing to the caving in of the earth; and it was at length determined to make an open cut through the hill of Nochistongo, which, after encountering great difficulties and more vexatious delays, was completed in the year 1789, at the cost of the lives of some thousands of Indians.

* Since the arrival of the Spaniards, the city has experienced five great inundations, viz. in 1553, 1580, 1604, 1607, and 1629. Since the last period, there have been very alarming swellings of the waters, but the city has been preserved by the *desague*. "The situation of the capital," Humboldt says, "is so much the more dangerous, as the difference of level between the surface of the lake of Tezcuco and the streets of Mexico is daily diminishing. In the inundation of 1629, occasioned by the stopping up of the tunnel, the city was inundated to the height of three feet. The *Plaza Major*, the *Plaza del Volador*, and the suburb of Tlatelcolco, alone remained dry. Boats went up and down the other streets. Contrary to every expectation, Mexico remained inundated for five years, from 1629 to 1634. The streets were passed in boats, as had been done before the conquest in the old Tenochtitlan. Wooden bridges were constructed along the sides of the houses for the convenience of foot passengers."

This canal, cut through clay, marl, gravel, and sand, is from 100 to 130 feet deep, and, at the summit, between 2 and 300 wide. Its length, from the sluice of Vestideros to the fall of the river of Tula, is upwards of 67,000 feet, or more than four leagues and a half.* The capital is still, however, exposed to inundations from the north and north-west, in the event of any sudden swelling of the lakes in that direction, through continued rains, or any sudden or extraordinary melting of the snows on the mountains.

"We descended," says our Traveller, "to the bottom of the canal, by steps cut in the indurated clay, and were very much surprised to see only a small rivulet flowing through a canal of such vast dimensions. A large body of water passes off by means of this drain in the rainy seasons; but now, the stream is not more than a foot deep, and two or three wide. The sides of the canal are so perpendicular, that they are constantly caving in; but, from the rapidity of

* "The *desague*, in its actual state, is undoubtedly one of the most gigantic hydraulical operations ever executed by man. We look upon it with a species of admiration, particularly when we consider the nature of the ground, and the enormous breadth, depth, and length of the aperture. If this cut were filled with water to the depth of 30 feet, the largest vessels of war could pass through the range of mountains which bound the plain of Mexico to the north-east. The admiration which this work inspires, is mingled, however, with the most afflicting ideas. We call to mind at the sight of the cut of Nochistongo, the number of Indians who perished there, either from the ignorance of the engineers, or the excess of the fatigues to which they were exposed in ages of barbarity and cruelty. We examine if such slow and costly means were necessary to carry off from a valley closed in on all sides, so inconsiderable a mass of water; and we regret that so much collective strength was not employed in some greater and more useful object;—in opening, for example, not a canal, but a passage through some isthmus which impedes navigation."—HUMBOLDT, *Pol. Essay*, vol. ii. p. 110.

the current, no inconvenience has arisen from the accumulation of dirt at the bottom. On the edge of the canal, we saw small hillocks formed by the rubbish thrown out in the progress of the work: they are now covered with verdure."

The country in the neighbourhood of Huehuetoca is barren and desolate. For two hours after leaving it, nothing is to be seen but white clay hills washed in ridges, planted here and there with the agave, which adds little to the beauty of the landscape. In the rainy season, this road is almost impassable; and the muleteers of New Biscay dread nothing so much in the whole journey of 500 leagues, as the road from Huehuetoca to Mexico, in which many mules perish annually. After passing the *venta* of Bata, the road, for more than an hour, lies up the acclivity of a hill, the summit of which commands an extensive view of a well-wooded but ill-cultivated plain,—the valley of Tula. The travellers reached the town early in the afternoon. It is tolerably well built, but has a gloomy appearance. The church, "a large Gothic building, having the appearance of a fortress," is in good preservation: the interior is mean, and filled with "miserable wooden images of our Saviour, daubed over with paint, to represent the blood streaming down his face, and flowing from his side."

The next day's journey, from Tula to Arroyo Sarco (a large hacienda with an execrable *mesón*), is a distance of twelve hours. The greater part of the road lies over a barren and rugged tract, but, for the last three hours, it ascends through a thickly wooded country, and the landscape in some parts reminded the American Traveller of the views in England. The habitations of the people on the road-side are miserable hovels, built of stones piled up loosely like the fences,

and not much higher, with wooden roofs; and the people of Arroyo Sarco are "as beggarly and as ugly as in any part of the kingdom."

Fourth day, from Arroyo Sarco to San Juan del Rio.—For five hours, the road still leads through a rugged, rocky tract, or barren plains; but this neat and well-built town stands in a rich and highly cultivated valley, and boasts of a comfortable inn. A stream of water flows through it, from which it takes its name; and from the summit of a basaltic rock, on which stands a chapel with a spire, there is a lovely prospect of "one of the finest valleys in the world." San Juan is 6,489 feet above the level of the sea. In the rainy season, the river, notwithstanding the width of its channel, inundates the plain to a great extent; but it was now an inconsiderable stream; and beds of rivers continually occur, that are entirely dry. The principal cultivation is that of maize.

Fifth day, from San Juan del Rio to Queretaro.—A barren, uncultivated country intervenes between the valley of San Juan, and the equally rich and fertile district in which Queretaro is situated. A lofty aqueduct of sixty arches traverses part of the valley, and conveys the water from the adjacent hills to the town, where fountains are seen in every street. Queretaro is a large and well-built town, containing many handsome public and private edifices, with the usual disproportionate number of convents and churches. The Franciscan monastery is very spacious, and has an extensive garden and shrubbery. The cloth and calico manufactures, to which the town owes its importance, are still carried on, though on a reduced scale; and the nefarious system still prevails, by which the workmen are held in a state of virtual slavery and incarceration. Out of a population of 35,000, upwards

of 11,000 are Indians. The number of ecclesiastical persons, in 1802, was 409; viz. 85 secular clergy, 181 monks, and 143 nuns. Queretaro is only 115 feet less elevated than San Juan, and only 1080 feet lower than the valley of Mexico; but its plain is reckoned to belong to the *tierra caliente*, as the tropical fruits grow here luxuriantly, and it never freezes in this neighbourhood.

Sixth day.—Three hours, over a smooth road, and through a fertile, well-cultivated country, to a *rancho*, where the traveller may find ample provision of mutton, fowls, and eggs. This road is much better supplied with provisions of every description than that of Vera Cruz. The traveller who cannot relish corn cakes (*tortillas*) and drink pulque, has only to carry with him bread and wine from town to town, in order to fare sumptuously. An hour and a half further, is the small town of Apasco. "These small towns," says the Traveller, "look best at a distance. The churches are numerous, well built, and ornamented with spires and turrets, but the houses are, for the most part, of unburnt bricks, which crumble to pieces, and they soon look gloomy and shabby."

On leaving Apasco, the traveller enters on that rich and highly cultivated tract of country called the *Baxio*, which extends to Villa de Leon, and is covered with small towns, villages, and farms. The river Santiago * fertilises the whole of this valley, and after a course equal in length to those of the Rhine and the Elbe, falls into the bay of San Blas under the name of the Rio Grande. The district is reckoned one of

* See page 168.—This river formerly separated the agricultural nations of Mexico and Mechoacan from the pastoral hordes of the Otomites and Chichimecs, who occupied the plains of Zelaya and Salamanca, in the Baxio.

the finest portions of the kingdom. It produces in great perfection all the fruits of Europe, and many of those of the tropics. The road from Apasco passes the river Laxa (or *Las Laxas*), one of the branches of the Santiago, by a handsome stone bridge of five arches. In summer, it is a deep and rapid torrent, frequently inundating the country for a considerable distance, and fertilising the soil by its waters: the channel was now dry. Near this river is the small town of Celaya (or Zelaya), which the Traveller entered at an early hour. It is very neatly built, and contains nearly 12,000 inhabitants. "The greatest curiosity in the place," says our American, "is Don Francisco Tresguerras, a self-taught artist and architect, to whom the inhabitants are indebted for the bridge over the Laxa, for some very neat private buildings, and for the splendid church attached to the convent of Del Carmen. Some of the best buildings in Queretaro were planned by him. Tresguerras accompanied us to the church. It is a very chaste building, and in good taste. In the choir we were shewn a picture of the Virgin, painted by Tresguerras himself, and highly creditable to his pencil. He is devoted to the arts, and has contributed all in his power to improve the taste of his countrymen, without any other reward than the gratification of exercising his genius, and the hope of leaving monuments of his taste to his native city. The terrace of the church commands an extensive view of the valley of Celaya, which is carefully cultivated and very thickly settled. Within every three or four leagues there are small villages with neat churches and spires; and the whole of the valley is spotted with *ranchos*. The hills that bound the valley on the east, contain a vein of cinnabar. The works are represented to be defective,

and the mine does not produce much quicksilver, although the ore is rich." The Author observed more whites in Celaya than in any other town between this place and the capital. The women are generally handsome and well made.

The traveller has now entered on the intendency of Guanaxuato, one of the finest and most populous in Mexico. It lies wholly on the ridge of the Cordillera. Its territorial extent, Humboldt says, is nearly the same as that of the kingdom of Murcia; its length, from the lake of Chapala to the N.E. of San Felipe, being 52 leagues, and its breadth, from Celaya to Villa de Leon, 31 leagues. It contained, in 1803, a population of 517,300 souls, on a surface of 911 square leagues, which gives 586 inhabitants to the square league. It comprises three cities, viz. Guanaxuato, Celaya, and Salvatierra; four towns, San Miguel el Grande, Leon, San Felipe, and Salamanca;* 37 villages (*pueblos*); 33 parishes (*paroquias*); 448 *haciendas;* and of the population, 180,000 were Indians, (52,000 of whom were tributaries,) and 425 were ecclesiastical persons, *i. e.* secular clergy, monks, and nuns.

From Celaya to Guanaxuato is a two days' journey. The road leads over a dry, sandy ridge, commanding a view of the Baxio, and passes very near the towns of Salamanca and Irrapuato, so that the churches and houses may be distinguished. Both of these "towns," says our Traveller, are neat and well built, and contain about 4000 inhabitants each. A *hacienda*, where he was hospitably received, afforded him lodging for the night. The name of the place is not mentioned;

* In this enumeration, taken from Humboldt, Irrapuato is not named among the towns,—we presume because it only ranked as a village as to its privileges.

but, within a few miles of it, the road passes a small insulated hill, in the form of a truncated cone, apparently shaped by the hand of man. This hill is the more deserving of examination, as it is situated in a district which formed no part of the Aztec territories. The road continues to lie along the ridge of barren land that skirts the Baxio, till the traveller reaches the *hacienda de Burras* (she-asses), which is, in fact, a large village containing nearly 5,000 inhabitants. The plain now insensibly rises; it is still well cultivated, and interspersed with orchards and gardens; but, as the traveller approaches the mountains, the land becomes rugged and broken, and is chiefly laid out in fields of maize. "We reached the gate of Marfil," says the writer, "a suburb of Guanaxuato, without having seen the city; it is so buried in the ravines of the mountains. On leaving the gate, we drove along the *Cañada*, the bed of a river enclosed between rocky hills, which, on this route, is the only entrance to the city. We passed some large *haciendas de plata*, a few handsome houses, and a great many ruins, the melancholy effects of the late civil wars."

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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LES ENVIRONS DE CAVAILLON, VUES PRISES DU CÔTÉ DE L'ORIENT.

THE

MODERN TRAVELLER.

A

DESCRIPTION,

GEOGRAPHICAL, HISTORICAL, AND TOPOGRAPHICAL,

OF THE

VARIOUS COUNTRIES OF THE GLOBE.

IN THIRTY VOLUMES.

By JOSIAH CONDER.

VOLUME THE TWENTY-SIXTH.

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THE

MODERN TRAVELLER,

ETC. ETC.

MEXICO.

GUANAXUATO.

The city of Santa Fe de Guanaxuato (or, as it is sometimes written and pronounced, Gonnajoato) is the *Villa Rica* of Mexico, being placed in the very heart of its richest groupe of silver mines, on the porphyritic range of the *Sierra de Santa Rosa.** It is one of the most singularly situated cities in the world. One might imagine that the jealous spirit of the mine had chosen this labyrinth of mountain ravines as his capital, for the purpose at once of security and concealment; and the extraordinary shapes assumed by the gigantic masses of porphyry, have frequently the appearance of ruined walls and bastions. These rocks give to the environs an extremely romantic appearance. The hills which surround the city are partly arid, partly covered with shrubs and evergreen oaks, which greatly heighten the picturesque effect. The city itself is entirely screened from view by the windings of the narrow defile which leads into the recesses of the mountain; and when the traveller at

* Humboldt gives the latitude 21° 0′ 9″ N.; long. 100° W.

length finds himself introduced into the city, he has no idea of its extent, one part being so hidden from another, that, viewed from the streets, it appears to be a small town. It is only by ascending the heights on the opposite side, that a view is gained of the whole valley, broken into ravines, along the sides of which the town is built. Surveyed from this point, the novelty of its situation strikes the stranger with astonishment. In some places, it is seen spreading out into the form of an amphitheatre; in others, stretching along a narrow ridge; while the ranges of the habitations, accommodated to the broken ground, present the most fantastic groupes.

"Nothing can be more ruinous and gloomy," says the Author of Notes on Mexico, "than the approach to the city; but, on leaving the bed of the river, we ascended a steep projecting rock, and entered a street, skirting a ravine, supported by a lofty stone wall, having houses on only one side of it. We soon found ourselves in the heart of the town, winding along crooked, narrow streets, and across open spaces, which cannot be called squares, for they are irregular and of indescribable forms, most of them filled with market-stalls. The houses present a very singular appearance. They are spacious and well built, of hewn stone, but the fronts have been newly painted, and of the gayest colours: light green is the favourite; and some exhibit the colours of the Three Guarantees of the Plan of Iguala,—white, green, and red, which are now the national colours of Mexico.* We were conducted to the custom-house, where we had only to make a declaration that we had not more than one thousand dollars with us, and were

* This was in the year 1822, during the reign of Iturbidé.

suffered to proceed to the *mesón*. A traveller is allowed to carry with him a sum not exceeding a thousand dollars, without paying duty. Our *mesón* is very comfortable. We have two rooms up stairs, that look on the street, with a table and a bench in each. Our mattresses are on the floor, but then it is paved, and the white-washed walls are almost clean."

The city of Guanaxuato was founded by the Spaniards in 1545. It was constituted a town in 1619, and invested with the privileges of a city in 1741. The first mine that was worked, that of San Barnabe, five leagues from the city, was begun in 1548, twenty-eight years after the death of Montezuma. In 1758, the mines of *Meblado* and *Rayas* were opened on the great vein (*veta madre*). But, for a considerable time, the mines of Guanaxuato attracted little notice, and they were almost abandoned during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is not above fifty years that they have become so famous. They are now esteemed richer than those of either Pachuca, Zacatecas, or Bolaños; and their produce has been almost double that of Potosi. In thirty-eight years, namely, from 1766 to 1803, the mines of Guanaxuato produced gold and silver to the value of 165,000,000 of piastres, or 12,720,061 lb. troy; the annual average produce being 556,000 marcs of silver, or 364,911 lb. troy, and from 1,500 to 1,600 marcs of gold.* All the veins of Hungary and Transylvania together yield only, on an average, 85,000 marcs of silver.† The mother vein

* Humboldt states, that the *veta madre* of Guanaxuato has yielded more than a fourth part of the silver of Mexico, and a sixth part of the produce of all America.

† But, although the quantity of silver annually extracted from the mines of Mexico, is ten times greater than what is furnished

(*veta madre*) of the Sierra de Santa Rosa extends, in a direction from S.E. to N.W., rather more than five leagues; and within this distance, from Valenciana to San Bruno, there are upwards of a hundred shafts opened, which, before the Revolution, were yielding 10,000 mule-loads of ore, of eleven *arrobas* (275 lb.) each, every week. In 1803, there were employed on the works, 5000 workmen, 1,896 grinding mills, and 14,618 mules. "The *Valenciana*," says Humboldt, "is almost the sole example of a mine which, for forty years, has never yielded less to its proprietors than from two to three millions of francs annual profit (from 80 to 120,000*l*.). It appears that the part of the vein extending from Tepeyac to the north-west, had not been much wrought towards the end of the sixteenth century. From that period, the whole tract remained forsaken till 1760, when a Spaniard who went over to America very young, began to work this vein in one of the points which had till that time been believed to be destitute of the metals. M. Obregon (that was the name of this Spaniard) was without fortune; but, as he had the reputation of being a worthy man, he found friends who from time to time advanced him small sums to carry on his operations. In 1766, the works were already 260 feet in depth, and yet, the expenses greatly surpassed the value of the metallic produce. With a passion for mining, equal to what some display for gaming, M. Obregon preferred submitting to every sort of privation, to

by all the mines of Europe, gold is not much more abundant in New Spain than in Hungary and Transylvania. The latter countries, Humboldt says, annually throw into circulation nearly 5,200 marcs; and the gold delivered into the mint of Mexico, amounts, in ordinary years, only to 7,000 marcs. The annual produce of New Spain is estimated by Humboldt at 23,000,000 of piastres, viz. twenty-two of silver and one of gold.

abandoning his undertaking. In 1767, he entered into partnership with a petty merchant of Rayas, named Otero. Could he then hope that, in the space of a few years, he and his friend would become the richest individuals in Mexico, perhaps in the whole world? In 1768, they began to extract a very considerable quantity of silver from the mine of Valenciana. In proportion as the shafts went deeper, they approached the depository of the great metallic wealth of Guanaxuato. In 1771, they drew from the *pertinencia de dolores* enormous masses of sulphuret of silver, mixed with native and red silver. From that period till 1804, the mine of Valenciana has continually yielded an annual produce of nearly 600,000*l.* sterling. There have been years so productive, that the net profit of the two proprietors of the mine has amounted to the sum of 250,000*l.* sterling. M. Obregon, better known by his title of Count de la Valenciana, preserved, in the midst of immense wealth, the same simplicity of manners and the same frankness of character, by which he was distinguished previously to his success.* When he began to work the vein of Guanaxuato, above the ravine of San Xavier, goats were feeding on the very hill which, ten years afterwards, was covered with a town of 7 or 8,000 inhabitants." †

Throughout Mexico, the ore is poor, much more so

* During the last twenty-five years of his life, his annual revenue from his mine, was never below from 80 to 125,000*l.*, and yet, at his death, he left behind him only 400,000*l.* in property, exclusive of his mine; a fact which, Humboldt says, will not surprise persons who are acquainted with the interior management of the great Mexican families, and the unbounded spirit of mining speculation.

† Pol. Essay, vol. iii. pp. 193—5.

than in the mines of Europe. The average proportion is not higher than three or four ounces of silver to 1,600 ounces of ore. Garces, the author of a valuable treatise on Amalgamation, states, that "the great mass of Mexican ore is so poor, that the three millions of marcs of silver which the kingdom yields in good years, are extracted from ten millions of quintals of ore, partly by heat, and partly by amalgamation." The mine of Valenciana at Guanaxuato, yielded, from January 1, 1787, to June 11, 1791, the sum of 1,737,052 marcs of silver, which were extracted from 84,368 *montones* of ore. A *monton* is thirty-two quintals, which gives five ounces and one-tenth of silver per quintal. The ore extracted in 1791 yielded nine ounces and three-tenths of silver per quintal; viz. the quintal of rich ore (*polvillos y xabones*), 22 marcs 3 ounces; the second quality (*apolvillado*), 9 marcs 3 ounces; the third quality (*blanco bueno*), 3 marcs 1 ounce, and the poor ore and siftings, 3 ounces. The expenses of working the mines are very considerable. Those of the mine of Valenciana, at the time that the produce amounted to from 12 to 14 millions of dollars, were upwards of 900,000 dollars, viz. 660,000 in wages, and 220,000 for powder, tallow, wood, leather, steel, and other materials.* At that time, there were 1800 men employed

* In 1803, the mine of Valenciana produced 27,000 dollars per week; 3,100 individuals were employed; and the weekly expenses were 17,000 dollars. In nine years, this mine yielded 13,835,380 dollars, and the expenses of extraction were 8,046,063 dollars, leaving a gross profit of 5,789,317 dollars, subject to the duty, seignorage, &c. "When we take into calculation," says the American Traveller, "the costly works at these mines, the expensive process of separating the precious metals from the ore, the high wages of all the *employés*, from the *administrador* to the common labourer, the tax of 10 *per cent* paid to the government, and the

in the interior of the mine, besides 300 men, women, and children, in different ways. Almost all the ore is brought up by porters. The state of these mines, indeed, says the Author of Notes on Mexico, is deplorable. " The expenses of working them have already been prodigiously augmented by the depth of the shafts and the prolongation of the galleries; and it will require a large capital to establish forcing pumps to extract the water. In many instances, *it will be impossible to employ steam as the moving power, from the great scarcity of fuel.*"

According to Humboldt, the population of Guanaxuato in 1802 was, within the city, 41,000; in the suburbs and mines surrounding it, 29,600: total, 70,600. But, from a census taken in May 1822, the inhabitants of the city appear to be now only 15,379, and the total population only 35,733; * being a diminution of nearly one half. The town or suburb of Valenciana alone formerly contained a population of 22,000 souls; it is now in ruins, and there are not more than 4,000 inhabitants. The American Traveller gives the following account of the works as they appeared at the period of his visit.

" The excavations extend from south-east to north-west, sixteen hundred yards, and eight hundred yards

very expensive works undertaken on the slightest indication of silver ore, and which are frequently pursued with great ardour to the utter ruin of the undertakers, — we shall find that the whole profits of mining in New Spain, do not exceed 6 *per cent* on the capital employed." A decree of the junta of the 13th Feb., 1822, reduced the tenth to 3 *per cent*, and the treasurer (Don Francisco Arillaga), in his report made to Congress in Nov. 1823, intimates his expectation of great results *from the introduction of steam-engines by foreign capitalists*. It remains to be seen how far these expectations will be realised.

* Of these, the males were 16,425, the females 19,308. There were unmarried, 20,244; married, 11,962; widowed and widowers, 3,527.

in a south-west direction. There are three parallels, or plains, worked on ramifications of the principal vein. The *veta madre*, or mother vein, was here found not more than twenty-two feet wide, and without any ramification, from the surface of the soil to the depth of 557 feet: at this depth, it divides into three branches, the entire mass being from 165 to 195 feet thick. Of these three branches, not more than one is in general very productive. They have all the same angle (45°), but vary in thickness from nine to forty yards. Four shafts descend to these parallels. The first, called San Antonio, is of 744 feet perpendicular depth: the cost of this shaft was 396,000 dollars. The square shaft of Santo Christo, 492 feet deep, cost 95,000 dollars. The hexagon shaft of our Lady of Guadeloupe, 1,131 feet perpendicular depth, cost 700,000 dollars. San José, an octagon shaft of more than 1,800 feet perpendicular depth, and 300 feet in the direction of the *veta madre*, which is an angle of 45°, cost 1,200,000 dollars.

"To understand the necessity of sinking so many shafts of different depths, it may be necessary to explain, that in following the dip of the vein, which is first discovered on the surface, and is almost invariably an angle of 45°, the work is impeded after a certain depth by water. A shaft is then sunk, so as to intercept the vein at the termination of the gallery, in order to free the mine from water. The work is then continued until it becomes necessary to sink another shaft still deeper, to clear the lower galleries. At the termination of each shaft, a great many parallel galleries branch out on ramifications of the mother vein.

"From these parallels a vast number of smaller

galleries branch out, worked to a greater or less distance as the ore proved to be of good or bad quality; and many of them were pierced with a view of discovering other veins. Besides the shafts, there are two descents by steps, winding down to the last parallel. On leaving the house of the administrador, we were conducted to the first flight of steps: preceded by four men carrying torches, we descended to the first parallel, and stopped where four galleries branch off.

"Our torch-bearers were sent off to the extremity of these galleries, that we might form some idea of their extent in a straight line. They are both extensive and solid; the vaults are of porphyry, and the bottom of gray slate. In some places where the ore proved very rich, it has been taken from the sides and vaults, and the voids filled up with masonry and beams, worked in so as to form a firm support to the sides and roof. These galleries have been blasted out, and must have cost great labour, for the whole mountain is of porphyry to a great depth.

"The exterior is covered with a crust of brescia, which extends not more than four or five feet from the surface. The ore is for the most part extracted by drilling and blasting: sometimes, but very rarely, the wedge can be used. On our return, we plodded painfully up these stairs, which the *cargadores* (porters) ascend with ease, with a load of ten or fifteen arrobas on their shoulders. They are paid according to the quantity they bring up; and some of these men will ascend, as we are told, from the perpendicular depth of 500 yards, carrying the enormous weight of twenty-four arrobas (600 lbs.). In the court-yard into which we entered from the gallery, and where the workmen are searched, there was a large

heap of ore, accumulated by each workman being obliged to bring a stone up in his hand every time he ascends, and throw it on this heap. There are about 1,000 workmen at present employed, and in the course of a week a large pile is formed. The product of this belongs to the mine, and forms a fund for contingent expenses. The matrices of these ores, which we had here a good opportunity of examining, are principally quartz, amethyst, and rock-crystal, hornstone here and there, and a small portion of calcareous spar of a dark brown and of pearl colour. The metals are, pyrites of iron, arsenic, yellow copper, galena, gray and yellow blende, virgin gold and silver, sulphate of silver, both brittle and ductile, and *rosicler*, a rich silver ore of a bright rosy colour, which we did not see. This ore is so rare, that I could not meet with a specimen during my residence in Mexico. There are likewise veins with copper, lead, tin, cinnabar, antimony, and manganese; and the crystals of the carbonate of lime that are found in this mine, are very large and perfect.

"We next visited the principal shaft, San Josè, an octagon, the diameter eleven yards, and the perpendicular depth 600. This great work, which cost upwards of a million of dollars, is in some places blasted through solid rock, and in others walled up with hewn stone: the masonry is admirably well executed. The workmen threw bundles of lighted hay down the shaft, which blazed as they descended, and which we saw fall into the water, now not more than 250 yards from the summit, and rising every day. After failing in his attack on the city of Guanaxuato, Mina caused the machinery of the mine of Valenciana to be burnt, and the owners have not funds to renew it.

"From these mines we went to a shaft called Guade-

loupe where we found two malacates in operation, These machines are used to free mines from water, and to draw up the ore. A malacate is a drum of about ten feet in diameter, attached to a vertical spindle, a shaft of fifteen feet long, which is shod with steel, and turns in steel sockets. Poles project at right angles from the shaft, to which the horses are harnessed. Two ropes are passed round the drum, and over pulleys supported by poles twelve feet high and about ten feet apart, leading to the well. As the drum turns, one rope descends, and the other is wound up, and raises a large skin full of ore, or buckets of water, by what the French call a *chapelet*. At the principal or octagonal shaft, eight malacates were kept constantly at work, night and day. Each malacate was moved by twelve horses, and drew up, by a succession of buckets, seventy-eight arrobas (975 quarts) every nine or ten minutes: 95,000 arrobas, or 31,800 cubic feet of water, might be raised by this means every twenty-four hours. It happened to be a sale day, and in the same court where the malacates were at work, we saw three or four hundred people collected; some exposing the ore to the best advantage, and others examining its quality. This mine is now worked by halves, the workmen receiving one half of the profits, and the owners of the mine the other. The workmen were busily employed in arranging the pieces of ore in parallelograms, composed of small circular heaps of ore. They were very careful to place the richest pieces at top, and the fairest side in sight. When all was prepared, the salesman placed himself at the head of the first parallelogram; and the buyers, after examining the quality of the ore, whispered in his ear the price they were willing to give for it. When all had made their

offers, he declared aloud the highest bid and the name of the purchaser. A note was made of the sale, and the whole party moved to the next parcel of ore, and so on, until the whole was disposed of.

"There are two sale days in the week, Wednesday and Saturday; and the weekly sales amount to between 5 and 6,000 dollars."

On the following day, our Traveller set out to visit a *hacienda de plata*, belonging to the Conde de Valenciana, in the Cañada de Marfil. "It is a spacious building, divided into three large courts; one for preparing the ores (*patio pa. beneficiar*), and the others for horses and mules. The front is two stories high, very neatly built, and forms an excellent dwelling-house. From the house, we walked through the first court, where men and mules were treading out masses of mud, and entered a long range of buildings, where there were thirty-five mills at work grinding the ore.

"This hacienda, in prosperous times, works seventy mills. They resemble bark-mills. A circle of about eleven feet in diameter, is paved with stones set up edgeways, and rubbed down to a smooth surface; in the centre of the circle an upright shaft moves in sockets. From this an axle projects, and passes through the centre of a millstone that rolls on its periphery: to the end of this axle the traces of the mules that turn it are attached. The first process is, separating the ore from the stones and refuse. Women are employed in this work. They throw aside the stones that have no ore, and with a hammer chip off small pieces of ore from those that have a little only on the surface. They perform this operation with great skill and great despatch. The ore is then placed on a thick iron plate, and is pounded by wooden pestles shod with iron, and moved by a horizontal shaft furnished with

arms, like the movement of the pestles in our rice-mills. Two men, stationed one on each side, draw the ore from under the pestles upon plates that slope down from the top, and are perforated with holes so as to sift the ore as it falls on them. The large pieces are thrown back under the pestles.

" After the ore is broken into very small pieces, it is put into the mill, mixed with water, and ground to an impalpable powder. A small quantity of quick-silver is sometimes mixed with this mass while in the mill. From the mills, the ore, ground to a powder and moistened, is conveyed to the *patio pa. beneficiar*, the open paved court-yard; salt is then added in the proportion of about two pounds to every hundred weight of ore. If the mass, which is left untouched for several days, heats too rapidly, lime is added, which, the superintendant told us, cools it: if, on the contrary, it continues cold, *magistral* is mixed with it, in order to give it the proper temperature. The *magistral* is a copper ore, or more properly a mixture of pyrites of copper and sulphuretted iron, which is roasted in a furnace, cooled gradually, and then reduced to a powder; a small quantity of salt is afterwards mixed with it. A small quantity of the powdered magistral was put into my hand, and water poured upon it. The heat evolved was so great, that I was obliged to throw it away instantly; probably owing to the sulphuric acid acting upon the metals and disengaging heat.

" The next operation is, to add quicksilver to the mass, commonly six times the quantity which it is supposed the mass contains of silver. This mixture of ore, ground to a fine powder and moistened, of quicksilver, muriate of soda, and the sulphates of iron and copper, is made into an amalgam by being trodden by mules,

which are driven round for hours together; or by men, who tread the mass with naked feet. We saw both in one mass; twelve mules were trotting round up to their fetlocks in the mixture; and in another, ten men were following each other, and treading up to their ankles in it. The superintendant examines the appearance of the amalgam from time to time, by taking up a little of it in a wooden bowl, and adds either salt, quicksilver, or magistral, as he finds necessary to complete the amalgamation.

"This process is repeated every other day until a perfect amalgam is made, when it is conveyed into large vats filled with water. In the centre of the vat there is an upright shaft, furnished with arms and turned by mules, so as to stir up the ore and mix it well with the water. It is left to subside, and the water is let off gently, carrying with it a portion of earth, and leaving the amalgam, which is precipitated: this process is repeated until the amalgamation is freed from all extraneous matter. It is then moulded into triangles, which are placed under stout iron recipients of a bell shape, and the mercury is separated by heat, leaving the silver with a small portion of copper, not enough for the usual alloy.

"One of the grinding-mills, in which quicksilver had been added to the mass, was emptied and cleaned in my presence, in order to get out the amalgam, which is precipitated, and lodges in the interstices of the stones with which these mills are paved. After the floating mass was removed, the stones were scraped, and the crevices emptied. The contents were put into a wooden bowl and washed. This amalgam, besides silver, contains a large portion of gold. The ore of the mine of Valenciana contains some gold, which unites with the quicksilver, and this amalgam,

being so much heavier, is more quickly precipitated. The bars of silver made from these cleanings, contain always the largest portion of gold, and are kept apart."

The *Sierra* of *Santa Rosa* is the most southern district of that metalliferous tract of country which is by far the richest in Mexico, and abounds more in silver than any other on the face of the globe. This central groupe, extending from lat. 21° 0′ to 24° 10′ N., and from long. 102° 30′ to 105° 15′ W., is situated under the same parallel as Bengal, but in a climate partaking more of the character of the temperate, than of the tropical zone. The mines of Guanaxuato are only 30 leagues distant in a straight line from those of San Luis Potosi: from the latter to Zacatecas, the distance is 34 leagues; from Zacatecas to Catorce 31; and from Catorce to Durango 74 leagues. The mean produce of the mines of New Spain, annually exported from Vera Cruz, is stated to have been two millions and a half of marcs of silver, being two thirds of the silver annually extracted from the whole globe. Of this 2,500,000, not less than 1,300,000 was yielded by Guanaxuato, Catorce, and Zacatecas, or the "central" groupe.

Guanaxuato, however, is not only a mining, but an agricultural district. "The lands are fertile, and are cultivated to the base of the mountains; and the morals of the inhabitants of the country, who are frugal and industrious, form a strong contrast to those of the miners, who, when the mines were in successful operation, were all wealthy, and lived extravagantly, and many of whom are now in abject poverty."

The inhabitants of the city appeared to this Traveller lively, intelligent, and well-informed: he found them extremely hospitable and friendly. In common,

however, with the inhabitants of most mining districts, they are passionately fond of gambling. The commandant of the city was, moreover, a great amateur of cock-fighting; and our Traveller was not a little annoyed, early in the morning, by the continual crowing of more than a hundred cocks, the property of this worthy person, which, tied by one leg, were arranged along the pavement on both sides of the street: they were to be exhibited at the ensuing Christmas. "In all the towns and villages of Mexico," he says, "cock-fighting is the favourite diversion of the people. Rich and poor, men and women, frequent the pits, and stake sometimes all they are worth on the issue of a battle between two cocks armed with slashers."

Guanaxuato is liable to two serious inconveniences from its peculiarity of situation. During the rainy season, it is exposed to injury from the violent torrents that rush from the mountains down the *barranca*, or ravine, in which the city stands, in their passage to the plain of Celaya. Large sums have been expended on works to restrain these torrents within a channel, notwithstanding which, accidents happen almost every year. On the other hand, the only water in the city, is that which is contained in the cisterns belonging to the wealthy inhabitants. About two miles from the town, however, there are deep ravines, which, by means of dams, are made to serve as reservoirs: the water is brought into the city on the backs of asses, and sold at six cents a load.

We must now accompany the American Citizen on his route

FROM GUANAXUATO TO SAN LUIS POTOSI AND ALTAMIRA.

At Guanaxuato our Traveller dismissed his carriage, and procured mules for the passage over the mountains. The steep track which winds along the ravines from Valenciana, is so broken and precipitous, that goats, mules, and asses only can travel it with safety. The sides of the mountains and ravines are covered with a thick growth of small oaks, and the city is supplied with fuel from these woods; but the want of good roads renders it an expensive article, notwithstanding the extensive forests in the neighbourhood. The bare summits of the hills are washed into fantastic shapes, and the character of the scenery is very wild and picturesque. The road for three hours leads over this rugged solitude, till, having reached the crest of the *sierra*, the traveller looks down on the fertile valley of San Felipe, enclosed on every side, like the basin of Anahuac, by a wall of mountains. At its further extremity is seen the town of San Felipe. "With this prospect constantly in view," says the Writer, "we rode for nearly five hours along the summit of the ridge, and then descended by a winding and steep path, to the village of Rincon, where we arrived quite overcome with fatigue. We obtained lodgings, with some difficulty, in a room attached to a cottage. The inhabitants of Rincon are goatherds and swineherds; and at sunset, the village was alive with the flocks and droves coming in from the mountains."

Second day.—From Rincon to Xaral. The Author set out at two o'clock in the morning, by a bright moonlight: the cold was piercing. At sunrise, the

houses and churches of San Felipe appeared as if rising out of a lake, the effect of a *mirage*. This town exhibited a melancholy instance of the horrors of civil war. Scarcely a house was entire, and except one church that had been recently rebuilt, the whole town appeared to be in ruins. The travellers halted in the principal square, and passed through arches of porphyry, into the court-yard of a building that had once been magnificent, but the porticoes and ground-floor alone remained. Soon after leaving San Felipe, the road again begins to ascend the mountains by a steep and rugged pass, called *Puerto de San Bartolo*. On gaining the summit, "a painful ascent of more than an hour," another extensive and fertile plain is seen, in the centre of which is the village or *hacienda* of Xaral, where the travellers arrived a little before four P.M. This is the place which was surprised and plundered by the troops of Mina in the revolutionary war.*

Third day. — Starting at three o'clock, the Author reached at ten, the *hacienda de la Pila*, a very neat village, where there are silver-works. An hour's ride from this place brought him within sight of the spires of San Luis, and at one he passed the suburbs.

SAN LUIS POTOSI.

"THE whole country from La Pila to San Luis, is cultivated like a garden; but its beauty is destroyed by mud-cabins and enclosures of *cactus*. The town itself presents a fine appearance: the churches are lofty, and some of them very handsome, and the houses are of stone and neatly built. The government-

* See vol. i. p. 121.

house in the square is not yet completed; but the front, which is of hewn stone, and ornamented with Ionic pilasters, would do credit to any city in Europe." The Carmelite convent is spacious and commodious, with an extensive garden, which is cultivated with great care, and kept in excellent order: the walks are shaded with vines, and the cloisters are ornamented with orange and lemon-trees. The windows of the convent command a beautiful prospect of the fertile plain, terminated by a bold outline of mountains. The church belonging to it is all tinsel and gilding, and in wretched taste. The people of San Luis appeared "better dressed and better looking" than in any town which the Author had yet passed through, and there were fewer beggars in its streets. Humboldt states the resident population at 12,000. The American Traveller estimates it at 15,000, and adds, that, including all the villages in its immediate vicinity, it amounts to three times that number. It stands in lat. 22° N., long. 103° W.*

For three hours after leaving the city of San Luis, the road lies eastward through a country but partially cultivated, and overgrown with *cactus* and *yucca arborescens*, which give a gloomy appearance to the scenery. The fruit of the cactus (*tuna*) is here considered as a great delicacy; cattle are fed upon the leaves, and the stem, which is about ten feet high, is used for fuel. The soil of this tract is a "whitish clay;"† and when pulverised by the passage of mules, the dust is intolerable. To the south of the road is the mountain of San Pedro, from which, in the rainy seasons, the torrents bring down gold-dust. There was a mine

* Pike, p. 329. This Traveller states the population as high as 60,000.

† Probably limestone.

here formerly, which was filled up about forty years ago through the caving-in of the galleries. At three hours' distance from San Luis is the *hacienda* of *Laguna Seca*, where the travellers halted for the night.

The same clayey soil and bare country continued the whole of the next day's journey. In summer, however, this arid plain is covered with verdant pastures; but the inhabitants suffer inconvenience from want of wood. At this season, (November,) the pools and tanks are often covered with ice before day-light; but, about noon, the heat is insufferable, and the change from the cold of the morning renders it injurious to travel after that hour. The third day, our Traveller reached the village of San Isidro, having passed, early in the morning, the *hacienda* of Peotillas, where Mina encamped the night before he fought the most brilliant action of the whole campaign. The chain of mountains which contain the rich mines of Catorce, are distinguishable far on the traveller's left. San Isidro stands in a narrow valley on the eastern side of a limestone mountain covered with oaks. At six hours' distance from this village is Quelitan, where the fourth day's journey terminated, because there was no water within several leagues of the place. There are no running streams, and the only water is supplied by tanks and wells, which are often distant from each other. The whole tract, at this season of the year, is transformed into an arid desert of drifting sand, and the south-western wind is as parching as the sirocco. Nothing can be more wretched than the habitations. They are huts built of stones and mud, not more than five feet from the ground, and thatched with yucca leaves, the earth-floors covered with filth, and the walls black with smoke, as there is no chimney. "I certainly," says

the American, " never saw a negro house in Carolina so comfortless." The people are very swarthy; they appear healthy and robust, and might enjoy every comfort of life. The valley produces good crops of maize; and a species of agave which grows wild in the mountains, yields them *pulque* and brandy, hemp, and soap. In the evening, the village-well presented a primitive scene: all the girls repaired thither, each with a small jar or pitcher on her shoulder, while two men were seen drawing water for the cattle.

The fifth day, the Author halted at the village of La Viga, a counterpart to Quelitan; and on the next day, after passing over the mountains of Norla, reached the town of Tula,—" the fit capital of such a country, badly built, and so gloomy, that not even the crowd of well-dressed peasantry that filled the streets, (it was Sunday,) could enliven its appearance. Tula was formerly a mission, afterwards a *presidio* or frontier fortress, and is now called a town. The houses are built of *adobes*, and it contains about 1,500 inhabitants. The men are well dressed in leather breeches and jackets, and most of them have shirts and stockings, and a manta thrown over their shoulder. The women are neatly dressed, and look clean and healthy. Their dress consists of a shift, one or more petticoats of striped cotton stuff, and a shawl, which they throw gracefully over their shoulder, and which they are never without when in company. I have seen them washing and cooking, very much distressed to manage this part of their dress, but persevere in wearing it, notwithstanding the inconvenience it put them to."

Soon after leaving Tula, the whole face of nature becomes changed. The traveller descends by a winding road into a fertile valley, cultivated with maize, scattered over with neat farm-houses, and intersected by

streams of water. He proceeds through this valley for three hours, and then crosses the range of hills which enclose it on the east. A fine plain extends from their summit, covered with verdure and skirted with woods of oak, beyond which the traveller enters on the first steep descent from the table-land towards the coast. The road is here very precipitous, the scenery most magnificent, embracing two ranges of mountains towards the east, and the vegetation begins to assume a new character of luxuriance. It is a descent of two hours and a half to the plain of *Los Gallos*. A short ride (the next day) brought our Traveller to the edge of the mountain of La Contadera, the second descent towards the coast, which is still more steep and difficult than that of Los Gallos. They had now entered the *tierra caliente*, having passed the dividing line where the inhabitants of the table-land begin to suffer from the heat, and those of the coast to complain of the cold. This day's journey terminated at the village of San Barbara, situated at the extremity of a very extensive plain, in the midst of a grove of evergreens. This place is renowned for its manufacture of stamped leather for saddle covers and leggings. The next day, the travellers descended in succession the mountains of Chamal and Cucharras, by very precipitous tracks, and reached a *rancho* on the banks of the river Limon. Fording this river, the water of which came up to the saddle-girths, they soon left behind all appearance of luxuriant vegetation, and for six hours passed over a parched and arid plain. In two hours more, after crossing the river Raya de Sargento, they reached the poor village of Orcasitas. A sterile plain, over which they passed for five hours, extends to the miserable *rancho* of Carizo. Another day's journey of seven hours, still over a plain aban-

doned to vast herds of cattle, was terminated by bivouacking at the edge of a deep wood. The next day, the thirteenth from San Luis, a seven hours' ride brought them to Altamira. But, "what a place to be called Altamira!" is the Author's exclamation. "The town consists of a few tolerable houses in the square, a church, a collection of thatched cottages, and it commands a view of swamps and lagunes." Both this place and Tampico are unhealthy, with this difference, that here bilious fevers prevail, and there, yellow fever. Tampico (*Pueblo Viejo*), which may be considered as the port of the great river Tampico, or Panuco, is about five leagues from the sea, on the margin of a small lake: it is ill built, dirty, and unhealthy, and yet, it is a place of some trade. Here the American Traveller embarked for the Havannah.

INTERIOR EASTERN PROVINCES.

THE intendancy of San Luis Potosi, under the vice-regal government, comprehended the whole of the north-eastern part of the kingdom, including a surface of 27,800 square leagues, (larger than that of all Spain,) but with a population not exceeding 334,900, or twelve inhabitants to a square league. It had upwards of 230 leagues of coast, an extent equal to the whole line of coast from Genoa to Reggio in Calabria; but the whole of this coast remained without commerce and without activity. The intendant had under his administration, 1. the province of San Luis, extending from the river Panuco to the river Santander; 2. the new kingdom of Leon and the colony of New Santander, in the vice-royalty of Mexico; and 3. the provinces of Cohahuila and Texas, which belonged to the captain-generalship of the east. "But this immense country," says

Humboldt, "gifted by nature with the most precious productions, and situated under a serene sky, in the temperate zone towards the borders of the tropic, is, for the most part, a wild desert, still more thinly peopled than the governments of Asiatic Russia." The northern limits of the intendancy are indeterminate. On the north-west, the mountainous tract called the *Bolson de Mapimi*, including more than 3000 square leagues, is in the possession of wandering and independent Indians, called *Apaches*, who occasionally make incursions to attack the colonists of Cohahuila and Durango. On the north-east, the provinces of New Santander and Texas border on (the latter, in fact, chiefly consists of) disputed territory.

That part of the coast which extends along the Gulf of Mexico, from the mouth of the great Rio del Norte to the Rio Sabina, is still almost unknown, having never been explored by navigators. According to Humboldt, the eastern coast of Mexico presents every where similar obstacles,—"a want of depth for vessels drawing more than twelve feet and a half, bars at the mouths of the rivers, necks of land, and long islets stretching in a direction parallel to the continent, which prevent all access to the interior basin.* The shores of Santander and Texas, from the twenty-first to the twenty-ninth parallel, are singularly festooned, and present a succession of interior basins (or salt-water lakes) from four to five leagues in breadth, and from forty to fifty in length. Some of them (the *laguna de Tamiagua*,

* The harbour at the mouth of the *Rio del Norte*, however, said to be the best on the coast, has never less than thirteen feet water at its entrance, and as the tide here sometimes rises three feet, it might admit vessels of 400 tons. It is defended from the prevailing storms by the island *Malahuitas*. The river is navigable forty leagues up, and might be made so, with very little exertion, thirty leagues higher. Such was the statement made by D. Miguel Ramas de Arispe to the Cortes at Cadiz.

for example) are completely shut in. Others (as the *laguna Madre* and the *laguna de San Bernardo*) communicate by several channels with the ocean. The latter are of great advantage for a coasting trade, as coasting vessels are there secure from the great swells of the ocean." There can be little doubt that these long and narrow islets are, as the learned Traveller conjectures, bars or shoals, which have gradually risen above the mean level of the water; and that the Mexican coast resembles, in this respect, the shores of Rio Grande do Sul, in Brazil. The port of Tampico, however, although the bar prevents the entry of vessels drawing more than twenty feet water,* would still be preferable, Humboldt thinks, to the dangerous anchorage among the shallows of Vera Cruz; and the climate, though unhealthy, has not hitherto proved so prejudicial to the health of Europeans, or of the inhabitants of the table-land, as the more southern port. A project was at one time entertained for cutting a navigable canal from the capital to Tampico. This would not be impracticable, notwithstanding that the waters of the lake of Tezcuco are upwards of 7500 feet above the sea; but, as it would require at least 200 locks, it would not, in the opinion of this Author, be advisable, land carriage under such circumstances being preferable. It has already been mentioned, that Tampico was one of the four places thought of as a port for the commerce of the capital, instead of Vera Cruz. Were the road rendered more practicable, it might, perhaps, attract

* The Author of Notes on Mexico says, that the narrow channel admits only vessels of *eight* feet draught. The bar, in blowing weather, he says, is very dangerous; a heavy sea rolls on it. The road-stead is open, and during the prevalence of north-western gales, no ship can approach the land.

a portion of the trade. At present, it is visited chiefly by small vessels from the West Indies, which come here to lay in provisions.

Sotto la Marina, near the bar of the river Santander, in lat. 23° 45′ N., would seem to be by far too distant from the capital to answer the purpose of a port for its commerce; and indeed, according to Mr. Robinson's description of it, it is less accessible than Tampico. "The mouth of the river Santander," he says, "is very narrow, and has a bar across it, over which vessels drawing more than six feet water cannot be carried. Near the beach, the country is intersected by shallow ponds, extending a long way to the northward. After passing the bar, the river suddenly widens, but afterwards gradually contracts itself towards the town of Sotto la Marina. It is navigable for such vessels as can pass the bar, to within a very short distance of the town, beyond which it is too shallow even for boats. The village (*pueblo*) of Sotto la Marina stands upon an elevated situation, on the left bank of the river, eighteen leagues from its mouth. The old settlement is but a short distance up the river, on the road to the present village."* Could the port be remedied, however, this place would rise into importance, and would soon attract a large portion of the commerce of San Luis Potosi, Zacatecas, and Durango. It was here that Mina disembarked his troops; here too, Iturbidé, by a striking coincidence, landed, to meet a similar fate. †

At present, Humboldt says, the province of New Santander is so desert, that fertile districts of ten or twelve square leagues were sold there in 1802

* Robinson's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 140. † See vol. i. pp. 119, 157.

for ten or twelve francs. Major Pike estimates the population of this province, which extends 500 miles from north to south, and is about 150 in breadth, at 36,000 souls. The whole of the northern part of the intendancy of San Luis, that is to say, Santander, New Leon, Cohahuila, and Texas, are very low regions, with little undulation of surface. The soil is covered with secondary and alluvial formations. The climate is unequal, extremely hot in summer, and equally cold in winter, when the north winds prevail.

That which bears the pompous title of the new kingdom of Leon, is not above 250 miles in length; its population is estimated at 30,000 souls. Its capital, Montelrey, situated on the head waters of the *Rio Tigre*, in lat. 26° N. and long. 102° W., is the seat of a bishop, whose diocese extends over Santander, Leon, Cohahuila, and Texas.* The population of the city is said to amount to 11,000, or more than a third of the whole province. Major Pike says: "There are many and rich mines near this city, whence, I am informed, are taken one hundred mules' loads of bullion monthly, which may be presumed to be not more than three-fifths of what is drawn from the mines, there being many persons who prefer never getting their metal coined." The only other towns are *Linares*, between the *Rio Tigre* and the great *Rio Bravo del Norte;* and *Saltelo*, where there is held an annual fair, at which an immense quantity of merchandise is disposed of.

The province of Cohahuila (written by Major Pike, Coçquilla), lies between lat. 23° and 31° 30′ N. and

* It is afterwards stated, however, by Major Pike, that Cohahuila is in the diocese of Durango.

long. 101° and 105° W.; its greatest length being 500 miles, and its greatest width 200 miles. Montelovez (or Monclova), the residence of the governor, is the principal military depôt for Cohahuila and Texas. It is situated on a small stream of water, in lat. 26° 33′ N., long. 103° 30′ W.; it is about a mile in length; has two public squares, seven churches, powder magazines, mills, barracks, and an hospital; and contains between 3 and 4000 inhabitants. "This city," says Major Pike, "being the stated residence of his excellency Governor Cordero, has been ornamented by him with public walks, columns, and fountains, and made one of the handsomest cities in the internal provinces."* There are some mines in the neighbourhood, but they are inconsiderable. At *Santa Rosa*, however, about thirty-eight miles to the N.W. of Montelovez, there are silver-mines, said to be as rich as any in the kingdom. This town is situated on some of the head waters of the river *Millada*, in a very healthy situation; its population is estimated at 4,000 souls. *Parras*, in the same province, situated on a small stream, is supposed to contain, with its suburbs, 7,000 souls, and San Lorenzo, a village three miles to the north, contains about 500. The district of Parras is the vineyard of Cohahuila; the name signifies vines or vine-branches; and the whole population are employed in the cultivation of the grape. "At the *hacienda* of San Lorenzo, where we halted," says the American Major, "were fifteen large stills, and larger cellars, and a greater number of casks than I ever saw in any brewery in the United States. Its gardens were delightfully interspersed with figs, vines, apricots, and a variety of

* Pike's Explor. Travels, p. 362.

fruits which are produced in the torrid zone; with fine summer-houses, where were wine, refreshments, and couches to repose on, and where the singing of the birds was delightful. There were here, likewise, mills, and a fine water-fall." * The *presidio* of *Rio Grande*, situated on the river of that name, (the only one of magnitude in the province,) contains about 2,500 inhabitants; and the total population of Cohahuila is estimated at 70,000 souls, not more than 10,000 of whom are Spaniards. The climate is described as pure and healthy, except about the middle of May, when the heat is intense; "and sometimes a scorching wind is felt, like the flame issuing from an oven or furnace, which frequently skins the face, and affects the eyes. This phenomenon is more sensibly felt about sunset, than at any other period of the twenty-four hours." This province receives all its merchandise from Mexico by land, and, in return, gives horses, mules, wines, gold, and silver. The large annual fair held at Saltelo, in New Leon, is attended by the traders of Cohahuila. The vine is the chief article of cultivation, together with grain and corn sufficient for home consumption and for the supply of the greater part of Texas.

The capital of Texas, *St. Antonio de Bejar*, is situated on the head waters of the river of that name, (Humboldt says, between the *Rio de San Antonio* and the *Rio de los Nogales*,) in lat. 29° 50′ N., and long. 101° W. "It perhaps contains," Major Pike states, "2,000 souls, most of whom reside in miserable mud-wall houses covered with thatch-grass roofs. The town is laid out on a very grand plan: to the east of it, on the other side of the river, is the station of the

* Pike's Explor. Travels, p. 362.

troops. About two, three, and four miles from St. Antonio, are three missions, formerly flourishing and prosperous. These buildings, for solidity, accommodation, and even majesty, were surpassed by few that I met with in" (the internal provinces of) "New Spain.* *Nacogdoches* is merely a station for troops, and contains nearly 500 souls: it is situated on a small branch of the river Toyac. The population of Texas may be estimated at 7000: these are principally Spanish Creoles, some French, some Americans, and a few civilised Indians and half-breeds. This province trades with Mexico by Montelrey and Montelovez for merchandise, and with New Orleans by Natchitoches; but the latter, being contraband, is liable to great damage and risks. They give in return, specie, horses, and mules." Being on the frontiers, where buffaloes, deer, elk, and wild horses abound in great numbers, the inhabitants of Texas lead, for the most part, the life of hunters, and agriculture is but little attended to, except by a few emigrants from the United States. The only mine known and worked, is one of lead. This province is

* "The resident priest treated us with the greatest hospitality: he is respected and beloved by all who know him. He made a singular observation relative to the *aborigines*, who had formerly composed the population of these establishments, under the charge of the monks. I asked him what had become of the natives; he replied, that it appeared to him that *they could not exist under the shadow of the whites*, as the nations who formed these missions had been nurtured and taken all the care of that was possible, and put on the same footing as the Spaniards; yet, they had notwithstanding dwindled away, until the other two had become entirely depopulated, and the one where he resided, had not more than sufficient to perform his household labour. From this he had formed an idea, that God never intended them to form one people, but that they should always remain distinct and separate!!"—PIKE, p. 368.

" well timbered" for one hundred miles from the coast, with small *prairies* interspersed throughout the woody country. " Taken generally," says this Traveller, " it is one of the richest, most prolific, and best watered* countries in North America." It is also one of the most delightful climates in the world, and, where the ground has been sufficiently cleared, not unhealthy. It possesses an extensive internal navigation; and, in fact, it is so desirable a country, that it is not likely much longer to belong to Mexico. According to the representations of the congress of Washington, the whole of Texas properly belongs to Louisiana.

In the distribution of Mexico into federal states, the internal provinces of the east are already separated from San Luis Potosi. Other changes must follow. Humboldt, speaking of this vast tract of country, remarks, that " its position on the eastern limits of New Spain, the proximity of the United States, the frequency of communication with the colonists of Louisiana, and other circumstances, will probably soon favour the progress of civilization and prosperity in these vast and fertile regions."

The only part of the intendancy of San Luis which is mountainous, is that which borders on the province of Zacatecas. Here are situated the rich mines of

* The principal rivers are, the river Guadalupe, with its confluents, the Rio San Antonio and St. Mark, which discharges itself into the N.W. end of the bay of St. Bernard; the Red River (*Rio Colorado*), which rises in Cohahuila, in lat. 33° N.; long. 104° 30′ W., and, after a winding course of 600 miles, discharges itself in the bay of St. Bernard; the river Brassos, which also rises in Cohahuila, in lat. 34°, long. 105°, and falls into the Gulf of Mexico, after a course of 700 miles,—it is the largest river in the province; the river Trinity, with *its confluents*, the Natchez and the Angelina, which discharges itself into Galveston bay; the river Toyac; and the " Sabine river."

Charcas, Catorce, and Guadalcazar, which belong to the "central groupe" that has yielded so large a proportion of the silver of Mexico. "The mineral repository of Catorce," says Humboldt, "holds at present the second or third rank among the mines of New Spain, classing them according to the quantity of silver which they produce. It was only discovered in the year 1778. This discovery, and that of the veins of Gualgayoc in Peru, (vulgarly called the veins of Chota,) are the most interesting in the history of the mines of Spanish America for the last two centuries. The small town of Catorce (the true name of which is *la Purissima Concepcion de Alamos de Catorce*), is situated on the calcareous table-land, which declines towards the new kingdom of Leon and the province of Santander. From the bosom of these mountains of secondary compact limestone rise up masses of basalt and porous amygdaloid, which resemble volcanic productions, and contain olivine, zeolite, and obsidian. A great number of veins of small extent, and very variable in their breadth and direction, traverse the limestone, which itself covers a transition clay-slate. The minerals are generally found in a state of decomposition. They are wrought with the mattock, pick-axe, and bore (*pointrole*). The consumption of powder is much less than at Guanaxuato and at Zacatecas. These mines possess also the great advantage of being almost entirely dry, so that they have no need of costly machinery to draw off the water.* In 1773, Sebastian Caronado and Antonio Llanas, two very poor individuals, discovered veins in a situation now called *Cerro de Catorce Viejo*, on the western slope of

* This, it will be seen presently, has proved to be incorrect.

the *Pichaco de la Vdriga de Plata.* They began to work these veins, which were poor and inconstant in their produce. In 1778, Don Barnabé Antonio de Zepeda, a miner of the *Ojo del Agua de Matchuala*, investigated, during three months, this groupe of arid and calcareous mountains. After attentively examining the ravines, he was fortunate enough to find the *crest* or surface of the *veta grande*, on which he immediately dug the pit of *Guadalupe.* He drew from it an immense quantity of muriate of silver, and *colorados* mixed with native gold, and gained in a short time more than 100,000*l.* sterling. From that period, the mines of Catorce were wrought with the greatest activity. That of *Padre Flores* alone produced, in the first year, upwards of 350,000*l.* sterling; but the vein displayed great riches only from 160 to 320 feet of perpendicular depth. The famous mine of *Purissima*, belonging to Colonel Obregon, has scarcely ever ceased since 1788 to yield annually, a net profit of 40,000*l.* sterling; and its produce in 1796, amounted to 1,200,000 piastres, while the working did not amount to more than 80,000. The vein of *Purissima*, which is not the same with that of *Padre Flores*, sometimes reaches the extraordinary extent of 130 feet; and it was worked in 1802 to the depth of nearly 1,600 feet. Since 1798, the value of the minerals of Catorce has singularly diminished: the native silver is now rarely to be seen; and the *metales colorados*, which are an intimate mixture of muriate of silver, earthy carbonate of lead, and red ochre, begin to give place to pyritous and coppery minerals. The actual produce of these mines is nearly 260,000 lb. troy of silver annually." *

Since the period of Humboldt's visit, however,

* Pol. Essay, vol. iii. pp. 209—12.

these rich mines have become filled with water. "In order to render them once more productive," we are told, "the owners, the family of Obregon, have made an arrangement with an English commercial house, by which they agree to give up one-half of their right and title, on condition of having them freed from water. For this purpose, a steam-engine of one hundred horse power has been brought from England; the greater part of which, after several months' labour, is still at the foot of the mountains. It is said, that *coal has been discovered not far from this mine.*"*

SAN BLAS.

MENTION has already been made, in the description of the Baxio, of the Bay of San Blas, in which the river Santiago has its outlet. That port, hitherto but little known, yet, next to Acapulco, the most important on the western coast, bids fair to become of considerable consequence. The rich products of Guanaxuato and Guadalaxara can, by means of the Santiago, be most easily transported to the coast; and those provinces can be supplied with Asiatic merchandise at a cheaper rate by the same route.

The Conway, commanded by Captain Basil Hall, was the first English man-of-war that had ever an-

* When Mr. Bullock was in Mexico, the whole had safely arrived, and he heard in connexion with it the following anecdote. The engine for draining the mine being drawn one evening to the mouth of the shaft, the mine was plumbed, to ascertain the depth of water. The same process was repeated the next morning, when, from some unknown cause, the water had sunk several feet. The natives, who were attracted in vast numbers, exclaimed in astonishment, that now they were convinced the English were gods, and had power to control the metals, since merely drawing the engine to the mouth of the mine had caused the water to sink so many feet! The English house alluded to is that of Messrs. Gordon and Murphy.

chored in the port of San Blas. Although the distance from Acapulco is not more than 500 miles, it took sixteen days to make the passage.* The town is perched, like an eagle's nest, on the top of a rock 150 feet high, absolutely precipitous on three sides, and very steep on the fourth; rising out of a low, swampy plain, which, in the rainy season, is laid completely under water, and is overflowed to a considerable extent by the sea at spring-tides. The fine season lasts from December to May inclusive. "During that interval," says Capt. Hall, "the sky is always clear; no rain falls; land and sea-breezes prevail; and, as there is then no sickness, the town is crowded with inhabitants. From June to November, a very different order of things takes place. The heat is greatly increased; the sky becomes overcast; the sea and land-breezes no longer blow; but, in their stead, hard storms sweep along the coast, and excessive rains deluge the country; with occasional violent squalls of wind, accompanied by thunder and lightning. During this period, San Blas is rendered uninhabitable, in consequence of the sickness, and of the violence of the rain; which not only drenches the whole town, but, by flooding the surrounding country, renders the rock on which the town is built, literally an island. The whole rainy season, indeed, is sickly, but more

* This was reckoned a good passage for the month of March. In the latter days of December, it has been made in ten days. Capt. Hall mentions a case in which a merchant brig was a fortnight in reaching Cape Corrientes from the time of passing Acapulco at the distance of 150 miles, and nearly three weeks afterwards in getting to San Blas, a distance of only 70 miles. The coast between Cape Corrientes, and San Blas is full of deep and dangerous rocky bights, is little known, and ought not to be approached. Cape Corrientes is in lat. 20° 24′ 32″ N.; long. 105° 42′ 26″ W. San Blas is in lat. 21° 32′ 24″; long. 105° 18′ 27″ W.

especially so towards the end, when the rains become less violent and less frequent; while the intense heat acts with mischievous effect on the saturated soil, and raises an atmosphere of malaria, such as the most seasoned native cannot breathe with impunity.

"This being invariably the state of the climate, nearly all the inhabitants abandon the town as soon as the rainy season approaches. As we had often heard this migration described, we waited, with some curiosity, for the arrival of the appointed time; and, accordingly, towards the end of May, had the satisfaction of seeing the great flight commence. I shall never forget the singular nature of the scene which was presented to us. All the world began to move nearly at the same time; the rich and the poor streamed off indiscriminately together. The high road to Tepic was covered with horses, loaded mules, and foot passengers, winding along the plain on their way to the interior. On passing through the streets, we saw people everywhere fastening up their windows, locking their doors, and marching off with the keys, leaving the greater part of their property behind them, unguarded by any thing but the pestilence of the climate. The better classes rode away on horseback, leaving their baggage to follow on mules; but the finances of the greater part of the inhabitants did not admit of this; and we saw many interesting family groupes, where the very aged and the very young people were huddled on mules, already loaded with goods and with furniture, while the men and the women, and the stouter children, walked by their sides;—a scene from which a painter might have collected innumerable subjects of interest.

"A city without people is at any time a strange and anomalous circumstance; but it seemed peculiarly

so to us, by our friends leaving us day by day; till, at length, we found ourselves comparatively alone in the deserted town. The governor and his family, and one or two other officers of government, with a few shopkeepers, remained till our departure; but, with these exceptions, the inhabitants had nearly all gone before we sailed. There are, it is true, always a few people, who, for high pay, agree to watch valuable property, and some families so miserably destitute, that they absolutely have not the means of removing. The population of the town, in the fine season, is about 3,000, but the number which remains to brave the climate, seldom exceeds 150."

The commencement of the rains, as witnessed by this Traveller, is described with graphic force and spirit in the following paragraphs.

"This day (June 1, 1822) broke with an unwonted gloom overshadowing everything: a dense, black haze rested like a high wall round the horizon; while the upper sky, so long without a single speck, was stained all over with patches of shapeless clouds flying in different directions. As the sun rose, he was attended by vapours and clouds, which concealed him from our sight. The sea-wind, which used to begin gently, and then gradually increase to a pleasant breeze, came on suddenly and with great violence; so that the waves curled and broke into a white sheet of foam as far as the eye could reach. The sea looked bleak and stormy under the portentous influence of an immense mass of dark clouds, rising slowly in the western quarter, till they reached nearly to the zenith, where they continued suspended like a mantle during the whole day. The ships which heretofore had lain motionless on the surface of the bay, were now rolling and pitching with their cables stretched out to sea-

ward ; while the boats that used to skim along from the shore to the vessels at anchor, were seen splashing through the waves under a reefed sail, or struggling hard with their oars to evade the surf, breaking and roaring along the coast. The flags that were wont to lie idly asleep by the sides of the mast, now stood stiffly out in the storm. Innumerable sea-birds continued during all the day, wheeling round the rock on which the town stood, and screaming as if in terror at this sudden change. The dust of six months' hot weather, raised into high pyramids, was forced by furious gusts of wind into the innermost corners of the houses. Long before sunset, it seemed as if the day had closed, owing to the darkness caused by the dust in the air, and to the sky being overcast in every part by unbroken masses of watery clouds. Presently lightning was observed amongst the hills, followed shortly afterwards by a storm exceeding in violence anything I ever met with. During eight hours, deluges of rain never ceased pouring down for a moment: the steep streets of the town soon became the channels of continued streams of such magnitude, as to sweep away large stones; rendering it everywhere dangerous, and in some places quite impossible to pass. The rain found its way through the roofs, and drenched every part of the houses; the deep rumbling noise of the torrents in the streets never ceased; the deafening loudness of the thunder, which seemed to cling round the rock, became distracting; while the continued flashes of the forked lightning, which played in the most brilliant manner from the zenith to the horizon on all sides, were at once beautiful and terrific. I never witnessed such a night.

"As the next day broke, the rain ceased; and during all the morning there was a dead calm: the

air was so sultry that it was painful to breathe it; and though the sky remained overcast, the sun had power to raise up clouds of steam, which covered the whole plain as far as the base of the mountains.

"No very violent rain fell after this furious burst, till the evening of the 4th of June, when the periodical wet season set in. During the mornings, it was generally clear and fair; but about half past three or four o'clock, the sky became rapidly overcast, and at five the rain began: though it was seldom before eight, that it fell in the torrents I have described, or that the thunder and lightning commenced with great violence."

San Blas would be scarcely habitable during what is termed the fine season, were it not for the regular alternation of the sea and land-breezes which prevail at that time.* "Between ten and eleven o'clock in the morning," says Capt. H., "the sea-breeze begins to set in. None but those who have felt the bodily and mental exhaustion caused by the hot nights and sultry mornings of low latitudes, can form a just conception of the delicious refreshment of this wind. For some time before it actually reaches the spot, its approach is felt and joyfully hailed by people who, a few minutes before, appeared quite subdued by the heat, but who now acquire a sudden animation and revival of their faculties; a circumstance which strangers, who have not learned to discover the approach of the sea-breeze, are often at a loss to account for. When it has fairly set in, the climate in the shade is delightful; but, in the sun, it is scarcely ever supportable at San Blas. Between three and four o'clock, the sea-breeze generally

* The burning shores of Asia Minor are in like manner preserved from depopulation by a similar phenomenon.—See MODERN TRAVELLER, *Syria, &c.*, vol. ii. p. 106.

dies away; it rarely lasts till five. The oppression during the interval of calm which succeeds between this period and the coming of the land-wind, baffles all description. The flat-roofed houses, from having been all day exposed to the sun, resemble ovens; and as it is many hours before they part with their heat, the inhabitants are sadly baked before the land-wind comes to their relief.

"During the morning, the thorough draft of air, even when the sun is blazing fiercely in the sky, keeps the rooms tolerably cool; but, when the breeze is gone, they become quite suffocating. The evil is heightened most seriously by clouds of mosquitoes, and, what are still more tormenting, of sand-flies, an animal so diminutive, as scarcely to be distinguished till the eye is directed to the spot they settle upon, by the pain of their formidable puncture. San Blas, as mentioned before, is built on the top of a rock, standing in a level, swampy plain. During ordinary tides in the dry season, this plain is kept merely in a half-dried, steaming state; but at spring-tides, a considerable portion of it is overflowed. The effect of this inundation is to dislodge from the swamp, myriads of mosquitoes, sand-flies, and other insects, which had been increasing and multiplying on the surface of the mud during the low tides. These animals, on being disturbed, fly to the first resting-place they can find; and the unhappy town of San Blas, being the only conspicuous object in the neighbourhood, is fairly enveloped, at the full and change of the moon, in a cloud of insects, producing a plague, the extent of which, if properly described, would scarcely be credited by the inhabitants of a cold climate. The most seasoned native fared in this instance no better than ourselves; and we sometimes derived a perverse sort of satisfac-

tion from this companionship in misery, and laughed at seeing them rolling about from chair to chair, panting under the heat, and irritated into a fever, by the severe and unintermitted attacks of their indefatigable tormentors. I cannot say which was worst, the unceasing buzz and fierce sting of the mosquito, or the silent but multiplied assaults of the sand-flies, which came against the face, as I heard a miserable man exclaim one evening, like handfuls of sand. Mosquito curtains offered no defence against these invisible foes, so that there was nothing for it but to submit. It is perhaps worthy of remark, that those persons invariably suffered most, who were least temperate in their diet; and that the water-drinkers (that rare species) were especially exempted from the feverish discipline of these attacks. It was perfectly out of the question to try to get any sleep before the land-wind set; but this often deceived us, and at best seldom came before midnight, and then it blew over the hot plain, and reached us loaded with offensive vapours from the marsh; but this was nothing, as it served to disperse the sand-flies, and gradually acquired a degree of coolness, which allowed us to drop asleep towards morning — worn out with heat, vexation, and impotent rage."

San Blas was, under the vice-regal administration, the residence of the *Departimiento de Marina* (marine department), and the chief dock-yards and magazines being here, it might be regarded as the Portsmouth of Mexico. The official people, however, Humboldt says, resided at Tepic, a small town in a more salubrious climate. Captain Hall, on finding that the merchants, both English and Spanish, lived, some at Tepic, and others at the provincial capital, Guadalaxara, determined on proceeding to the former place,

in order to ascertain how far he might be able to contribute to advance the interests of the British trade in that quarter. The first part of the journey lay across low swamps, covered with brushwood, and enveloped (in March) in creeping mists. In the course of "a few hours," the road begins to ascend the hills, which are richly wooded: festoons of innumerable parasitical plants, extending from tree to tree, wave gracefully above the impervious underwood, which totally conceals the ground, giving the forest the appearance of an Indian jungle. The traveller passes several villages of huts built of canes, with peaked roofs rising to twice the height of the walls, thatched with the large, leafy branches of the cocoa-palm, fastened down with rattans. About half way to Tepic is the village of Fonsequa. The rest of the journey lies through a thick forest, along wild mountain paths, the road continually on the ascent; and to the European, the sensible change in the temperature becomes most inspiriting. The mountain scenery is described as highly magnificent. Capt. Hall passed the night in a hut, and by day-break next morning, after travelling over some hills, he came in sight of Tepic, beautifully situated in the midst of a cultivated plain.

TEPIC.

THIS town, the second in importance in this intendancy, is situated nearly in the centre of a basin, or valley, formed by an irregular chain of volcanic mountains. Its appearance is rendered very lively by rows of trees, gardens, and terraced walks intermixed with the houses, all kept green and fresh by the waters of the river which washes the town on three sides. A broad, public walk, nearly half a mile in

length, shaded by four or five rows of chesnut-trees, leads to the church of *La Santa Cruz*, which stands in a little hollow behind a small grassy knoll, in a secluded and picturesque situation. It belongs to a convent. Hither, about an hour before sunset, apparently the whole female population repair, in family groupes, to attend the evening service. "The ladies of Tepic," Capt. Hall says, "have already learned to dress in the European style; of course some years behind in the fashion, but without any thing peculiar to describe. The women of the lower class wore lively coloured gowns, and scarfs called *rebozos*, generally of a blue and white pattern, not printed, but woven. The dress of the lowest class was of cotton only; that of the others was a mixture of cotton and silk, and that of the richest people entirely of silk; the whole being of the manufacture of the country. The gentlemen wear low-brimmed, brown hats, encircled by a thick gold or silver band, twisted up like a rope. When mounted, every gentleman carries a sword, not belted round him, as with us, but thrust, in a slanting direction, into a case made for the purpose in the left flap of the saddle, so that the sword lies under, not over the thigh, while the hilt rises nearly as high as the pommel of the saddle, where it is more readily grasped, in case of need, than when left dangling by the side. The saddle rises abruptly four or five inches, both before and behind, in order, as I was told, to give the rider support both in going up and down the very steep roads of the country. On each side of the saddle, before the knees, hangs a large skin of some shaggy-coated animal, reaching nearly to the ground: in wet weather, these skins are drawn over the rider's legs, while what is called the mangas covers the body. This is a cloak exactly resembling the poncho of the

south, being of an oblong form, with a hole in the middle to receive the head. In Mexico, these cloaks are generally made of fine cloth, richly ornamented round the neck with gold embroidery. The stirrups are made of wood, taken no doubt from the Spanish box-stirrup, but they are more neatly made than in Spain, and are lighter, and fit the foot better. Every gentleman rides with a pair of silver spurs of immoderate length and weight; and, instead of a whip, holds in his hand a long and curiously twisted set of thongs, which are merely a tapered continuation of the slender strips of hide of which the bridle is made, plaited into a round cord."

This sprightly writer gives an amusing description of a *tertulia*, or evening party, which will serve to illustrate the state of manners in Mexico at this period, among the Spanish residents.

"Across the upper end of a large room, and for some distance along the sides, were seated the ladies, about twenty in number, in a compact line, and glued as it were to the wall. Sometimes in the course of the evening, a gentleman succeeded in obtaining a station amongst the ladies, but he was generally an intimate acquaintance or a very determined stranger. In each corner of the room was placed a small stone table, on which stood a dingy tallow-candle, the feeble glimmer of which gave a dismal light to the room; but, by an incongruity characteristic of the country, the candlestick was large and handsome, and made of massy silver. Behind the light, in a glass case, was displayed an image of the Virgin, dressed up as Nuestra Senora de Guadaloupe, the patron saint of Mexico, almost suffocated with a profusion of tawdry artificial flowers. The line of ladies on one side reached to the door, and, on the side opposite, to a

table about half-way along the room, on which were placed wine and water, gentlemen's hats and ladies' shawls. Against one of the corner tables rested a guitar; and it seldom happened that there was not some person present, ready to play a popular tune, or to accompany the ladies, many of whom sung very prettily. This occasional music went on without interrupting the conversation; indeed, the sound of the guitar amongst the Spaniards or their descendants, is so familiar, that it acts more as a stimulus, a sort of accompaniment to conversation, than as an interruption. At the further end of the room was a card-table, where most of the gentlemen played at a game called *monté*. The space in the middle of the room seemed to be allotted as a play-ground for the children of the house, and those of many removes in consanguinity. The nurses too, and the old servants of the family, used the privilege of walking in and out; and sometimes they addressed such of the company as happened to be seated near the door. It may be remarked here, that, in all those countries, a degree of familiarity is allowed between the servants and their superiors, of which in England there is no example in any rank of life.

"The entrance to the room was from a deep verandah, or, more properly speaking, a passage open to the court and flower-garden in the centre of the quadrangle forming the house.

"It occurred to me during the evening, that if a person were suddenly transported from England to this party, he might be much puzzled to say where he had got to. On entering the house, by an approach not unlike the arched gateway of an inn, he would turn into the verandah, where he would in vain inquire his way from one of the boys playing at bo-peep round

the columns, or scampering in the moon-light amongst the shrubs in the centre of the court; nor would he gain more information from the girls, who would draw up and become as prim and starch as possible the moment they beheld a stranger; they would pout at him, and transfix him with their coal-black eyes, but would not utter a single word. Mustering courage, he might enter the sala or drawing-room; in an instant, all the gentlemen would rise and stand before their chairs like statues; but as neither the mistress of the house, nor any other lady, ever thinks of rising, in those countries, to receive or take leave of a gentleman, our friend would be apt to conceive his reception somewhat cold. He could have no time to make minute remarks, and would scarcely notice the unevenly paved brick floor — the bare plastered walls — the naked beams of the roof, through which the tiles might be counted: indeed, the feebleness of the light would greatly perplex his observations. The elegant dresses, the handsome looks, and the lady-like appearance of the women, would naturally lead him to imagine he was in respectable company; but, when he discovered all the ladies smoking segars, and heard them laughing most obstreperously, and screaming out their observations at the top of their voices, he would relapse into his former doubts; especially when he remarked the gentlemen in boots and cloaks, and some with their hats on. Neither would his ideas be cleared up by seeing the party at the other end of the room engaged in deep play, amidst a cloud of tobacco smoke. And were he now as suddenly transported back again to his own country, it might be difficult to persuade him that he had been amongst an agreeable, amiable, and well-bred people — in the very best society — in the Grosvenor Square, in short, of the city of Tepic!"

The Indians here appeared to Captain Hall a small and feeble race of men. He saw a party of them who had come from the interior to purchase maize and other articles. "Each of them carried a bow, and about two dozen of arrows, and wore in his girdle a long, broad knife. Their dress was a coarse cotton shirt, made of cloth manufactured by themselves, and a pair of leather small-clothes, loose at the knees, and fringed with a line of tassels, and short strips of leather, each being intended to represent some article belonging to the wearer: one being his horse, another his bow, another larger and more ornamental standing for his wife, and so on. The most striking circumstance, however, was, that all these Indians wore feathers round their heads, precisely in the manner represented in the cuts which embellish the old accounts of the conquest. Some had tied round their straw hats a circle of red flowers, so much resembling feathers, that it was not easy to distinguish between the two. Several of them wore necklaces of white beads made of bone, the distinctive mark, as we were told, of being married. A little old man of the party, who seemed much entertained by our curiosity, begged our attention to a rod about two feet long, which he carried in his hand, and to the skin of a little bird of brilliant plumage, suspended at his left knee; these two symbols, he gave us to understand, belonged to him as chief of the village. The only woman of the party stood apart, wrapped in a coarse kind of blanket, holding the bridles of the mules. At first, they were rather alarmed at the interest we took in their dress and appearance, and, as they did not understand Spanish, shrunk back from us. But an obliging person in the market-place stepped forward to act as interpreter, which

soon reassured them, and they came round us afterwards with confidence; yet, it was with great reluctance they parted with their bows and arrows, and their feathered ornaments. The old man could not be prevailed upon to part with his rod of authority, or his official bird; neither could we induce them to sell, at any price, that part of their dress to which the inventory of their goods and chattels was appended."

These appear to have been a party of cacique Indians; but to what tribe they belonged, is not stated. Their bows and arrows resembled, we are told, those of school-boys, rather than the arms of men. At Tepic, as well as at San Blas, our Traveller found it disagreeably hot during the day;* but at night, the thermometer fell from fifteen to twenty degrees. During the middle of the day, no one can stir abroad. One o'clock is the invariable dinner hour, and from two to half-past three or four, "all the world" are taking their *siesta*, and the streets are literally deserted. After that hour, riding or walking parties are formed; and in the evening, every house is ready to receive visiters. The ladies receive company also about ten o'clock in the forenoon, either in the principal bed-chamber, or in the *sala*.

Captain Hall, while at Tepic, witnessed the opening of a Mexican bee-hive, which differs so essentially in its construction and materials from that of the English bee, that the description is highly acceptable. "The hive is generally made out of a log of wood from two to three feet long, and eight or ten inches in

* At San Blas, throughout the day, it was generally, in the coolest part of the shade, about 90°; sometimes, for several hours, 95°. At night, the thermometer stood generally between 80° and 85°.

diameter, hollowed out, and closed at the ends by circular doors, cemented closely to the wood, but capable of being removed at pleasure. Some persons use cylindrical hives made of earthenware, instead of the clumsy apparatus of wood; these are relieved by raised figures and circular rings, so as to form rather handsome ornaments in the verandah of a house, where they are suspended by cords from the roof, in the same manner that the wooden ones in the villages are hung to the eaves of the cottages. On one side of the hive, half-way between the ends, there is a small hole made, just large enough for a loaded bee to enter, and shaded by a projection to prevent the rain from trickling in. In this hole, generally representing the mouth of a man, or some monster, the head of which is moulded in the clay of the hive, a bee is constantly stationed; whose office is no sinecure, for the hole is so small, he has to draw back every time a bee wishes to enter or to leave the hive. A gentleman told me, that the experiment had been made, by marking the sentinel; when it was observed, that the same bee continued at his post a whole day. When it is ascertained by the weight, that the hive is full, the end pieces are removed, and the honey withdrawn. The hive we saw opened, was only partly filled; which enabled us to see the economy of the interior to more advantage. The honey is not contained in the elegant hexagonal cells of our hives, but in wax bags, not quite so large as an egg. These bags, or bladders, are hung round the sides of the hive, and appear about half full, the quantity being probably just as great as the strength of the wax will bear without tearing. Those near the bottom, being better supported, are more filled than the upper ones. In the centre of the lower part

of the hive, we observed an irregular-shaped mass of comb, furnished with cells, like those of our bees, all containing young ones, in such an advanced state, that when we broke the comb and let them out, they flew merrily away. During this examination of the hive, the comb and the honey were taken out, and the bees disturbed in every way; but they never stung us, though our faces and hands were covered with them. It is said, however, that there is a bee in the country which does sting; but the kind we saw, seem to have neither the power nor the inclination, for they certainly did not hurt us; and our friends said, they were always 'muy manso,' very tame, and never stung any one. The honey gave out a rich aromatic perfume, and tasted differently from ours, but possessed an agreeable flavour." *

Humboldt mentions the mines of Guichichila, near Tepic, as among the most celebrated in this intendancy; but Captain Hall does not appear to have made any inquiry on the subject.

GUADALAXARA.

THE intendancy of Guadalaxara formed, together with Zacatecas, the kingdom of New Gallicia. It is, in itself, almost twice the extent of Portugal, with a population five times smaller. The number of inhabitants in 1803, was 630,500, being 66 to the square league. It is bounded, on the north by Sonora and Durango; on the east, by Zacatecas and Guanax-

* Humboldt mentions a bee peculiar to the New Continent, said to be destitute of a sting, on which account they have received the name of *angelitos* (little angels). The learned Traveller supposes, however, that the organ is not wanting, but that the sting is weak and not very sensible.

uato; on the south, by Valladolid; and on the west, for a length of coast of 123 leagues, by the Pacific. Its extreme breadth, from San Blas to the town of Lagos, is 100 leagues, and its extent of surface is computed to be 9,612 square leagues. It is traversed from east to west by the Rio Grande de Santiago, which communicates with the great lake of Chapala, nearly 160 square leagues in extent, being double the size of the lake of Constance. This intendancy was reckoned one of the richest and most luxuriant in the vice-royalty. All the eastern part is formed by the table-land and western declivity of the Cordillera. The maritime regions are covered with forests, which abound with timber fit for ship-building. The interior enjoys a fine and temperate climate. The value of its agricultural produce amounted, in 1802, to 2,600,000 piasters (about 560,000*l.*); and its manufactures of woollens, calicoes, tanned hides, and soap, were estimated at 3,302,200 piasters (about 700,000*l.*), or nearly half of the total value of the manufactures of New Spain.* Up to 1765, it exported cotton and wool to maintain the activity of the manufactures of Puebla, Queretaro, and San Miguel; but since that period, manufactories have been established at Guadalaxara, Lagos, and the neighbouring towns. Its mines form the sixth groupe in Humboldt's enumeration,† but, with regard to the quantity of money actually drawn from them, the mines of Bolaños rank next to those of the Real del Monte, the central groupe of Guanaxuato, Catorce, and Zacatecas being alone superior to either. The mines

* This is estimated by Humboldt at between 7 and 8,000,000 of piasters.—*Pol. Essay*, vol. iii. p. 460.

† See vol. i. p. 318.

of Guadalaxara extend from lat. 21° 5′ to 22° 30′ N., and from long. 105° to 106° 30′ W. The most celebrated are those of *Bolaños*, *Asientos de Ibarra*, *Hostiotipaquillo*, *Copala*, and *Gutichichila*. The intendancy contains two cities, six towns, and 322 villages.

Guadalaxara, the provincial capital, and formerly the seat of the *audiencia* of New Gallicia, is seated on the left bank of the Rio de Santiago, in lat. 20° 50′ N., long. 105° W.* It was founded in 1551, and in 1570, was created an episcopal city, the see of Compostella being transferred to this place. As the residence at once of the audiencia, the intendant, and the bishop, and possessing some flourishing manufactures, it would seem likely to have been from the first a considerable place; yet, Humboldt states the population in 1803, at only 19,500. If this be correct, its increase since that period must have been almost unprecedented. While the population of Guanaxuato has sunk from 70,000 to 33,000, that of Guadalaxara has risen from less than 20,000 to at least 70,000, and it now ranks, in point of population, as the second city in the empire.†

Compostella, situated to the south of Tepic, is the more ancient city. As, in the district to the north-west of this place, tobacco of a superior quality was formerly cultivated; it would seem to be situated either within, or on the border of the *tierra caliente* of the western coast. The other towns enumerated by Humboldt are, *Aguas Calientes*, a small, well-peopled town, to the south of the mines of *Asientos de Ibarra; Villa de la Purificacion*, to the north-west of

* Pike's Exploratory Travels, p. 326.

† Notes on Mexico, p. 110. Major Pike carries the estimate to 75,000.

the port of Guatlan; *Lagos*, to the north of the town of Leon, in Guanaxuato, near the frontier of that intendancy, "on a plain fertile in wheat" (a part of the Baxio); and *Colima*, situated two leagues south of the volcano of the same name.

The *volcan de Colima* is the most western of the volcanoes of Mexico, which are placed on the same line in a parallel direction. It frequently throws up ashes and smoke. Its elevation is computed to be upwards of 9,000 feet above the level of the sea. "This insulated mountain," says a native writer cited by Humboldt, "appears of only a moderate height, when its summit is compared with the ground on which Zapotilti and Zapotlan are built,—two villages elevated 5,500 feet above the level of the coast: it is from the small town of Colima that the volcano appears in all its grandeur. It is never covered with snow, except when it falls in the chain of the neighbouring mountains from the effects of the north-wind. On the 8th of December, 1788, the volcano was covered with snow for almost two-thirds of its height; but this snow remained for only two months on the northern declivity of the mountain towards Zapotlan. In the beginning of 1791, I made the tour of the volcano by Sayula, Tuspan, and Colima, without seeing the smallest trace of snow on its summits."

Such is all the information to which we have at present access respecting this important province. Neither Humboldt nor any other modern traveller appears to have visited any part of it, except the small portion between San Blas and Tepic. The capital, the fertile banks of the Santiago, the lake Chapala, the mines of Bolaños, the hot springs of Aguas Calientes, and the volcano of Colima,—all

remain undescribed, and invite the attention of future travellers.—We have still less information with regard to the north-eastern portion of New Gallicia, now comprised in the intendancy of

ZACATECAS.

"THIS singularly ill-peopled province," says our only authority in the present reference, the indefatigable Humboldt, "is a mountainous and arid tract, exposed to a continual inclemency of climate. It is bounded, on the north, by the intendancy of Durango; on the east, by San Luis Potosi; on the south, by Guanaxuato; and on the west, by Guadalaxara. Its greatest length is eighty-five leagues, and its extreme breadth, from Sombrerete to the Real de Ramos, fifty-one leagues; being nearly of the same extent with Switzerland, which it resembles in many geological points of view. The relative population is hardly equal to that of Sweden." The extent of surface is computed to be 2,355 square leagues; the population in 1803, was 153,300, or sixty-five only to the square league. The table-land which forms the centre of the intendancy, and which rises to an elevation of upwards of 6,500 feet, is formed of syenite, on which repose strata of primitive schistus and schistous chlorites; the schistus forms the base of the mountains of trappish porphyry. Zacatecas, the provincial capital, is, next to Guanaxuato, the most celebrated mining-place in New Spain.* Its population is stated by Humboldt to be at least 33,000. The mines of Zacatecas belong to the same groupe as those of

* Situated, according to Major Pike, in lat. 23° N.; long. 104° W. This Traveller estimates the population much higher, but, unfortunately, he does not give his authority.

Guanaxuato and Catorce. The intendancy is divided into four *diputaciones de mineria*, or mining districts: 1. Zacatecas; 2. Sombrerete; 3. Fresnilio; 4. Sierra de Pinos. The *veta nêgra* of Sombrerete has yielded the greatest wealth of any seam yet discovered in the two hemispheres. To the north of the town of Zacatecas, there are nine small lakes, abounding in muriate and carbonate of soda. The carbonate, which goes by the name of *tequesquite* (corrupted from the Mexican word *tequixquilit*), is of great use in the dissolving of the muriates and sulphurets of silver. "The central table-land of Asia," adds M. Humboldt, "is not richer in soda than Mexico."

To the north of the two intendancies formerly comprised in New Gallicia, lies the province of New Biscay, which, under the distribution of the country into intendancies, is called from its chief town,

DURANGO.

THIS intendancy, which, together with Sonora and New Mexico, formed the captaincy of the interior provinces of the west, extends, according to Humboldt, from lat. 23° 55′ to 29° 5′ N., and from long. 104° 40′ to 110° 0′ W.* It is bounded, on the west, by Sonora; on the south-east, it touches on San Luis Potosi; but towards the north and east, for upwards of 200 leagues, it borders on an uncultivated country, inhabited by warlike and independent Indians. It comprehends the northern extremity of the great table-land of Anahuac. Its length from north to south, from the cele-

* Major Pike makes New Biscay to lie between lat. 24° and 33°, and long. 105° and 111°: he states its length from N.W. to S.E. at 600 miles; its greatest breadth at 400; and its population at 200,000.

brated mines of Guarisamey to the mountains of Carcay, is 232 leagues: its breadth is very unequal, and, near Parral, is scarcely fifty-eight leagues. Its extent of surface is greater than that of the three united kingdoms of Great Britain, and yet, its total population does not equal that of Birmingham and Manchester united. The number of inhabitants in 1803, was computed to be rather less than 160,000. Of these, Major Pike thinks, three-twentieths might be European Whites, five-twentieths Creoles, five-twentieths Mestizoes and half-castes, and seven-twentieths Indians. It comprises, besides the city of Durango, six towns (*villas*); 199 villages (*pueblos*); 75 parishes (*paroquias*); 152 *haciendas*; 37 missions; and 400 cottages (*ranchos*).

Durango, or Guadiana, the principal city, is the residence of the intendant and of a bishop. It is situated in the most southern part of the province, (in lat. 25° N., and long. 107° W.)* at 170 leagues distance, in a straight line, from the city of Mexico, and 289 leagues from the town of Santa Fé, in New Mexico. The elevation of the town above the sea-level, is 6,800 feet; there are frequent falls of snow, and the thermometer descends to 14° Fahrenheit below the freezing point. The city was founded in 1559: the population in 1803, was 12,000.†

* Pike, p. 352.

† Major Pike says, 40,000. He states, also, that the city is infested, in a very remarkable manner, by scorpions. "They come out of the walls and crevices in May, and continue for about a fortnight in such numbers, that the inhabitants never walk in their houses after dark without a light, and always shift or examine the bed-clothes, and beat the curtains, previously to going to rest; after which, the curtains are secured under the bed.

In the midst of a very level plain, between this city, the plantations *del Ojo* and *del Chorro*, and the town of *Nombre de Dios*, which lies in the road to the famous mines of Sombrerete,—there rises a singular groupe of rocks, of a very grotesque form, covered with scoria, called *la Breña:* they extend twelve leagues from north to south, and six from east to west, and appear to be a volcanic production, consisting of basaltic amygdaloid. On the summit of one of the neighbouring mountains (the *Frayle*), is found a crater above 300 feet in circumference and 100 feet in perpendicular depth. In the environs of Durango, there is also to be found, insulated in the plain, an enormous mass of malleable iron and nickel, said to weigh upwards of 40,000 lb. avoirdupois, and corresponding, in its composition, to the *aërolithos* which fell, in 1751, near Agram in Hungary.* Major Pike mentions "a mountain or hill of loadstone," about 100 miles south of Chihuahua, which had been surveyed by a friend of his; referring, probably, to the same phenomenon.

Chihuahua, the residence of the captain-general of the western interior provinces, was founded in 1691, and is situated in lat. 29° N.; long. 107° 30′ W. Its population is estimated by Humboldt at 11,600; by Major Pike at 7,000. The town is thus described by the latter Traveller: "It is of an oblong rectangular

The precautions are similar to those we take with our moschetto curtains. The bite of these scorpions has been known to prove mortal in two hours. But the most extraordinary circumstance is, that, by taking them ten leagues from Durango, they become perfectly harmless, and lose all their venomous qualities. Query, does this arise from a change of air or of sustenance?" The reader will probably be of opinion, that there is a previous query which requires to be disposed of. Yet, as Mexico has its stingless bees, it may possibly have its impotent scorpions.

* Humboldt, Pol. Essay, vol. ii. p. 245.

form, on the eastern side of a small stream, which discharges itself into the river Conchos. At its southern extremity is a small but elegant church. In the public square stands the church, the royal treasury, the town-house, and the richest shops. At the western extremity, there is another church for the military, a superb hospital, belonging formerly to the Jesuits, the churches of the monks of St. Francis and St. Dominick, the military academy, and the barracks (*quartel del tropa*). On the north-west are two or three missions, very handsomely situated on a small stream which comes in from the west. About one mile to the south of the town is a large aqueduct, which conveys the water round it, to the east, into the main stream below the town, at the centre of which is a reservoir, whence the water is conducted by pipes to the different parts of the city; and in the public square is to be a fountain and *jet d'eau*. The principal church is the most superb building we saw in New Spain; its whole front being covered with statues of the apostles and the different saints, set in niches, and the windows, doors, &c. ornamented with sculpture. I was never within the doors, but was informed that the decorations are immensely rich. Some men whom we supposed to be entitled to credit, informed us, that the church was built by a tax of 12½ *cents* laid on each ingot of gold or silver taken out of the mines in the vicinity. Its cost, including the decorations, was 1,500,000 dollars; and when it was finished, there remained 300,000 dollars of the fund unappropriated. On the south side of Chihuahua is the public walk, formed by three rows of trees, whose branches nearly meet over the heads of the passengers. At different distances there are seats, and, at each end of the walk, circular seats, on which,

in the evening, the company collected and amused themselves with the guitar, and songs in Spanish, Italian, and French, adapted to the voluptuous manners of the country. In this city, as well as in all others of any consideration, there are patroles of soldiers during the night, who stop every person at nine o'clock, and examine them. My countersign was, *Americans*.

"There are at Chihuahua and its vicinity, fifteen mines; thirteen of silver, one of gold, and one of copper; the furnaces for all of which are situated round the town, in the suburbs, and present, except on Sundays, volumes of smoke rising in every direction, which are seen from a distance long before the spires of the city strike the view. It is incredible, the quantity of cinders that surround the city, in piles ten or fifteen feet high. Next the creek, they have formed a bank of them, to check the encroachments of the stream, and it has presented an effectual barrier. I am told, that a European employed some hands, and wrought at the cinders, and that they yielded I dollar 25 cents for each per day; but this not answering his expectations, he ceased his proceedings. At Mauperne, there are one gold and seven silver mines."*

The mines of Chihuahua lie to the east of the great *real* of *Santa Rosa de Cosiguiriachi*, situated at the foot of the sierra *de los Metates*. The population of Cosiguiriachi is said to amount to nearly 11,000 souls. To the west of the Rio de Conchos is the town and *real* of *San Pedro de Batopilas*, with a population of 8,000, which was formerly celebrated for the great wealth of its mines. To the same rich groupe (the third in Humboldt's enumeration, and the most

* Pike's Exploratory Travels, p. 352.

northern in Mexico, extending from lat. 26° 50′ to 29° 10′ N.; and from long. 106° 45′ to 108° 50′ W.) belongs the *real* of *San José de Parral*, situated to the south of Chihuahua, and the residence of a deputation of mines: the population is stated at 5,000. This *real*, as well as the town of Parras, received its name from the great number of wild vine-shoots with which the country was covered on the first arrival of the Spaniards. A fifth mining district within this intendancy, is that of *Guarisamey*, a very old *real*, on the road from Durango to Copala, with a population of 3,800. It belongs to the groupe of Durango and Sonora, ranked by Humboldt as the second in point of actual produce; extending from lat. 23° to 24° 45′ N., and from long. 106° 30′ to 109° 50′ W.

The other chief places in this intendancy, according to Humboldt, are, *San Juan del Rio*, to the S.W. of the lake of Parras, population 10,200; *Nombre de Dios*, population 6,800; *Pasquiaro*, a small town to the S. of the Rio de Nasas, with a population of 5,600; *Mapimis*, a military post (*presidio*), to the east of the *Cerro de la Cadena*, on the confines of the *Bolson de Mapimi*, — population, 2,400; *Saltillo*, on the confines of Cohahuila and Leon, in the midst of arid plains, towards the eastern declivity of the table-land, the population 6,000; and *Parras*, near the lake of the same name, west of Saltillo. The last two towns are included by Major Pike in the province of Cohahuila, and have already been noticed. The same Traveller mentions, as one of the chief places of Durango, "*Pollalein*, situated at the foot of the *Sierra Madre*, and supposed to contain 25,000 souls." No such place is mentioned by Humboldt, and it is probably a mistake for *Parral*, the population being overrated. The river Conchos, the largest in the province, has its

source, according to the American Traveller, in the *Sierra Madre*, near Batopilas, in lat. 28° N.: after a course of about 300 miles, during which it receives the *Rio Florida* from the east, and the *Rio San Pablo* from the west, it joins the great *Rio del Norte* in lat. 31°. The *Rio San Pablo*, the large western branch of the Conchos, has its head in lat. 28° 50′, and after a course of about 150 miles, discharges into the latter at Bakinao: in summer, it is nearly dry; in the rainy season, impassable. The *Rio Florida* takes its rise in lat. 26? 30′ N., and has a course of similar length: about mid-way on its eastern bank, is situated the *presidio* of Guaxequillo. The *Rio de Nasas* forms in part the line between New Biscay and Cohahuila: it runs north, and empties itself into the lake Cayman on the borders of the *Bolson de Mapimi*. This stream is also nearly dry in summer, but, at some periods, impassable. Lake Cayman and lake Parras, situated at the feet of the mountains, are both full of fish.

The climate of this intendancy is stated by Major Pike to be dry, and the heat, at that time of year which precedes the rainy season, very great. The rains commence in June, and continue, by light showers, till September. During the remainder of the year, there falls neither rain nor snow to moisten the earth, and the atmosphere becomes highly electrified.* The agricultural produce consists of wheat, maize,

* "The atmosphere had become so electrified, that, when we halted at night, in taking off our blankets, the electric fluid would almost cover them with sparks; and in Chihuahua, we prepared a bottle with gold leaf as a receiver, and collected sufficient fluid from a bear-skin to give a considerable shock to a number of persons. This phenomenon was more conspicuous in the vicinity of Chihuahua, than in any other part that we crossed." — PIKE, p. 348.

rice, oats, cotton, flax, indigo, and the fruit of the vine. To the north of Chihuahua, about thirty miles to the right of the main road, there is some pine-timber; in one place, near a spring, Major Pike noticed a solitary walnut-tree; and on all the small streams, there are, he says, shrubby cotton-trees. "With these few exceptions, the whole province is a naked, barren plain, which presents to the eye an arid, unproductive soil; and more especially in the neighbourhood of mines, even the herbage appears to be poisoned by the qualities of the land." New Biscay trades both with the southern provinces and with New Mexico and Sonora, furnishing to the more populous parts of the kingdom a great number of horses, mules, beeves, sheep, and goats, in return for dry goods, European furniture, ammunition, books, &c., which are brought from the capital on mules. "Some individuals make large fortunes by being the carriers from Mexico to Chihuahua, the freight being eight dollars per cent; and they generally put 300lb. on each mule. The merchants make their remittances twice a year in bullion. Goods sell at Chihuahua about 200 *per cent* higher than the prices of our Atlantic sea-port towns.* They manufacture some few arms, blankets, stamped leather, embroidery, coarse cotton and woollen cloths, and a species of carpeting." This Traveller concludes his statistical account of the province by stating, that law here is merely a shadow, the only laws that can be said to be in force being the military and the ecclesiastical; that the corruption of morals is general,—the natural concomitant of a great degree of luxury among the rich,

* This was in 1807. Horses then averaged at 6 dollars; some would fetch 100 dollars; trained mules, 20 dollars; rice sold for 4 dollars the cwt.

and of misery among the poor; that the Roman Catholic religion is in full force, but the inferior clergy are much dissatisfied.

There are no slaves in this province, nor any Indians of the Aztec race;—Humboldt says, not a single tributary individual, and "all the inhabitants are either white, or consider themselves as such." Major Pike explains the state of things more specifically. Except the Apaches, who inhabit the *Bolson de Mapimi*, there are, he says, no uncivilised savages in this province. "The Christian Indians are so incorporated amongst the lower grades of Mestizoes, that it is scarcely possible to draw the line of distinction, except at the *ranchos* of some nobleman or large landholder, where they are in a state of vassalage. This class of people laid a conspiracy, which was so well concerted as to baffle the research of the Spaniards for a length of time, and to occasion them the loss of several hundreds of the inhabitants. The Indians used to go out from their villages in small parties: in a short time, a part would return with a report that they had been attacked by the Indians. The Spaniards would immediately send out a detachment in pursuit, when they were led into an ambuscade, and every soul cut off. They pursued this course so long, that the whole province became alarmed at the rapid manner in which their enemies multiplied; but some circumstances leading to a suspicion, they made use of the superstition of these people for their ruin. Some officers disguised themselves like friars, and went round amongst the Indians, pretending to be possessed of the spirit of prophecy. They preached up to them, that the day was approaching when a general deliverance from the Spanish tyranny was about to take place, and invited the Indians to join with them in

promoting the work of God. The poor creatures came forward, and, in their confessions, stated the great hand that had already been put to the work. After they had ascertained the nature and extent of the conspiracy, and obtained a body of troops, they commenced the execution, and put to death about four hundred of them. This struck terror and dismay throughout the Indian villages, and they durst not rise to support their freedom and independence."

To the west of New Biscay, lies the intendancy of

SONORA,

COMPREHENDING the three provinces of Cinaloa (or Sinaloa), Ostimury, and Sonora Proper. The first extends from the *Rio del Rosario* to the *Rio del Fuerte* (from lat. 23° to 26° 45′); the second, from the *Rio del Fuerte* to the *Rio del Mayo* (in lat. 27° 30′); and the third (called in some old maps, New Navarre) comprises all the northern part of the intendancy. Its northern limits are very uncertain. The villages of the district of *Pimeria alta* are separated from the banks of the *Rio Gila*, by a region inhabited by independent Indians, of whom neither the soldiers stationed in the *presidios*, nor the monks posted in the neighbouring missions, have been hitherto able to effect the conquest. On the west, this intendancy has more than 280 leagues of coast extending along the Sea of Cortes, usually called the Gulf of California. On the south, Sinaloa is bounded by Guadalaxara and the ocean. Its breadth varies from 50 leagues (its greatest breadth below the 27th parallel) to upwards of 128 leagues. Its extent in square leagues is computed to be rather more than 19,000; and the popu-

lation in 1803, was 121,400, or *six* inhabitants only to the square league.

The province of Sinaloa was the first peopled. Major Pike estimates its population at 60,000, "not more than three-twentieths of whom are Spaniards; the remainder, Creoles, Mestizoes, and Indians." In 1793, the number of tributary Indians in this province was 1,851. The country presents much the same aspect as that of New Biscay, — bare, destitute of timber, and hilly; the air dry, pure, and salubrious, except along the coast, where the ground is marshy, the soil rich, and the atmosphere humid. It contains 5 towns, 92 villages, 30 parishes, 14 *haciendas*, and 450 *ranchos*. Sinaloa, the head town, called also the *Villa de San Felipe y Santiago*, is situated to the east of the port of *Santa Maria d'Aome:* its population is estimated at 9,500. *Culiacan* ("celebrated in the history of Mexico under the name of *Huecicolhuacan*") contains a population of 10,800. *El Rosario*, near the rich mines of Copala, has 5,600; *Villa del Fuerte*, or *Montesclaros*, to the north of Sinaloa, 7,900.

Los Alamos, between the *Rio del Fuerte* and the *Rio Mayo*, the residence of a deputation of mines, is in the district of *Ostimury*, or *Hostimuri*. It contains about 8,000 inhabitants. Ostimury itself is a small but populous town, surrounded with considerable mines.* From the port of Guitivis at the mouth of the *Rio Mayo*, the public courier or post from Mexico

* We have followed Humboldt, in the absence of better information; but in his map, the town or *real* of Hostimuri is placed on the *north* side of the river Mayo, between which and the river Fuerte he describes the province of Ostimury as lying. After stating, moreover, that the intendancy comprises the three provinces of Cinaloa, Ostimury, and Sonora Proper, he takes no further notice of the second of these divisions, but subsequently divides the intendancy into the two provinces of Sonora and Cinaloa.

embarks in a *lancha* for Loreto in Old California, whence letters are sent from mission to mission as far as Monterey and the port of San Francisco, in New California, under the parallel of 37° 48′.

The chief places in Sonora Proper, are, *Arispe*, the capital of the intendancy, situated near the head of the river Yaqui, in lat. 31° N., long. 111° W., the population 7,600; *Sonora*, S. of Arispe, population 6,400; and *Terrenate*, or *Ternate*, a *presidio* to the N. of the capital. Arispe, Major Pike says, " is celebrated throughout the kingdom for the vast quantity of gold table utensils made use of in the houses, and for the urbanity and hospitality of the inhabitants." He makes the population amount only to 3,400, or less than half Humboldt's estimate, but whether on the authority of a more recent *census* or not, does not appear. Little is known with any degree of certainty or precision of these remote regions. Even the mines are too distant to attract or to repay attention. Yet, the proportion of gold which they yield, is so considerable, that gold does not preserve its usual exchange with silver in this province. General Salcedo told Capt. Pike, that the largest piece of pure gold ever discovered in New Spain, was found in this province, and it had been sent to Madrid to be put in his majesty's cabinet of curiosities.* Sonora trades with New Mexico, Durango, and the southern provinces, either by land, or through the Californian Gulf.

* All the ravines and even plains of the hilly country of the *Primeria alta*, Humboldt states, contain gold scattered up and down the alluvial land. Masses of pure gold, of the weight of from 5 to 8 lb. troy, have been found there. But these gold-washings are by no means diligently sought after, on account of the frequent incursions of the Indians, and especially on account of the high price of provisions, which must be brought from a great distance in this uncultivated country.

It is celebrated for cheese, horses, and sheep. Like New Biscay, the province is destitute of timber, but has some rich soil near the sea. It abounds with deer, *cabrie*, bears, and "remarkably large Guana lizards, which are said to weigh ten pounds, are perfectly harmless, and are trained by the inhabitants to catch mice." *

The most northern part of this intendancy bears the name of *Pimeria*, on account of a numerous tribe of *Pimas* Indians who inhabit it. These Indians live for the most part under the domination of the missionary monks, and observe the Romish ritual. This district is divided into the *Pimeria alta* and the *Pimeria baxa*; the latter containing the *presidio* of Buenavista, and the former extending from the *presidio* of Ternate to the *Rio Gila*. Here the traveller has reached the confines of civilised society. "Hitherto," says Humboldt, "there has been no permanent communication established between Sonora, New Mexico, and New California, although the Court of Madrid has frequently given orders for the formation of *presidios* and missions between the *Rio Gila* and the *Rio Colorado*. Two courageous and enterprising monks, Fathers Garces and Font, succeeded, however, in penetrating by land through the countries inhabited by independent Indians, from the missions of the *Pimeria alta*, to Monterey and the port of St. Francisco, without crossing the peninsula of Old California. This bold enterprise, on which the college of the Propaganda at Queretaro published an interesting notice, has also furnished new information relative to the ruins of *la Casa grande*, considered by the Mexican historians as the abode of the Aztecs on their arrival

* Pike, p. 358.

at the *Rio Gila* towards the end of the twelfth century. Father Francisco Garces, accompanied by Father Font, who was entrusted with the observations of the latitude, set out from the *presidio* of Horcasitas on the 20th April, 1773. After a journey of eleven days, they arrived at a vast and beautiful plain one league's distance from the southern bank of the Rio Gila. They there discovered the ruins of an ancient Aztec city, in the midst of which is the edifice called *la Casa grande*. These ruins occupy more than a square league. The *Casa grande* is exactly laid down according to the four cardinal points, having from north to south 445 feet in length, and from east to west 276 feet in breadth. It is constructed of clay (or unburnt bricks) of unequal size, but symmetrically placed. The walls are nearly four feet thick. The edifice had three stories and a terrace; the stair, probably of wood, was on the outside. The same kind of construction is still to be found in all the villages of the independent Indians of the Moqui, west of New Mexico. We perceive in the *Casa grande* five apartments, each of which is about 27 feet in length, 10 in breadth, and 11 in height. A wall, interrupted by large towers, surrounds the principal edifice, and appears to have served to defend it. Father Garces discovered the vestiges of an artificial canal, which brought the water of the *Rio Gila* to the town. The whole surrounding plain is covered with broken earthen pitchers and pots, prettily painted in white, red, and blue. We also find among these fragments of Mexican earthenware, pieces of obsidian (*itzli*); a very curious phenomenon, because it proves that the Aztecs passed through some unknown northern country which contains this volcanic substance, and that it was not the abundance of obsidian in New Spain, that

suggested the idea of razors and instruments of *itzli*. We must not, however, confound the ruins of this city of the Gila, the centre of an ancient civilisation, with the *casas grandes* of New Biscay, situated between the *presidio* of Yanos and that of San Buenaventura. The latter are pointed out by the natives, on the very vague supposition, that the Aztec nation, in their migration from Aztlan to Tula and the valley of Tenochtitlan, made three stations: the first, near the lake Teguyo, to the south of the fabulous city of Quivira, the Mexican Dorado; the second at the Rio Gila; and the third, in the environs of Yanos.

"The Indians who live in the plains adjoining the *Casas grandes* of the *Rio Gila*, and who have never had the smallest communication with the inhabitants of Sonora, deserve by no means the appellation of *Indios bravos* (savages). Their social civilisation forms a singular contrast with the state of the savages who wander along the banks of the Missouri. Fathers Garces and Font found the Indians to the south of the *Rio Gila* clothed, and assembled together, to the number of two or three thousand, in villages, which they called Uturicut and Sutaquisan, where they peaceably cultivated the soil. They saw fields sown with maize, cotton, and gourds. The missionaries, in order to bring about the conversion of these Indians, shewed them a picture painted on a large piece of cotton cloth, in which a sinner was represented burning in the flames of hell. The picture terrified them; and they entreated Father Garces not to unroll it any more, nor speak to them of what would happen after death. These Indians are of a gentle and sincere character. Father Font explained to them by an interpreter, the security which prevailed in the Chris-

tian missions, where an Indian alcalde administered justice. The chief of Uturicut replied: 'This order of things may be necessary for you: we do not steal, and we very seldom disagree; what use have we then for an alcalde among us?' The civilisation to be found among the Indians when we approach the north-west coast of America, from the 33d to the 54th parallel, is a very striking phenomenon, which cannot but throw some light on the history of the first migrations of the Mexican nations."

As Father Font is stated to have conversed with these Indians by means of an interpreter, either some of them must have had communication with the whites, or they must speak a dialect intelligible to the more southern tribes. On this point, however, the "seraphic chronicle" which contains the account of this expedition, appears to be silent, although of material importance in determining their affinity to the Aztec tribes. The whole statement rests for the present on the testimony of the two monks, who, though there is no reason to doubt their veracity, appear to have discovered much more zeal, than knowledge or good sense, in their attempts at conversion. The condition of these Indians of the *Rio Gila* will deserve to be investigated by future travellers.

Still further north, in the country of the Moqui, watered by the *Rio de Yaquesila*, in lat. 36°, Father Garces "was astonished to find an Indian town with two great squares, houses of several stories, and streets well laid out in parallel directions. Every evening, the people assemble together on the terraces which form the roofs. The construction of the edifices is the same as that of the *casas grandes* on the banks of the *Rio Gila*. The Indians who inhabit the northern part of New Mexico, give also a considerable elevation

to their houses, for the sake of discovering the approach of their enemies. "Every thing in these countries," adds Humboldt, "appears to announce traces of the civilisation of the ancient Mexicans. However, the language spoken by the Indians of the Moqui, the Yabipais, who wear long beards, and those who inhabit the plains in the vicinity of the *Rio Colorado*, is essentially different from the Mexican language. In the seventeenth century, several Franciscan missionaries established themselves among the Indians of the Moqui and Nabajoa, who were massacred in the great revolt of the Indians in 1680. I have seen, in manuscript maps drawn up before that period, the name of the *provincia del Moqui*."

We now enter on what may be considered as the Siberia of Mexico, the province of

NEW MEXICO.

WHEN the town of Durango, in New Biscay, was founded, under the administration of the second viceroy of New Spain, Velasco el Primero, in 1559, it was then a military post against the incursions of the Chichimec Indians. Thirty-five years after this, in the year 1594, two friars came from the southern provinces into New Mexico, where they were well received by the Indians. They returned, and in the ensuing year, Juan de Ouate, a monk, was sent out by the viceroy, Count de Monterey, to explore the country. On his return, 1,000 troops, and 500 men, women, and children, were sent to form a settlement on the *Rio del Norte*, at no very great distance from where Santa Fé now stands. They are stated to have entered into an amicable arrangement with the Indians respecting this establishment; but, a few

years after, the natives rose *en masse*, and fell on the new settlers by surprise, killing most of the soldiers, and obliging them to retreat to the *Passo del Norte*, which acquired its name from this circumstance. Here they waited for a reinforcement from New Biscay, on the arrival of which with two field-pieces, they returned and laid siege to the Indian town on the site of Santa Fé. The natives held out for twenty-two days, after which they entered into a second negotiation, which appears to have been a compromise, rather than a conquest, on the part of the besiegers. Since that time, the settlements have been on several occasions on the point of ruin, and have been maintained only by means of reinforcements from Durango and Sonora. "It is remarkable," Humboldt observes, "that after the lapse of two centuries of colonisation, the province of New Mexico does not yet join the intendancy of New Biscay. The two provinces are separated by a desert, in which travellers are sometimes attacked by the Cumanches Indians. This desert extends from the *Passo del Norte* towards the town of Albuquerque. Before 1680, in which year there was a general revolt among the Indians of New Mexico, this extent of uncultivated and uninhabited country was much less considerable than it is now. There were then three villages, San Pascual, Semillete, and Socorro, which were situated between the marsh of the *Muerto* and the town of Santa Fé. Bishop Tamaron perceived the ruins of them in 1760; and he found apricots growing wild in the fields, an indication of the former cultivation of the country. The two most dangerous points for travellers are, the defile of *Robledo*, west from the *Rio del Norte*, opposite the *Sierra de Doña Ana*, and the desert of the *Muerto*, where many

whites have been assassinated by wandering Indians. The desert of the *Muerto* is a plain thirty leagues in length, destitute of water. The general character of this country throughout, is an alarming aridity; for the mountains *de los Mansos*, situated to the east of the road from Durango to Santa Fé, do not give rise to a single brook. Notwithstanding the mildness of the climate, and the progress of industry, a great part of this province, as well as Old California, and several districts of New Biscay, and the intendancy of Guadalaxara, will never admit of any considerable population.

"The colonists of this province, known for their great energy of character, live in a state of perpetual warfare with the neighbouring Indians. It is on account of this insecurity of the country life, that we find the towns more populous than we should expect in so desert a country. The situation of the inhabitants of New Mexico bears, in many respects, a great resemblance to that of the people of Europe during the middle ages. So long as insulation exposes men to personal danger, we can hope for the establishment of no equilibrium between the population of towns and that of the country. However, the Indians, who live on an intimate footing with the Spanish colonists, are by no means all equally barbarous. Those of the east are warlike, and wander about from place to place. If they carry on any commerce with the whites, it is frequently without any personal intercourse, and according to principles, of which some traces are to be found among some of the tribes of Africa. The savages, in their excursions to the north of the *Bolson de Mapimi*, plant along the road between Chihuahua and Santa Fé, small crosses, to which they suspend a leathern pocket,

with a piece of stag-flesh. At the foot of the cross, a buffalo's hide is stretched out. The Indian indicates by these signs, that he wishes to carry on a commerce of barter with those who adore the cross. He offers the Christian traveller a hide for provisions, of which he does not fix the quantity. The soldiers of the *presidios*, who understand the hieroglyphical language of the Indians, take away the buffalo hide, and leave some salted flesh at the foot of the cross. This system of commerce indicates at once an extraordinary mixture of good faith and distrust."

The more specific account which Major Pike gives of the aborigines, throws further light on the causes of this hostility of the natives. The sources of the *Rio del Norte* are the haunt of the Utahs, who speak the same language as the Kyaways, who wander about the sources of the Platte river, and the Ietans. These three tribes appear to be assimilated in their habits as well as in their dialect. They possess immense herds of horses, are armed with bows and arrows, and lances, and follow the buffalo. The Utahs are rather more civilised than the others, having more connexion with the Spaniards, with whom, however, they are frequently at war, and at other times with the Ietans. They are supposed to be 2,000 warriors strong. The Nanahaws occupy a district to the N.W. of Sante Fé; they are frequently at war with the Spaniards. Their strength is supposed to be equal to that of the Utahs, and they are armed in the same manner; but they speak, as do all the tribes further west and bordering on California, the language of the Appaches. The Appaches extend from the Black Mountains in New Mexico to the borders of Cohahuila, keeping the frontiers of three provinces in a state of perpetual

alarm, and occasioning nearly 2,000 dragoons to be maintained in constant employment for the protection of the villages, in the escorting of caravans, or in the repelling and avenging of the irruptions continually made into the settlements. "They formerly extended from the entrance of the *Rio Grande* to the Gulf of California, and have waged a continual warfare with the Spaniards, with the exception of short truces, from the time that the latter pushed their conquests into the interior provinces. It is extremely difficult to say what their numbers are at the present day, but they must be very much reduced by their long and constant hostilities, together with the wandering and savage life they lead on the mountains, which is so injurious to an increase of population, and in which they are liable to be extremely pinched by famine. At the commencement of their warfare, the Spaniards used to take them prisoners, and make slaves of them; but, finding that their unconquerable attachment to liberty made them surmount every difficulty and danger to return to their mountains, they adopted the practice of sending them to Cuba. This the Appaches no sooner learned, than they refused to give or to receive quarter; and in no instance have there been any taken since that period, except when surprised asleep, or knocked down and overpowered. Their arms are the bow and arrow, and the lance. The bow forms two semicircles with a shoulder in the middle; the back of it is entirely covered with sinews, which are laid on in so nice a manner, by the use of some glutinous substance, as to be almost imperceptible; this gives great force to the elasticity of the weapon. Their arrow is more than the cloth-yard of the English, being three feet and a half long; the upper part con-

sisting of some slight rush or cane, into which is inserted a shaft of about one foot, made of some hard, seasoned, light wood; the point is of iron, cane, or stone, and when the arrow enters the body, in attempting to extract it, the shaft comes out of its socket, and remains in the wound. With this weapon they shoot with such force, as to pierce through the body of a man at the distance of one hundred yards; and an officer told me, that, in an engagement with them, one of their arrows struck his shield, and dismounted him in an instant. The other weapon of defence is a lance of fifteen feet in length, which with both hands they charge over their heads, managing the horse principally with their knees. With this they are considered as an overmatch for the Spanish dragoons single-handed; but, for want of the tactic, they can never stand the charge of a body that acts in concert: they all have the shield. Some few are armed with guns and ammunition taken from the Spaniards. These, as well as the archers, generally march to war on foot, but the lance-men are always mounted. Numerous are the anecdotes I heard related of their personal bravery, and the spirit of their partisan corps. Not long before I passed through, as a cornet with sixty-three dragoons was passing between New Mexico and Biscay, he was surrounded by about two hundred Appaches infantry; and instead of charging through them, as it was on the plain, he ordered his dragoons to dismount and fight with their carabines, by which means, he with his whole party fell a sacrifice. Malgares related an instance in which, when marching with 140 men, he was attacked by a party of Appaches, both horse and foot, who continued the fight for four hours. Whenever the Spanish dragoons made a general charge, the

Appaches cavalry would retreat behind their infantry, who met the Spaniards with a shower of arrows, on which they immediately retreated; and even the gallant Malgares spoke of his cavalry breaking their infantry as a thing not to be thought of. How quickly would one full squadron of our troops have put them to flight, and cut them to pieces! Malgares assured me, that if the men had seconded the efforts and bravery of the Indian chieftain, they must have been defeated and cut to pieces; that in various instances he rallied his men, and brought them up to the charge, and when they flew, retired indignantly in the rear. Seeing Malgares very actively engaged in forming and bringing up the men, he rode out a-head of his party, and challenged him to single combat with his lance. This my friend refused, as, he said, the chief was one of the stoutest men he knew, carried a remarkably heavy lance, and rode a very fine charger; but one of his corporals, enraged to see them thus braved by the savage, begged permission to meet the "infidel." His officer refused his request, and ordered him to keep his ranks; but, on his reiterating his request, his superior in a passion told him to go. The Indian chief had turned his horse to join his party: on seeing his enemy advancing, he returned, and giving a shout, met him at full speed. The dragoon thought to parry the lance of his antagonist, which he in part effected, but not throwing it quite high enough, it entered his neck in front, and came out at the nape, when he fell dead to the ground, and his victorious enemy gave a shout, in which he was joined by all his followers. This enraged the Spaniards to such a degree, that they made a general charge, on which the Indian

cavalry again retreated, notwithstanding the entreaties of their gallant leader.

"In another instance, a small smoke was discovered on the prairie, and three poor savages were surrounded by 100 dragoons, and ordered to lay down their arms. They smiled at the officer's demand, and asked him if he could suppose, that men who had arms in their hands, would ever consent to become slaves. He being loath to kill them, held a conference for an hour, when, finding that his threats had as little effect as his entreaties, he ordered his men to attack them at a distance, keeping out of the reach of their arrows, and firing at them with their carabines, which they did, the Indians never ceasing to resist as long as life remained. Once, during a truce, a captain was ordered to treat with some of the bands. He received their deputies with hauteur, and they could not come to terms; the truce was broken, and the Indians retreated to their fastnesses in the mountains. In a day or two this same officer pursued them. They were in a place called the 'Door in the Mountains,' where only two or three dragoons could enter at a time, and there were rocks and caves on the flanks. Between these the Indians secreted themselves, until a number of the Spaniards had come in; when the Indians sounded a trumpet, and the attack began, and continued on the side of the Appaches until the captain fell: the Indian chief then caused the firing to cease, saying, that 'the man who had so haughtily spurned the proffered peace, was now dead.' They made prisoner (for once) a young officer, who during the truce had treated them with great kindness, and sent him home safe and unhurt.

"Some of the bands have made temporary truces

with the Spaniards, and received from them 25 *cents* per diem each. These people hover round the fortifications of the country, drink, shoot, and dissipate their time; they are haughty and independent, and great jealousy exists between them and the Spaniards. Those savages who have for some time lived near the forts and villages, become, when hostile, by far the most dangerous enemies the Spaniards have, as they acquire the Spanish language, manners, and habits, and passing through the populated parts under the disguise of civilised and friendly Indians, commit murders and robberies without being suspected. There is in the province of Cohahuila, a partisan named Ralph, who, it is calculated, has killed more than 300 persons. He comes into the town under the disguise of a peasant, buys provisions, goes to the gambling-tables and to mass, and, before he leaves the village, is sure to kill some person, or to carry off a woman, which he has frequently done. Sometimes he joins travellers on the road, insinuates himself into their confidence, and takes his opportunity to assassinate them. He has only six followers; yet, from their knowledge of the country, their activity and cunning, he keeps about 300 dragoons continually employed. The government has offered 1,000 dollars for his head.

"The civilised Indians of the province of New Mexico consist of what were formerly twenty-four different bands, the several names of which I was not able to learn. The *Keres* were one of the most powerful: they form at present the population of San Domingo, San Felipe, San Dies, and one or two other towns. They are men of large stature, with round, full visage, and fine teeth, and appear to be of a gentle, tractable disposition: they resemble the Osages more

than any nation within my knowledge. Although they are not the vassals of individuals, yet, they may properly be termed the slaves of the state; for they are compelled to do military duty, drive mules, carry loads, or, in fact, perform any other act of duty or bondage that the commandant of the district, or any other passing military tyrant, may choose to ordain. I was myself eye-witness of a scene which made my heart bleed for these poor wretches, at the same time that it excited my indignation and contempt that they should suffer themselves, with arms in their hands, to be beaten and knocked about by beings in no respect their superiors, unless a slight tint of complexion could be supposed to give that superiority. Before we arrived at Santa Fé, we rested one night near one of the villages, where resided the families of two of our horsemen. They took the liberty to pay them a visit in the night. Next morning the whole party were called up, and because they refused to testify against their imprudent companions, several were knocked down from their horses by the Spanish dragoons with the butt end of their lances. Yet, with the blood streaking their faces, and arms in their hands, they stood cool and tranquil. Not a frown, not a word of discontent or of palliation escaped them. Yet, what must have been the boiling indignation of their souls at the insults offered by the wretch clothed with a little brief authority! But the day of retribution will come in thunder and in vengeance.

"These savages are armed with bows and arrows, and lances, or escopates. Although they are said to be converted to Christianity, they still retain many of their ancient superstitious feasts and ceremonies. Once a year there is a great festival, which lasts

three successive days, spent in eating, drinking, and dancing. The nocturnal revels have a great affinity to the ancient mystic rites of Greece." *

The province of New Mexico extends along the *Rio del Norte*, from lat. 31° to 38°, being about 175 leagues in length, and varying from 30 to 50 leagues in breadth.† But, in this space, there is a desert of more than 250 miles. The population in 1803, was estimated at 40,000 souls, or seven persons to every square league. It is bounded on the north and east, by Louisiana; on the south, by Durango and Cohahuila; and on the west, by Sonora and California. Although under the same latitude as Syria and central Persia, it has a remarkably cold climate: it freezes in the middle of May. Near Santa Fé, and a little further north, the *Rio del Norte* is sometimes covered for a succession of years with ice thick enough to allow of the passing of horses and carriages. The mountains which bound the basin of the *Rio del Norte*, and even those at the foot of which the village of Taos is situated, lose their snow towards the beginning of June.‡ "No persons," says Captain

* Pike's Travels, pp. 337—43. This Traveller represents this festival as being held near a dark cave, which is made the scene of the infamous practices alluded to. There is no reason whatever to doubt, that this was the account he received; but it agrees so little with the character of the Indian superstitions, their manners, or their physical temperament, that, in the absence of more specific information, it must be regarded as improbable. If substantiated, the coincidence would be most remarkable.

† Humboldt.—Major Pike says, from lat. 31° 30′ to 37°, and between 104° and 108° W. long.; but the inhabited part is not more than 400 miles in length and 50 in breadth.

‡ From this circumstance, Humboldt infers, that the elevation of the valley above the sea level is not great: he supposes the bed of the river, under 37° N. lat., not to be more than from 2,300 to

Pike, "accustomed to reside in the temperate climate of the 36th and 37th parallels of north latitude in the United States, can form any idea of the piercing cold experienced in that latitude in New Mexico. But the air is serene, not subject to damps or fogs, as it rains but once a year, and some years not at all. It is a mountainous country; and the grand dividing ridges which separate the waters of the *Rio del Norte* from those of California, bordering it on the line of its western limits, give a keenness to the air which would never be calculated on in a temperate zone. The cotton-tree is the sole production of this province, except some scrubby pines and cedars at the foot of the mountains. The former tree borders the banks of the *Rio del Norte* and its tributary streams.* All the rest of the country presents to the eye a barren wild of poor land, scarcely to be improved by culture, and appears capable only of producing a scanty subsistence for the animals, which live on a few succulent plants and herbage. There are no mines known in the province, except one of copper, situated in a mountain on the western side of the *Rio del Norte*, in lat. 34° N. It is wrought, and produces 20,000 mule-loads of copper annually, furnishing that article for the manufactories of nearly all the internal provinces. It contains gold, but not in sufficient quantity to pay for its extraction. There is, near Santa Fé, in some of the mountains, a stratum of talc, which admits of being divided into thin flakes, of which are made the windows of most of the houses

2,600 feet above the ocean. Captain Pike represents the western mountains as "covered in some places with eternal snows," but he was probably misinformed.

* Humboldt says, "The banks of the river are extremely picturesque, and are adorned with beautiful poplars and other trees."

in Santa Fé and all the villages to the north. New Mexico carries on a trade direct with Mexico and Biscay, and with Sonora. It sends out annually about 30,000 sheep; also, dressed deer-skins and cabrie-skins, some fur, buffalo robes, tobacco, salt, and wrought copper vessels of a superior quality. It receives in return from New Biscay and Mexico, dry goods, confectionary, arms, iron, steel, ammunition, European wines and liquors; from Sonora, gold, silver, and cheese.* The journey with loaded mules from Santa Fé to Mexico, and returning, takes five months. They manufacture rough leather, segars, a vast variety and quantity of potter's ware, cotton, some coarse woollen cloths, and blankets of a superior quality. All these manufactures are carried on by the civilised Indians, as the Spaniards think it more honourable to be agriculturists than mechanics. The Indians, likewise, far excel their conquerors in all mechanical operations. They cultivate maize, wheat, rye, barley, rice, and all the culinary plants of the same latitude in the United States; but they are at least a century behind us in the art of cultivation: notwithstanding the numerous herds of cattle and horses, I have frequently seen them breaking up whole fields with the hoe. Their oxen draw by the horns, after the French (and Spanish) mode. Their carts are extremely awkward and clumsily made. During the whole of the time we were in the country, I never saw a horse in a vehicle of any description,

* As instances of the extreme dearness of goods and cheapness of produce, the Writer mentions the following prices: flour, 2 dollars per 100; salt, 5 dollars per mule-load; sheep, 1 dollar each; beeves, 5 dollars each; horses, 11 dollars each; mules, 30 dollars each:—fine cloths, 20 dollars per yard; superfine cloths, 25 dollars; linen, 4 dollars; and dry goods in proportion.

mules being made use of in carriages, as well as for the purpose of labour. New Mexico has the exclusive right of cultivating tobacco.* The animals found in this province are, deer, elk, buffalo, cabrie, the grisly black bear, and wild horses." †

This province contains three towns; *Santa Fé*, the capital, *Santa Cruz de la Cañada y Taos*, and *Albuquerque y Alameda:* besides these, they reckon twenty-six *pueblos*, three parishes, and nineteen missions. The *presidio* of *Passo del Norte*, however, is a considerable town, the most southern in the province. It is situated on the right bank of the *Rio del Norte*, above sixty leagues south of Santa Fé, in a "delicious" country, resembling (Humboldt says) the finest parts of Andalusia. The gardens contain in abundance all the fruits of Europe; figs, peaches, apples, and pears. The fields are cultivated with maize and wheat, and the vineyards produce excellent sweet wines, which are preferred even to those of Parras, in New Biscay. As the country is dry, a canal brings the water of the river to the *Passo*, for the purpose of irrigating the land. During the great swells of the *Rio del Norte* in the months of May and June, the strength of the current destroys, almost every year, the dam which forces the waters of the river to enter the canal when they are low. The manner of restoring and strengthening the dam, is

* This was under the colonial system, tobacco being, in the southern provinces, a royal monopoly, and its cultivation restricted to the environs of Orizaba and Cordoba, and Huatusco and Songolica in Vera Cruz. Officers (*guardas de tabaco*) travelled the country for the purpose of pulling up whatever tobacco they found planted beyond those districts. Prior to the establishment of the monopoly in 1764, Guadalaxara was celebrated for its tobacco.

† Pike, pp. 331—6.

sufficiently ingenious. "The inhabitants form baskets of stakes, connected together by branches of trees, and filled with earth and stones: these gabions are abandoned to the force of the current, which, in its eddies, disposes them in the point where the canal separates from the river." This is about two miles above the town, where there is a bridge over the river, by which the road passes to the eastern bank.

Santa Fé, the capital, is situated on a small stream which empties itself into the *Rio del Norte* on the eastern side, at the foot of the mountains which divide the head waters of that river from those of the Arkansa and Red River of the Mississippi; lat. 36° 15′ N.; long. 104° 45′ W. of Greenwich. The town is "of a long rectangular form, extending about one mile from east to west on the banks of the creek. In the centre is the public square, one side of which forms the flank of the soldiers' square, which is closed, and in some degree defended by round towers, in the angles which flank the curtains. Another side of the square is formed by the palace of the governor, his guard-houses, &c.; another is occupied by the priests and their suite, and the fourth by the *chapitones* (European residents). The houses are generally only one story high, with flat roofs, and have a very mean appearance outside, but some of them are richly furnished, especially with plate." The population is stated by Humboldt at 3,600. From Chihuahua to Santa Fé, there is a good road for carriages over the level tract bordering the great river. "A sort of *caleche* is generally used, such as the Catalonians call a *volante*."

Albuquerque, situated to the west of the *Sierra Obscura*, opposite the village of Atrisco, about fifty

miles S. of Santa Fé, contained a population, in 1803, of 6,000. Taos, the most northern town in New Mexico, in lat. 37°, contained nearly 9,000 inhabitants.

The "great river of the north," so often referred to, rises in the *Sierra Verde*, in lat. 40° N., and long. 110° W. (of Paris).* The same range of mountains gives birth to the head waters of the Platte river and other tributaries of the Missouri, to those of the Arkansa, which falls into the Mississippi, and to the rivers of California. The course of the *Rio del Norte* may be estimated, Major Pike thinks, including its meanders, at 2,000 miles: after watering the provinces of New Mexico, part of Durango, Cohahuila, and New Santander, it falls into the Gulf of Mexico in lat. 26° N. "It cannot," says this Traveller, "in any part of its course, be termed a navigable stream, owing to sand-bars in the flat country, and mountains in the upper part, with which its course is interrupted; but small boats might ascend as high as the *presidio de Rio Grande* in Cohahuila; and it might be navigable for canoes in various parts of its course. Even in the mountains above Santa Fé, it afforded amply sufficient water for that species of navigation, and more than appeared to be flowing in its bed in the plains. This must be attributed to the numerous canals and the dry, sandy soil through which the river takes its course, and where much of the water that flows from the mountains is absorbed and lost. In the province of New Mexico, it is called the *Rio del Norte;* below, it is termed the *Rio Grande;* but in no instance did I hear it called the *Rio Bravo* (savage river), as many of our ancient

* Pike, p. 332.

maps designated it." Like the Orinoco, the Mississippi, and other American rivers, it has its periodical floods: the waters begin to swell in the month of April, are at their height in the beginning of May, and fall towards the end of June. During the drought, the strength of the current is so far diminished, that it is fordable, according to Humboldt, by horses of an extraordinary size, which are used by the natives for the purpose. The waters are at all times extremely muddy. "The inhabitants of the *Passo del Norte*," Humboldt states, "have preserved the recollection of a very extraordinary event which took place in 1752. The whole bed of the river became on a sudden dry, for more than 30 leagues above, and 20 leagues below the *Passo*: the water of the river precipitated itself into a newly formed chasm, and made its re-appearance near the *presidio* of *San Eleazaro*. The fine plains which surround the *Passo*, and which are intersected by the canals of irrigation, remained without water, and the inhabitants dug wells in the sandy bed of the river. At length, after the lapse of several weeks, the water resumed its ancient course,—no doubt, because the chasm and the subterranean courses had filled up." *

Within the limits of this province, towards the west,

* "This phenomenon bears some analogy to a fact which I was told by the Indians of *Jaen de Bracamorros* during my stay at Tomependa. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, the inhabitants of the village of Puyaya saw, to their great terror and astonishment, the bed of the river Amazons completely dried up for several hours. A part of the rocks near the cataract of Rentema had fallen down through an earthquake; and the waters of the river had been stopped in their course till they could get over the dike formed by the fall."—*Pol. Essay*, vol. ii. p. 266. The disappearance of the *Rio del Norte* for *several weeks*, must be regarded, however, as a much more singular phenomenon.

the rivers *San Rafael*, *San Xavier*, *De los Dolores*, and *De los Anamas* (or Nabajoa), have their origin, (the former two on the western side of the mountains in which the *Rio del Norte* takes its rise,) and all unite to form the great *Rio Colorado* of California. This river, which may be, by its meanders, about a thousand miles in length from its sources, falls into the head of the Californian Gulf in lat. 33° N. It is said to be navigable for 300 miles from its mouth by "square-rigged vessels." "By this river and the Arkansa," says Major Pike, "the best communication might be established between the two oceans in North America. There are represented to be various, numerous, and warlike nations of Indians on its banks. Through the whole of its course, its shores are entirely destitute of timber; and I was informed, that for 300 miles there is not a tree ten inches in diameter."

To the north of the Colorado and the Del Norte, the *Rio de San Buenaventura* takes its rise in the *Sierra Madre*, and discharges itself into the Pacific Ocean in lat. 39° 30′ N. The *Rio Gila* falls into the Gulf of California in lat. 33°, just below the mouth of the Colorado. The *Rio Puerco* (nasty river), a branch of the *Rio del Norte*, comes from the north, and joins the latter river about 100 miles below the *presidio del Norte*, in lat. 30°. None of these streams have any vestige of civilisation on their shores.

THE PROVINCE OF NEW CALIFORNIA

Is the name given, in the Spanish maps, to that part of the western coast which extends from the isthmus of Old California, or from the bay of *Todos los Santos* (all saints), to Cape Mendocino. "It is a long and

narrow extent of country, in which for these (sixty) years the Mexican Government has been establishing missions and military posts. No village or *hacienda* is to be found north of the port of San Francisco, which is more than 78 leagues to the south of Cape Mendocino. The province, in its present state, is only 197 leagues in length, and from 9 to 10 in breadth. The city of Mexico is the same distance in a straight line from Philadelphia, as from Monterey, which is the chief place of the missions of New California." San Francisco, the most northern settlement in all the Spanish possessions, is under nearly the same parallel as Taos in New Mexico, from which it is not more than 300 leagues distant. No civilised traveller, however, has hitherto come from New Mexico to the coast of California. The population of the province in 1803, was estimated at 15,600, being seven inhabitants to the square league.

"Although," says Humboldt, (to whom we are indebted for almost all that we know of these parts,) "the whole shore of New California was carefully examined by the great navigator Sebastian Viscaino, (as is proved by plans drawn up by himself in 1602,) this fine country was not occupied by the Spaniards till 167 years afterwards. The Court of Madrid, dreading lest the other maritime powers of Europe should form settlements on the north-western coast, which might become dangerous to the Spanish colonies, gave orders to the Chevalier de la Croix, the viceroy, and the *Visitador* Galvez, to found missions and *presidios* in the ports of San Diego and Monterey. For this purpose, two packet-boats set out from the port of San Blas, and anchored at San Diego in April 1763. Another expedition was sent out by land through Old California. Since Viscaino, no European had disembarked

on these distant coasts. The Indians were quite astonished to see men with clothes, though they knew that further east, there were men whose complexion was not of a copper colour. There was even found among them several pieces of silver, which had undoubtedly come from New Mexico. The first Spanish colonists who arrived, suffered severely from scarcity of provisions and an epidemical disease, the consequence of bad food, fatigue, and want of shelter. Almost all of them fell sick, and only eight individuals remained on their feet, who were employed in digging graves to receive the bodies of their unfortunate companions. The land expedition was very late in arriving with assistance to the infant colony. The Indians, to announce its arrival, placed themselves on casks with their arms stretched out, to shew that they had seen whites on horseback.

"The soil of New California is as well watered and fertile as that of Old California is arid and stony. It is one of the most picturesque countries that can be seen. The climate is much more mild than that of the same latitude on the eastern coast of the New Continent. The sky is foggy, but the frequent fogs, which render it difficult to land on the coast near Monterey and San Francisco, give vigour to vegetation, and fertilise the soil, which is covered with a black, spongy earth. In the eighteen missions which now exist in New California, wheat, maize, and beans (*fricoles*) are cultivated in abundance. As the thirty-six monks of St. Francis who govern these missions, are all Europeans, they have carefully introduced into the gardens of the Indians, the greater part of the vegetables and fruit-trees cultivated in Spain. The first colonists found, on their arrival in 1769, shoots of wild vines in the interior, which

yielded very large grapes, but of sour quality. The missionaries introduced the *vitis vinifera* of Europe, which is certainly a stranger to the New Continent. Good wine is made all along the coast, south and north of Monterey, to beyond lat. 37°. The European olive is successfully cultivated near the channel of Santa Barbara and at San Diego: the oil extracted is as good as that of the valley of Mexico, or the oils of Andalusia.

"Of all the missions of New Spain, those of the north-west coast exhibit the most rapid and remarkable progress in civilisation. In 1776, there were only eight villages; in 1790, only eleven: in 1802, they amounted to eighteen. The population of New California, including only the Indians attached to the soil who had begun to cultivate their fields, was, in 1790, 7,748 souls; in 1801, it had risen to 13,668; and in 1802, to 15,562. Thus the number of inhabitants had doubled in twelve years. In 1791, the Indians sowed in the whole province, only 874 *fanegas* of wheat, which yielded 15,197 *fanegas*. The cultivation had doubled in 1802; the quantity sown being 2089 *fanegas*, and the harvest 33,576 *fanegas*. In 1791, there were only 24,953 head of black cattle in all the Indian villages. In 1802, the live stock consisted of 67,782 beeves, 107,177 sheep, 1,040 hogs, 2,187 tamed horses,* and 877 mules. This progress of agriculture, this peaceful conquest of industry, is so much the more interesting, as the natives of this coast, very different from those of Nootka Sound and Norfolk Bay, were, less than fifty years ago, a wandering tribe, subsisting by fishing and hunting,

* The total number of horses, reckoning those who run wild in the savannas, amounted to 19,429.

and cultivating no sort of vegetables. The Indians of the Bay of San Francisco were at that time equally wretched with the inhabitants of Van Diemen's Land. The natives were found somewhat more advanced in civilisation (in 1769) only near the channel of Santa Barbara. There they constructed large huts of a pyramidal form, close to one another; they appeared benevolent and hospitable; and they presented to the Spaniards, vases very curiously wrought of stalks of rushes, lined with a very thin layer of asphaltus, that renders them impenetrable to water or strong liquors.

" The population of New California would have augmented still more rapidly, if the laws by which the Spanish *presidios* have been for ages governed, were not directly opposed to the true interests both of the mother country and the colonies. By these laws, the soldiers stationed at Monterey, are not permitted to live out of their barracks or to settle as colonists. The monks are generally averse to the settlement of white colonists, because, being *people who reason* (*gente de razon*),* they are not so easily brought to yield a blind obedience as the Indians. ' It is truly distressing,' says a well-informed and enlightened Spanish navigator (D. Dionisio Galiano), ' that the military, who pass a painful and laborious life, cannot, in their old age, settle in the country, and employ themselves in agriculture. The prohibition against building houses in the neighbourhood of the *presidio*, is contrary to all the dictates of sound policy. If the whites were permitted to employ themselves in the cultivation of the soil and the rearing of cattle, and if the mili-

* " The whites, mulattoes, *negroes*, and all the castes except Indians, go under the designation of *gente de razon*; a humiliating distinction for the natives, which had its origin in ages of barbarism."

tary, by establishing their wives and children in cottages, could prepare an asylum against the indigence to which they are too frequently exposed in their old age, New California would soon become a flourishing colony, a resting-place of the greatest utility for the Spanish navigators who trade between Peru, Mexico, and the Philippine Islands.' On removing the obstacles here pointed out, the Malouine Islands, the missions of the *Rio Negro*, and the coasts of San Francisco and Monterey, would soon be peopled with a great number of whites. What a striking contrast between the principles of colonisation followed by the Spaniards, and those by which Great Britain has created in a few years villages on the eastern coast of New Holland!

"The Indians who inhabit the villages of New California, have been of late years employed in spinning coarse woollen stuffs, called *frisadas*. But their principal occupation, the produce of which might become a very considerable branch of commerce, is the dressing of stags' skins. The Spanish and the Russian establishments being hitherto the only ones which exist on the north-west coast, it may not be useless to enumerate all the missions of New California, which have been founded up to 1803, in the order in which they run, from south to north:—1. *San Diego*, founded in 1769, fifteen leagues distant from the most northern mission of Old California; population in 1802, 1,560. 2. *San Luis Rey de Francia*, founded in 1798; population, 600. 3. *San Juan Capistrano*, founded in 1776; 1,000 inhabitants. 4. *San Gabriel*, 1771; 1,050 inhabitants. 5. *San Fernando*, 1797; 600 inhabitants. 6. *San Buenaventura*, 1782; 950 inhabitants. 7. *Santa Barbara*, 1786; 1,100 inhabitants. 8. *La Purissima Concepcion*, 1787; 1,000 inhabit-

ants. 9. *San Luis Obisbo*, 1772; 700 inhabitants: 10. *San Miguel*, 1797; 600 inhabitants. 11. *Soledad*, 1791; 570 inhabitants. 12. *San Antonio de Padua*, 1771; 1050 inhabitants. 13. SAN CARLOS DE MONTEREY, the capital, 1770; population, 700. 14. *San Juan Bautista*, 1797; 960 inhabitants. 15. *Santa Cruz*, 1794; 440 inhabitants. 16. *Santa Clara*, 1777; 1,300 inhabitants. 17. *San Jose*, 1797; 630 inhabitants. 18. *San Francisco*, 1776, with a fine port; population, 820."*

San Carlos de Monterey is two leagues distant from the *presidio* of the same name. It is situated at the foot of the Cordillera of Santa Lucia, which is covered with oaks, pines, and rose-bushes. Cabrillo, who first discovered this coast, in 1542, as high as latitude 43°, called the Bay of Monterey, *Bahia de los Pinos*, on account of the beautiful pines with which the neighbouring mountains are clothed. It received its present name sixty years afterwards, in honour of the viceroy, Count de Monterey. "In the vicinity of San Carlos is found the famous shell (*aurum merum*) of Monterey, which is in request among the inhabitants of Nootka Sound." From Monterey to the mouth of the Colombia river, is a navigation of from eight to ten days.

Within the extent of 180 leagues of coast, from San Diego to San Francisco, no fewer than seventeen dialects are said to be spoken by the natives. The northern part of the province is inhabited by the *Rumsen* and *Escelen* tribes, who speak languages totally different: they form the population of Monterey. In the Bay of San Francisco are found the

* Humboldt's Pol. Essay, vol. ii. pp. 292—308. Of these 15,562 inhabitants, 7,945 were males, 7,617 females. The number of whites, M. Humboldt estimates, by conjecture, at 1,300.

Matalan, *Salsen*, and *Quirote* tribes, each having its separate dialect, but evidently derived from a common language. Between some of these idioms and the Aztec, there is an apparent analogy, especially in the final *tl*. Humboldt remarks, too, that the Indians of California discover the same fondness for warm vapour baths as the old Mexicans and several tribes of Northern Asia, as well as of Northern Europe. "We find in the missions, beside each cottage, a small vaulted edifice. On returning from their labour, the Indians enter this oven, in which the fire has a few moments before been extinguished; and they remain there for a quarter of an hour. When they feel themselves covered with perspiration, they plunge into the water of some neighbouring stream, or wallow about in the sand. This rapid transition from heat to cold, and the sudden suppression of the cutaneous transpiration, which a European would justly dread, causes the most agreeable sensations in the savage, who enjoys whatever acts with violence on his nervous system." This same practice is found among the natives of Russia and Iceland.

Neither buffaloes nor elks are found in the low cordillera which runs along this coast. On the crest of the mountains, which are covered with snow in the month of November, wander herds of a peculiar species of wild goat, of an ashy white, with horns curved backwards like those of the chamois; they are called *berendos*. The forests of the plains abound with stags of a gigantic size, a brown colour, smooth, and without spot, with branches above four feet in length.* This stag of New California is represented

* Sebastian Viscaino, the navigator, asserts, that when he put into the port of Monterey in 1602, he saw some with branches nearly nine feet in length.

by all travellers to be one of the most beautiful animals of Spanish America. "These *venados*," says Humboldt, "run with extraordinary rapidity, throwing their head back, and supporting their branches on their backs. The horses of New Biscay, which are famed for running, are incapable of keeping up with them; and they only reach them at the moment when the animal, who very seldom drinks, comes to quench his thirst. He is then too heavy to display all the energy of his muscular force, and is easily come up with. The hunter who pursues him, gets the better of him by means of a noose, in the same way that they manage wild horses and cattle in the Spanish colonies. The Indians make use, however, of another very ingenious artifice to approach the stags, and kill them. They cut off the head of a *venado*, the branches of which are very long; and they empty the neck, and place it on their own head. Masked in this manner, and armed also with bows and arrows, they conceal themselves in the brushwood, or among the high and thick herbage. By imitating the motion of a stag when it feeds, they draw round them the flock, which become the victims of the deception. This extraordinary hunt was seen by M. Costanzo on the coast of the channel of Santa Barbara; and it was seen twenty-four years afterwards, in the savannas in the neighbourhood of Monterey, by the officers embarked in the *galetas* Sutil and Mexicana. The enormous stag-branches which Montezuma displayed as objects of curiosity to the companions of Cortez, belonged, perhaps, to the *venados* of New California. I saw two of them, which were found in the old monument of Xoachicalco, and which are still preserved in the palace of the viceroy. Notwithstanding the want of interior communication

in the fifteenth century, in the kingdom of Anahuac, it would not have been extraordinary if these stags had come from hand to hand from the 35° to the 20° of latitude; in the same manner as we see the beautiful *piedras de Mahagua* of Brazil, among the Caribs, near the mouth of the Orinoco."

The peninsula which forms the province of

OLD CALIFORNIA,

WHILE it equals England in extent of territory, "does not contain a population equal to Ipswich or Deptford." The number of square leagues is stated by Humboldt at 7,295; the population in 1803, at 9,000. Extending from lat. 22° 48′ 10″,* to lat. 31°, it lies under the same parallel as Bengal and the Canary Islands. "The sky is constantly serene and of a deep blue, without a cloud; or, should any clouds appear at the setting of the sun, they display the most beautiful shades of violet, purple, and green. All persons who have ever been in California, preserve a recollection of the extraordinary beauty of this phenomenon, which depends on a particular state of the vesicular vapour and the purity of the air in these climates. No where could an astronomer find a more delightful abode, than at Cumana, Coro, the island of Margarita, and the coast of California. But, unfortunately, in this peninsula, the sky is more beautiful than the earth. The soil is sandy and arid, like the shores of Provence: vegetation is at a stand, and rain is very unfrequent."

A chain of mountains runs through the centre of the peninsula, the most elevated of which, the

* The latitude of Cape San Lucas.

Cerro de la Giganta, is between 4,500 and 5,000 feet high, and appears to be of volcanic origin. This cordillera is inhabited by a breed of wild sheep (*carneros cimarones*), resembling in their form and habits, the *mouflon* of Sardinia: they leap, like the ibex, with their head downwards, and their horns are curved back in a spiral form. They are supposed to differ, however, specifically, from the *berendos* of New California. At the foot of this cordillera is found, for the most part, a sandy or a stony stratum, from which a species of cactus of a cylindrical form (*organos del tunal*) shoots up to an extraordinary height. There are but few springs; and where water is found, the rock is often bare of vegetable earth. In those few points where there are both water and earth, the fertility of the soil is immense. In these places, where the Jesuits established their first missions, maize, the manioc, and the *igname*, vegetate vigorously, and the vine yields an excellent grape. In general, however, the arid nature of the soil and the want of water preclude all cultivation; and Old California will never be able to maintain a great population, any more than the northern part of Sonora, which is almost equally dry and sandy.

Old California was first colonised by the Jesuits, not without opposition on the part of the Franciscans, their rivals, who endeavoured, from time to time, to introduce themselves among the Indians, as well as from the soldiers of the *presidios*. The village of Loreto, the principal place of all the missions, was founded in 1697, by Father Kühn, the astronomer of Ingolstadt, under the name of the *presidio* of *San Dionisio*. It was not till subsequently to the year 1744, that the Spanish establishments in California became considerable, owing to the successful

exertions of the Jesuits.* In a very few years, they built sixteen villages in the interior. Since their expulsion in 1767, California has been confided to the Dominican monks of the city of Mexico, who have not been so fortunate in their missions as the Franciscans in New California. The population of the villages has ever since been on the decline, and the number of the missions was reduced in 1803 to sixteen. The principal are, Loreto, above referred to; Santa Ana, a mission and *real;* and San Joseph. The missions of Santiago and Guadalupe remain without inhabitants. The small-pox and syphilis are stated to have been the chief causes of the depopulation; but M. Humboldt reasonably conjectures that there are other causes, connected with the political administration, which have retarded the prosperity of the settlements. The number of the savages is supposed to be under 4,000.

The chief attraction which has led navigators to visit the coast of this desert country, is, the pearls which abound in the southern part. "Since the cessation of the pearl-fishery near the island of Margarita, opposite the coast of Araya, the Gulfs of

* "Since the first discovery of California, there have been various wandering missionaries who have visited it at different times, though to little purpose; but of late years, the Jesuits, encouraged and supported by a large donation from the Marquis de Valero, a most munificent bigot, have fixed themselves upon the place, and have there established a very considerable mission. Their principal settlement lies just within Cape St. Lucas, where they have collected a great number of savages, and have endeavoured to inure them to agriculture and other mechanic arts. Nor have their efforts been altogether ineffectual, for they have planted vines at their settlements with very good success, so that they already make a considerable quantity of wine, resembling in flavour the inferior sorts of Madeira." — ANSON'S *Voyage round the World*, 1740—4, chap. x.

Panama and California are the only quarters in the Spanish colonies which supply pearls for the European market. Those of California are of a very beautiful water, and large, but they are frequently of an irregular and unpleasing figure. The shell which produces the pearl, is particularly to be found in the Bay of Ceralvo, and round the islands of Santa Cruz and San José. In 1768—1769, a private soldier of Loreto, Juan Ocio, became rich in a short time, by pearl-fishing on the coast of Ceralvo. Since that period, the number of pearls annually brought to market, has been reduced almost to nothing. The Indians and negroes who follow the laborious occupation of divers, are so poorly paid by the whites, that the fishery is considered as abandoned." In 1803, a Spanish ecclesiastic, resident at Mexico, proposed to the Government to employ a diving-bell in the pearl-fishery; and M. Humboldt witnessed a series of experiments made in a small pond near the castle of Chapoltepec, with a view to carry this project into effect; but it does not appear that they were ever repeated in the Gulf of California. Hitherto, he says, almost all the pearls supplied by the colonies, have come from the Gulf of Panama. The western coast of Mexico, " especially that part of the Great Ocean situated between the Gulf of Bayonna, the three Mary islands, and Cape St. Lucas," abounds also in *cachalots*, or spermaceti whales. This fishery is an important object of mercantile speculation, and has long been pursued by both English and Anglo-American traders. Yet " the Spanish Mexicans," remarks the learned Traveller, " see the cachalot fishers arrive on their coast after a navigation of more than 5,000 marine leagues, without ever endeavouring to share in the pursuit. In the present state of the colonies, the

sloth of the inhabitants is inimical to the execution of such projects; and it would be impossible to procure sailors willing to embrace so rude a business, and so miserable a life, as that of a cachalot-fisher. How could they be found in a country where, according to the ideas of the common people, all that is necessary to happiness, is, bananas, salted flesh, a hammock, and a guitar? The hope of gain is too weak a stimulus under a zone where beneficent Nature provides man with a thousand means of procuring an easy and peaceful existence, without quitting his country, and without struggling with the monsters of the ocean." *

FROM SANTA FE TO NATCHITOCHES.

MAJOR PIKE, to whom repeated reference has been made in the preceding account of the interior provinces, arrived at the *Rio del Norte*, in an exploratory journey through the interior of Louisiana. He supposed it at first to be the Red River. Here they were discovered by the Spaniards, and a detachment was sent out to bring the whole party to Santa Fé. The American Major, finding that he had unwittingly committed himself by entering the Spanish territory, and having no orders to engage in hostilities, had no alternative but to comply with the requisition. On the 27th of February, 1807, the party set out in a southerly direction, and on the third day reached the village of *Agua Caliente* (warm springs), situated on the eastern branch of a stream of that name, about twelve miles above its junction with the river *de los Conejos* (of rabbits). The warm springs, which give name to the place, are two in

* See, for further information relative to the pearl and cachalot fisheries, Pol. Essay, vol. iii. pp. 79—94.

number, about ten yards apart, and each affording sufficient water for a mill-seat; they are more than 33° above blood heat, and appeared to be impregnated with copper. The next day, they arrived at the village of St. John's, situated on the eastern branch of the *Rio del Norte*, a little below the confluence of the *Rio de los Conejos*, "the residence of the president priest of the province." In this day's route, they passed several mud-walled villages and settlements, and were shewn the ruins of several old villages, which had been destroyed by the Ietans. St. John's is supposed to contain about a thousand souls, chiefly civilised Indians; the whites in all these villages not forming a twentieth part of the population. On the fifth day, they reached Santa Fé.

The reception which the American party met with from the governor, was manly and polite; but it was deemed necessary that they should be sent to Chihuahua, to appear before the commandant-general. Accordingly, on the 4th of March, they set out under an escort. The first night, they lodged in a small village. The second day, they reached San Domingo, inhabited by *Keres* Indians, about 1,000 in number, governed by their own chief. These village chiefs are distinguished by a cane with a silver head and black tassel. On their arrival, the alcalde of San Domingo waited on the captain of the escort, cap in hand, to receive his orders. "After we had refreshed ourselves a little," says the American Major, "the captain sent for the keys of the church. On entering it, I was much astonished to find, enclosed in mud-brick walls, many rich paintings, and the saint as large as life, elegantly ornamented with gold and silver. The captain made a slight inclination of the head, and intimated to me that this was the patron of the

village. In an outside hall was placed another image of the saint, less richly ornamented, where the populace repair daily to return thanks for benefactions received, or to implore new favours. Many young girls made choice of the time of our visit to be on their knees before the holy patron. From the flat roof of the church, we had a delightful view of the village, the *Rio del Norte* on the west, the mountains of St. Dies (Dionisius ?) to the south, and the valley round the town, on which were numerous herds of goats, sheep, and asses. On the whole, this was one of the finest views in New Mexico."

Third day; from San Domingo to the village of San Dies, opposite the mountain of the same name. At the village of San Felipe, which occurred in this day's journey, the road crosses a rude bridge of eight arches, the construction of which is sufficiently ingenious. "The pillars are of neat wood-work, something similar to a crate, and in the form of a keel-boat, the sharp end (or bow) to the current: in this crate, or abutment, filled with stone, the river has lodged sand or clay, until the whole has become of tolerably firm consistency. On the top of the pillars are laid pine-logs length-wise, squared on two sides, and joined sufficiently close to make a tolerable bridge for horses, but which would not be very safe for carriages, as there are no hand-rails." At Albuquerque, which they passed through on the fourth day, they were received by the priest, Father Ambrosio Guerra, in a very flattering manner. After taking some refreshment, they were led into an inner apartment, where the father ordered his "adopted children of the female sex" to make their appearance. Among them were Indians of various nations, Spanish girls, French, and finally, two who, from their com-

plexion, Major Pike judged to be English. "Of perceiving that I noticed them, he ordered the rest to retire, and directed these two to sit down on the sofa beside me. He told me, that they had been taken to the east by the Ietans, and passed from one nation to another, till he purchased them: at that time, they were still infants, and could recollect neither names nor language. Concluding that they were my countrywomen, he ordered them to embrace me as a mark of my friendship, to which they appeared nothing loath. We then sat down to dinner, which consisted of various dishes, with excellent wines, and, to crown all, we were waited upon by half a dozen of these beautiful girls. After the cloth was removed, the priest beckoned me to follow him, and led me into his *sanctum sanctorum*, where he had rich and majestic images of various saints, and, in the midst, the crucified Jesus, crowned with thorns, but with rich rays of golden glory surrounding his head. The room was hung with black silk curtains, which served to augment the gloom and majesty of the scene. When he conceived my imagination sufficiently wrought up, he put on a black gown and mitre, and kneeling before the cross, took hold of my hand, and endeavoured gently to pull me down beside him: on my refusal, he prayed fervently for a few minutes, then rose, laid his hands on my shoulders, and, as I conceived, blessed me. He then said to me, 'You will not be a Christian. Oh! what a pity! what a pity!' He then threw off his robes, took me by the hand, and led me out to the company, smiling; but the scene I had gone through made too serious an impression on my mind to be effaced, until we took our departure, an hour afterwards, having received great marks of favour from the father."

Every where in journeying through New Mexico, the strangers met with the most unaffected kindness and hospitality; and the Major expresses his lively gratitude for the "noble reception" they gave to him and his "poor lads." The priests, too, were uniformly found much more liberal than those nearer the vice-royalty, where they lived under awe of the terrors of the Inquisition: many of them were remarkably friendly. Some, indeed, Major Pike says, would in his presence laugh at the superstition of the common people, and the awe in which they were held by them. The priest of San Felipe, who entertained the party in the most hospitable manner, entered, during dinner, into a long and candid detail respecting the injustice done to the Creoles, wherein the worthy father spared neither the government nor its administrators. "Both as to government and religion," says the Major, "he displayed a liberality of opinion and a fund of knowledge that astonished me. He shewed me a statistical table, on which he had taken the whole province of New Mexico by villages, beginning at Taos on the north-west, and ending with Valencia on the south; giving their latitude, longitude, population, whether savages or Spaniards, civilised or barbarous, Christians or Pagans, their numbers, name of the nation, when converted, how governed, military force, clergy, salary, &c. &c.; in short, a complete geographical and historical sketch of the province. Of this I wished to obtain a copy, but perceived that the captain was somewhat surprised at the father's having shewn it me." At Father Ambrosio's, there was a chart which gave the near connexion of the sources of the *Rio del Norte* and the *Rio Colorado* of California. These are interesting facts, inasmuch as they serve to shew

by how slight a tenure the Spanish government held these distant provinces, and how ripe the priesthood appear to have been for the political changes which have subsequently taken place.

Both above and below Albuquerque, the inhabitants were beginning to open the canals, to let in the water of the river: men, women, and children of all ages, were seen assisting at the "joyful labour." The cultivation of the fields was now commencing, by which an air of life and gayety was given to the surrounding scenery. The travellers crossed the *Rio del Norte* a little below this town, where it is 400 yards wide, but, at this time, not more than three feet deep, and there was excellent fording. They lodged at a village some miles further on. The road continues on the west side of the river to the little village of Tousac, on leaving which, the party were ferried over by a cart, as the stream was nearly four feet deep. They proceeded on the fifth day as far as the village of San Fernandez. While here, they had a very characteristic specimen at once of Castilian politeness and Mexican morals. The following notification was sent by the commanding officer to the *alcaldes* of several neighbouring villages: "Send this evening six or eight of your handsomest young girls to the village of San Fernandez, where I propose giving a fandango for the entertainment of the American officers arrived to-day." This order, which was punctually obeyed, "portrays," remarks Major Pike, "more clearly than a chapter of observations, the degraded state of the common people. In the evening, when the company arrived, the ball began after their usual manner, and there was really a handsome display of beauty." Lieutenant Malgares, who conducted

the escort, though only a subaltern, had eight mules loaded with his common camp-equipage, wines, confectionary, &c.!

On the 10th of March (the seventh day), they reached the village of Sibilleta, having travelled by very easy stages: they now took leave of the inhabited country, and entered the wilderness. The road became very rough. "Small hills, running into the river, form valleys, the bottoms of which appeared richer than those to the north." They passed a caravan going southward with about 15,000 sheep, for which they would bring back merchandise: the party consisted of about 300 persons, besides an escort of between thirty and forty troops. A similar expedition goes out in the autumn: during the other parts of the year, no one travels the road. The caravans collect at Sibilleta, where they separate on their return: the February caravan returns in March. The government couriers meet and exchange packets at the *Passo*. Another party of fifty men, with about 200 horses loaded with merchandise, was met coming northward. The eleventh day, they halted at a point of the river, at the foot of the "mountain of Friar Christopher," where the main road leaves the river for two days' journey, bearing due south, while the river forms a considerable bend to the south-west: the distance, by the course of the river, to where the roads meet, is a march of five days, during which the river must twice be crossed. This latter route was taken by the party. On the seventeenth day, they halted at a salt-lake, and on the day following, after passing over a mountainous tract, they reached the town of *Passo del Norte*. From this place, they proceeded by way of San Eleazaro and Carraeal, to Chihuahua. Between the former two

stations, there is a small "pond," formed by a spring which rises in the centre, called the *Ojo Malalka*, which is the only water for sixty miles of the road.

At Chihuahua, the American Major had to undergo an examination from the commandant-general, which was conducted with the utmost urbanity, dictated alike by Spanish courtesy and by that polite respect with which a citizen of the United States seldom fails to be treated in this country. He remained in this city from the 2d to the 28th of April, during which his time appears to have been not unpleasantly occupied, the evenings being spent in visiting; till at length, he received notice from his Excellency to hold himself in readiness to march. The route he was to pursue, lies in a south-easterly direction to the fort of *San Pablo*, situated on the small river of the same name, flowing from the N.W., and falling into the Conchos. Here the party halted on the second day. Five hours further, they arrived at the banks of the Conchos, which they pursued for some leagues to its confluence with the Rio Florida, where there is a "miserable village." On the banks of the latter river are some very flourishing settlements, and the land is well timbered. The route lay up this river for six hours to Guaxequillo. Four miles beyond that place, the road diverges from its course, leaving it to the right, and, for between 40 and 50 miles, no water occurs. About 10 miles further, the road passes due west through a gap in the mountain, and then turns south to a river twenty feet wide, with high, steep banks. It was now dry, except in holes, but, when full, is impassable. On the ninth day from Chihuahua (excluding a halt of three days at Guaxequillo), the travellers reached a station, surrounded with mines, which Major Pike

calls *Pelia*, where are two large warm springs, "strongly impregnated" with mineral properties. The next day, they passed a copper mine, which was diligently worked, and arrived at the *hacienda* of Cadena, situated on a small stream, at the pass called the "Door of the Prison." The following day, they arrived at a village which Major Pike calls Mauperne (Mapimi?), situated at the foot of metalliferous mountains, with some eight or nine mines in the neighbourhood. Three miles further, they halted for the night at a station beautifully situated on a little stream, in the midst of fig-trees. Early on the twelfth day, they arrived at a place where the road branches out into three. That on the right-hand is the main road to Mexico, leading through Parras and Saltillo; the central one leaves all the villages to the right, passing only some plantations; the left-hand road leads immediately through the mountains to Montelovez, and is called the route of the *Bolson de Mapimi*: it was first travelled by M. de la Croix, afterwards viceroy of Peru. In passing from Chihuahua to Texas by this route, you make in seven days, what takes from fifteen to twenty by the ordinary road; but it is very scarce of water, and dangerous for small parties, as the Appaches fill these mountains. The middle road was the one which the escort had directions to pursue, in order that the Americans might not approximate the frontiers of the viceroyalty; but, on the 16th day, they again joined the main road. They left Parras on the right, and, a league beyond, halted, on the 17th day, at the *hacienda* of San Lorenzo, pleasantly situated in the midst of vineyards. About five and twenty miles further is the *hacienda* of Polloss, a handsome place, where the Marquis de San Miguel frequently spends the summer: the journey

from the capital occupies ten days. This nobleman is stated to own the land, from the mountains of the *Rio del Norte* to some distance into the viceroyalty, and his annual revenues are immense. He maintains 1,500 troops to protect his vassals and property from the savages, all cavalry, and as well dressed and armed as the regulars. "The *hacienda* of Polloss," says Major Pike, "is a square enclosure of about 300 feet, the building only one story high, but some of the apartments are very elegantly furnished. In the centre of the square is a *jet d'eau*, which casts forth water from eight spouts extended from a colossal female figure: from this fountain all the population procure their supply of water. The marquis has likewise built a very handsome church, which, with its ornaments, cost him at least 20,000 dollars. To officiate in it, he maintains here a little, stiff, superstitious priest. In the rear of the palace (for so it might be called) is a fish-pond, stocked with immense numbers of fine fish. The population was about 2,000 souls. This was our nearest point to the city of Mexico."

The route which was pursued from this place, passes between a double range of mountains, which this Writer calls "*Polloss* mountains," but crosses a transverse branch, called "the mountain of the three rivers." It falls into the main road from the eastern provinces, within a few leagues of Montelovez, which the travellers reached on the 25th day. On the 27th day's march, they passed the last mountains, and entered the great valley of the Mississippi. On the 30th day, they reached the *presidio* of *Rio Grande*, where, to the great mortification of the Spanish officer, it was with the utmost difficulty they obtained any thing to eat. The mosquitoes, which had made their

appearance the first night after leaving Montelovez, had now become very troublesome; and soon after crossing the *Rio Grande*, horse-flies were seen, and some wild horses. From this point, it is a distance of 150 miles to where the route crosses the river Mariana, one of the heads of the San Antonio, a pretty little stream, forming the line, in that direction, between Cohahuila and Texas. On the 36th day, the party reached San Antonio, the capital of the latter province, where the American Major met with a reception from Governors Cordero and Herrara, not merely hospitable and polite; it was more like the cordiality of old friends and countrymen. They came three miles in a coach to meet the party. "We then," says Major Pike, "repaired to their quarters, where we were received like their children. Cordero informed me, that he had discretionary orders as to the manner of my going out of the country; that he therefore wished me to choose my time, mode, &c.; and that any sum of money I might want, was at my service; that, in the mean time, his quarters would be my residence, and that he had caused to be vacated a house immediately opposite for my men." On the next day but one, a large party dined at Governor Cordero's, when he gave as the first toast, the President of the United States. In conversation, the two generals discovered, we are told, an astonishing acquaintance with the political character of the American executive, and the local interests of the several parts of the Union. The portrait which Major Pike has drawn of these distinguished individuals, presents them in a very estimable light.

"Don Antonio Cordero was fifty years of age, about five feet ten inches in height, fair complexion, and blue eyes. He wore his hair turned back, and

every part of his dress was soldier-like. He still possessed an excellent constitution, and a body which appeared to be neither impaired by the fatigues of the various campaigns he had made, nor disfigured by the numerous wounds received from the enemies of his king. He was one of the select officers who had been chosen by the Court of Madrid, to be sent to America about thirty-five years, to discipline and organise the Spanish provincials, and had been employed in all the various kingdoms and provinces of New Spain, and through the parts which we explored. He was universally beloved and respected, and by far the most popular man in the internal provinces. He spoke the Latin and French languages well; was generous, gallant, brave, and sincerely attached to his king and country. These numerous qualifications have advanced him to the rank of colonel of cavalry, and governor of the provinces of Cohahuila and Texas. His usual residence was Montelovez, which he had greatly embellished; but, since our taking possession of Louisiana, he had removed to San Antonio, in order to be nearer the frontier, to be able to apply the remedy to any evil which might arise from the collision of our lines.

"Don Simon de Herrara is about five feet eleven inches high, has sparkling black eyes, with dark complexion and hair. He was born in the Canary Islands, served in the infantry in France, Spain, and Flanders; he speaks the French language well, and a little of the English. He is engaging in his conversation with his equals, polite and obliging to his inferiors, and, in his actions, one of the most gallant and accomplished of men. He possesses a great knowledge of mankind, from his experience in various countries and societies, and knows how to employ the genius of each of his

subordinates to advantage. He had been in the United States during the presidency of General Washington, and had been introduced to that hero, of whom he spoke in terms of exalted veneration. He is now lieutenant-colonel of infantry and governor of the kingdom of New Leon. His seat of government is Montelrey; and, probably, if ever a chief was adored by his people, it is Herrara. When his time expired last, he immediately repaired to Mexico, attended by three hundred of the most respectable people of his district, who carried with him the sighs, tears, and prayers of thousands that he might be continued in the government. The viceroy thought proper to accede to their wishes *pro tempore*, and the king has since confirmed the nomination. When I saw him, he had been about one year absent, during which time the citizens of rank in Montelrey had not suffered a marriage or baptism to take place in any of their families, waiting until their common father could be there, to consent and give joy to the occasion by his presence. What greater proof could be given of their esteem and love? In drawing a parallel between the two friends, I should say, that Cordero was the man of the greatest reading, Herrara of the greatest knowledge of the world. Cordero has lived all his life a bachelor. Herrara married an English lady in early youth at Cadiz, who, by her suavity of manners, makes herself as much beloved and esteemed by the ladies as her noble husband is by the men. By her he has several children, one now an officer in the royal service. The two friends agree perfectly in one point,—their hatred of tyranny of every kind, and in a secret determination never to see that flourishing part of the New World subject to any European lord,

except him whom their honour and loyalty bind them to defend with their lives and fortune.

" It may not be improper to state, that we owe to Governor Herrara's prudence, that we are not now (1807) engaged in a war with Spain. This will be explained by the following anecdote, which he related in the presence of his friend Cordero, and which was confirmed by him. When the difficulties commenced on the Sabine, the commandant-general and the viceroy consulted each other, and both determined to maintain what they deemed the dominions of their master inviolate. The viceroy therefore ordered Herrara to join Cordero with 1,300 men, and both the viceroy and General Salcedo ordered Cordero to cause our troops to be attacked, should they pass the *Rio Onde*. These orders were positively reiterated to Herrara, the actual commanding officer of the Spanish army on the frontiers, and gave rise to the many messages which he sent to General Wilkinson, when he was advancing with our troops; but, finding they were not attended to, he called a council of war on the question, whether to attack or not. The council gave it as their opinion, that they should immediately commence a predatory warfare, but avoid a general engagement. Yet, notwithstanding the orders of the viceroy and the commanding general, Governor Cordero, and the opinion of his officers, he had the firmness, or the temerity, to enter into the agreement with General Wilkinson which at present exists relative to our boundaries on that frontier. On his return, he was received with coolness by Cordero, and they both made their communication to their superiors. 'Until an answer was received,' said Herrara, 'I experienced the most unhappy period of my life, conscious that I

had served my country faithfully, at the same time that I had violated every principle of military duty.' At length the answer arrived; and what was it but the thanks of the viceroy and the commandant-general for having pointedly disobeyed their orders, with assurances that they would represent his services in exalted terms to the king! What could have produced this change of sentiment, is to me unknown; but the letter was published to the army, and confidence was restored between the two chiefs and the troops." *

Every thing at San Antonio appeared to be in a flourishing and improving state, owing to the encouragement given to industry by these two generals. The American Major remained here for a week, and then took his departure, with a Spanish escort, for the frontier. On the first day, they reached the river Guadelupe; a distance of 30 miles. On the second day, they came at the end of fifteen miles to the St. Mark, and proceeded the same distance beyond it. Third day, distance advanced, 26 miles: within the last six, oak timber commences. Fourth day, they arrived at Red River, and advanced 26 miles. Fifth day, a journey of 30 miles, in the course of which they passed a large encampment of Tancard Indians. Sixth day, at the end of 25 miles, they crossed the river Brassos, where there is a ferry, with a stockade guard consisting of one corporal and six men; and proceeded through a tract which is at certain seasons an impassable swamp: distance advanced, 31 miles. Seventh day, they advanced 30 miles through alternate woods and prairies of rich land, passing two small creeks. Eighth day, 20 miles through similar country.

* Pike, pp. 316—318.

Ninth day, they reached the station on the river Trinity, where they found both officers and privates (consisting of two captains, two lieutenants, three ensigns, and nearly 100 men) all sick, one scarcely able to assist the other. They met this day a number of runaway negroes; also, some Frenchmen and Irishmen: distance advanced, 20 miles. Tenth day, 22 miles. Eleventh day, 40 miles, crossing, in the latter part of the day, the river Natchez. Twelfth day, they came, at the end of fifteen miles, to the river Angelina, about the width of the Natchez, running south; and, twenty-two miles further, arrived at Nacogdoches. This part of the country is well watered, but the soil is hilly and sandy, covered with pine, scrub-oak, &c. Total distance from San Antonio, 336 miles.

From Nacogdoches, it is about 74 miles to the Sabine river, the frontier line between the Mexican and American territory, where Major Pike parted with the Spanish escort. About half way, the route crosses the river Toyac, flowing through a rich and well-timbered district. At length, on the 1st of July, the second day after crossing the Sabine, Major Pike arrived at Natchitoches; and "language cannot express," he says, "the gayety of his heart, when he once more beheld the standard of his country waving aloft. All hail, cried I, the ever-sacred name of country, in which is embraced that of kindred, friends, and every other tie that is dear to the soul of man!" Four months had elapsed since he left Santa Fé; but six and twenty days were passed at Chihuahua, six days at San Antonio, and the other halts appear to have amounted to nine days, leaving 79 marching days.

After leaving San Antonio, Major Pike had pursued

the high road of Texas from Louisiana to Mexico. From that city, a road leads off, by way of Loredo (on the banks of the *Rio del Norte*), Saltillo, Charcas, San Luis Potosi, and Queretaro, to the capital. "The road from New Orleans to the capital of New Spain," says Humboldt, "opened by the inhabitants of Louisiana, who come to purchase horses in the interior provinces, is more than 540 leagues in length, and is consequently equal to the distance from Madrid to Warsaw. The road is said to be very difficult from the want of water and habitations; but it presents by no means the same natural difficulties as must be overcome in the tracks along the ridge of the Cordilleras from Santa Fé in New Granada (Colombia) to Quito, or from Quito to Cusco. It was by this road of Texas, that an intrepid traveller, M. Pagés, captain in the French navy, went, in 1767, from Louisiana to Acapulco. The road from Louisiana to Mexico presents very few obstacles as far as the *Rio del Norte*, and we only begin from the Saltillo to ascend towards the table-land. The declivity of the Cordillera is by no means rapid there; and we can have no doubt, considering the progress of civilisation in the New Continent, that land-communication will become gradually very frequent between the United States and New Spain. Public coaches will one day roll on from Philadelphia and Washington to Mexico and Acapulco."

To complete our statistical and topographical view of this interesting country, we must now suddenly transport the reader across half the Mexican territory, and again place him on the western declivity of the great Cordillera of Anahuac, within the intendancy of

VALLADOLID.

THIS intendancy, at the period of the Spanish conquest, formed part of the independent kingdom of Mechoacan, which extended from the mouth of the river Zacatula to the port of *Natividad*, and from the mountains of Xala and Colima to the river of Lerma and the lake of Chapala. Its capital was Tzintzontzan, or Huitzitzila, situated on the banks of the lake of Pascuaro. The modern intendancy lies between Guadalaxara and Guanaxuato on the north, Mexico on the east and south-east, and on the west and south-west it is washed by the great Pacific for rather more than 38 leagues of coast. Its greatest length is in a direction S.S.W. and N.N.E., from Zacatula to the basaltic mountain of Palangeo, a distance of 78 leagues. Its extent in square leagues is 3,446; one fifth less than Ireland. Its population in 1803, was 376,400 souls, being 109 to the square league. It contains three places dignified with the name of city, viz. Valladolid, the capital, Pascuaro, and Tzintzontzan; three towns, Citaquaro, Zamora, and Charo; 263 villages, 205 parishes, and 326 farms. In the imperfect census of 1793, which gave the total population at less than 290,000, there were reckoned 80,000 Whites, and nearly 120,000 Indians: there were 154 monks, 138 nuns, and 293 secular ecclesiastics.

All the southern part of the intendancy is inhabited exclusively by Indians, the only White to be met with in any of the villages being the *curé*, and he also is frequently an Indian or a Mulatto. "The benefices are so poor, that the Bishop of Mechoacan has the greatest difficulty in procuring ecclesiastics to settle in a country where Spanish is scarcely ever spoken, and

Engd on Steel. by H. Adlard.

INDIANS OF MECHOACAN.

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where, along the coasts of the Great Ocean, the priests are frequently carried off by malignant fevers engendered by the *miasmata*, before the expiration of seven or eight months." It is only to this portion of the intendancy, however, that the character of insalubrity attaches. The greater part of the province, situated on the western declivity of the table-land, intersected with hills and charming valleys, which present the uncommon appearance (under the torrid zone) of extensive and well-watered meadows, — enjoys a mild and temperate climate, and is reckoned peculiarly healthy.

The Indian natives of this province are of three distinct races: the Tarascs, celebrated in the sixteenth century for the gentleness of their manners, their industry in the mechanical arts, and the harmony of their language, which abounds in vowels; the Otomites, a tribe still far behind in civilisation, whose language is full of nasals and gutturals; and the Chichimecs, who speak the Aztec or Mexican language.* The Indians of this province generally, are described by Humboldt as the most industrious of New Spain. "They have," he says, "a remarkable talent of cutting out small figures in wood, and dressing them in clothes made of the pith of an aquatic plant, which, being very porous, imbibes the most vivid colours."† The annexed plate is copied from a drawing made from two of these Indian figures, which exhibits a strange mixture of the old Indian costume with that introduced by the Spaniards. The learned Traveller gives us no account, however, of the distinctive features and characteristics of the several tribes of Indians found in this province, — an inte-

* See vol. i. p. 109. † Humboldt's Researches, vol. ii. p. 164.

resting point, which will merit the attention of future travellers.

Valladolid de Mechoacan, (so called to distinguish it from Valladolid de Yucatan,) the capital of this intendancy, is an episcopal city, situated in a delicious climate, at an elevation of nearly 6,400 feet above the level of the sea; and yet, at this moderate height, and under lat. 19° 42′, snow has been seen to fall in the streets, during the prevalence of northerly winds. It contained, in 1803, a population of 18,000 souls. The town-house, the churches, and the convents are described as handsome; the *alameda*, or public walk, is boasted of for its beauty; and the town is supplied with water by an aqueduct, erected at the expense of Bishop Antonio de San Miguel, towards the end of the last century, and said to have cost 20,000*l*.

Tzintzontzan, the ancient capital of Mechoacan, though it still retains the title of city, is now only a poor Indian village, containing (in 1803) 2,500 inhabitants. It lies to the south-east of Valladolid, on the northern side of the lake of Pascuaco. The city which gives its name to the lake, is situated on the eastern bank, opposite to the Indian village of Janicho, which is built on a charming little island, at less than a league's distance, in the midst of the lake. Pascuaro contains the ashes of the first bishop of Mechoacan, Vasco de Quiroga, a distinguished benefactor of the Tarasc Indians, who died in 1556, at the village of Uruapa. His memory is held in the highest veneration by the natives, who still speak of him as their father (*Tata Don Vasco*). This city is 7,200 feet above the level of the sea, and contains 6,000 inhabitants.

In the eastern part of this intendancy there are considerable mines: they form four districts; *Angangueo*

Engd on Steel. VOLCANO OF TORULLO. by R.Addiard.

(including the rich *real del Oro*), *Tlalpujahua* (or (*Tlapujahua*), *Zitaquaro*, and *Inguaran*. They belong to the same groupe as the mines of Themascaltepec; but Humboldt gives no particular account of them.

The most remarkable feature of this intendancy is the volcano of Jorullo (Xorullo, or Juruyo), which has already been referred to as one of the most tremendous physical revolutions that ever took place on the surface of the globe. It is situated to the east of the Peak of Tancitaro, the most elevated summit in the intendancy, at the distance of more than forty-two leagues from any other volcano now in action. M. Humboldt, who, with his colleague, M. Bonpland, visited its crater in September 1803, gives the following account of this wonderful phenomenon.

"A vast plain extends from the hills of Aguasarco to near the villages of Teipa and Petatlan, both equally celebrated for their fine plantations of cotton. This plain, between the *Picachos del Mortero*, the *Cerro de las Cuevas*, and that of *Cuiche*, is only from 2,460 to 2,624 feet above the level of the sea. In the middle of a tract of ground in which porphyry with a base of grünstein predominates, basaltic cones appear, the summits of which are crowned with evergreen oaks of a laurel and olive foliage, intermingled with small palm-trees with flabelliform leaves. This beautiful vegetation forms a singular contrast with the aridity of the plain, which was laid waste by volcanic fire.

"Till the middle of the eighteenth century, fields cultivated with sugar-cane and indigo, occupied the extent of ground between the two brooks called Cuicamba and San Pedro. They were bounded by basaltic mountains, of which the structure seems to

indicate, that all this country at a very remote period had been already several times convulsed by volcanoes. These fields, watered by artificial means, belonged to the plantation (*hacienda*) of San Pedro de Jorullo, one of the greatest and richest of the country. In the month of June, 1759, a subterraneous noise was heard. Hollow noises of a most alarming nature (*bramidos*) were accompanied by frequent earthquakes, which succeeded one another for from fifty to sixty days, to the great consternation of the inhabitants of the *hacienda*. From the beginning of September, every thing seemed to announce the complete re-establishment of tranquillity, when, in the night between the 28th and 29th, the horrible subterraneous noise recommenced. The affrighted Indians fled to the mountains of Aguasarco. A tract of ground from three to four square miles in extent, which goes by the name of *Malpays*, rose up in the shape of a bladder. The bounds of this convulsion are still distinguishable in the fractured strata. The *Malpays*, near its edges, is only thirty-nine feet above the old level of the plain called the *Playas de Jorullo;* but the convexity of the ground thus thrown up, increases progressively towards the centre, to an elevation of 524 feet.

" Those who witnessed this great catastrophe from the top of Aguasarco, assert that flames were seen to issue forth for an extent of more than half a square league, that fragments of burning rocks were thrown up to prodigious heights, and that, through a thick cloud of ashes, illumined by the volcanic fire, the softened surface of the earth was seen to swell up like an agitated sea. The rivers of Cuitamba and San Pedro precipitated themselves into the burning chasms. The decomposition of the water contributed

to invigorate the flames, which were distinguishable at the city of Pascuaro, though situated on a very extensive table-land, 4,592 feet elevated above the plains (*las playas*) of Jorullo. Eruptions of mud, and especially of strata of clay, enveloping balls of decomposed basaltes in concentrical layers, appear to indicate that subterraneous water had no small share in producing this extraordinary revolution. Thousands of small cones, from six feet to nine feet in height, called by the natives, *ovens* (*hornitos*), issued forth from the *Malpays*. Although within the last fifteen years, according to the testimony of the Indians, the heat of these volcanic ovens has suffered a great diminution, I have seen the thermometer rise to 202° F. on being plunged into fissures which exhale an aqueous vapour. Each small cone is a *fumorola*, from which a thick vapour ascends to the height of from 30 to 50 feet. In many of them a subterraneous noise is heard, which appears to announce the proximity of a fluid in ebullition.

" In the midst of the ovens, six large masses, elevated from 1,312 to 1,640 feet each above the old level of the plains, sprang up from a chasm, of which the direction is from the N.N.E. to the S.S.E. This is the phenomenon of the Monte-novo of Naples, several times repeated in a range of volcanic hills. The most elevated of these enormous masses, which bears some resemblance to the *puys* de l'Auvergne, is the great Volcano of Jorullo. It is continually burning, and has thrown up from the north side an immense quantity of scorified and basaltic lavas, containing fragments of primitive rocks. These great eruptions of the central volcano continued till the month of February 1760. In the following years, they became gradually less frequent. The Indians, frightened at

the horrible noises of the new volcano, abandoned at first all the villages situated within seven or eight leagues distance of the plains of Jorullo. They became gradually, however, accustomed to this terrific spectacle; and having returned to their cottages, they advanced towards the mountains of Aguasarco and Santa Iñes, to admire the streams of fire discharged from an infinity of great and small volcanic apertures. The roofs of the houses of Queretaro were then covered with ashes, at a distance of more than forty-eight leagues in a straight line from the scene of the explosion. Although the subterraneous fire now appears far from violent, and the Malpays and the great volcano begin to be covered with vegetables, we nevertheless found the ambient air heated to such a degree by the action of the small ovens (*hornitos*), that the thermometer, at a great distance from the surface, and in the shade, rose as high as 109° F. This fact appears to prove that there is no exaggeration in the accounts of several old Indians, who affirm, that for many years after the first eruption, the plains of Jorullo, even at a great distance from the scene of the explosion, were uninhabitable, from the excessive heat which prevailed in them.

"The traveller is still shewn, near the Cerro de Santa Iñes, the rivers of Cuitamba and San Pedro, of which the limpid waters formerly watered the sugar-cane plantation of Don André Pimentel. These streams disappeared in the night of the 29th September, 1759; but, at a distance of 6,560 feet further west, in the tract which was the theatre of the convulsion, two rivers are now seen bursting through the argillaceous vault of the *hornitos*, of the appearance of mineral waters, in which the thermometer rises to 126° F. The Indians continue to give them the names

of San Pedro and Cuitamba, because, in several parts of the Malpays, great masses of water are heard to run in a direction from east to west, from the mountains of Santa Iñes towards *l'Hacienda de la Presentacion.* Near this habitation there is a brook, which disengages itself from the sulphureous hydrogen. It is more than twenty-two feet in breadth, and is the most abundant hydro-sulphureous spring which I have ever seen.

"In the opinion of the Indians, these extraordinary transformations which we have been describing, the surface of the earth raised up and burst by the volcanic fire, and the mountains of scoria and ashes heaped together, are the work of the monks, the greatest, no doubt, which they have ever produced in the two hemispheres! In the cottage which we occupied in the plains of Jorullo, our Indian host related to us, that in 1759, Capuchin missionaries came to preach at the plantation of San Pedro, and not having met with a favourable reception, (perhaps not having got so good a dinner as they expected,) they poured out the most horrible and unheard-of imprecations against the then beautiful and fertile plain, and prophesied that, in the first place, the plantation would be swallowed up by flames rising out of the earth, and that afterwards, the ambient air would cool to such a degree, that the neighbouring mountains would for ever remain covered with snow and ice. The former of these maledictions having already produced such fatal effects, the lower Indians contemplate, in the increasing coolness of the volcano, the sinister presage of a perpetual winter. I have thought proper to relate this vulgar tradition, worthy of figuring in the epic poem of the Jesuit Landivar, because it forms a striking feature in the picture of the manners and

prejudices of these remote countries. It proves the active industry of a class of men who too frequently abuse the credulity of the people, and pretend to suspend by their influence the immutable laws of nature, for the sake of founding their empire on the fear of physical evils."

So little was known of this country prior to the visit of this admirable Traveller, that, although this catastrophe took place not seventy years ago, and within six days' journey of the capital of Mexico, it had remained altogether unknown to the mineralogists and naturalists of Europe. It is remarkable, M. Humboldt observes, that this new volcano was formed in a direction parallel with the line, running east and west, in which all the elevated summits of Anahuac are found, that rise into the region of perpetual snow, and which are either active volcanoes, or peaks apparently of volcanic character. Thus, between lat. 18° 59′ and 19° 12′,* receding from the Atlantic coast, we find the peak of Orizaba, the two volcanoes of Puebla, the *nevado* of Toluca, the peak of Tancitaro, the volcano of Jorullo, and lastly, that of Colima. These great elevations, instead of forming the crest of the Cordillera, traverse the great chain which forms the table-land. In connexion with this curious fact, it is mentioned, that, from the lake of Cuiseo in this intendancy, which is impregnated with muriate of soda, and exhales sulphuretted hydrogen, to the city of Valladolid, an extent of forty square leagues, there are a great number of hot wells, which generally contain only muriatic acid, without any traces of earthy

* The volcano of Tuxtla, mentioned vol. i. p. 227, is rather to the south of this line, according to Humboldt's map, and he omits it in his enumeration in this place; yet, its position serves to confirm the general observation.

sulphates or metallic salts. Such are the mineral waters of Chucandiro, Cuinche, San Sebastian, and San Juan Tararamco. From these indications of volcanic action in this particular region, Humboldt infers, that there probably exists in this part of Mexico, at a great depth in the heart of the earth, a chasm, in a direction from east to west, and for a length of 137 leagues, along which the volcanic fire, bursting through the interior crust of the porphyritic rocks, has at different epochs made its appearance. "Does this chasm," he adds as a query, "extend to the small groupe of islands called the Archipelago of Revillagigedo, around which, in the same parallel with the Mexican volcanoes, pumice-stone has been seen floating?"

The most southern intendancy of Mexico, and one of the most valuable portions of the empire, is the intendancy of

OAXACA.

This fine province, from which Cortes took his title of marquis (*del Valle de Oaxaca*), derives its name from the Mexican city and valley of *Huaxyacac*, one of the principal places of the Zapotec country, and almost as considerable as Teotzapotlan, their capital. It is bounded, on the north, by Vera Cruz; on the east, by Guatimala; on the west, by Puebla; and on the south, for eleven leagues of coast, by the Pacific Ocean. Its extent of surface exceeds that of Bohemia and Moravia together, being 4,447 square leagues. Its population in 1803, was 534,800, being only 120 inhabitants to the square league, which is one-seventh below the average number in the

nine intendancies south of the tropic, but relatively equal to the population of European Russia. According to Humboldt's description of its physical advantages, however, this province may be expected to advance very rapidly in improvement and population under a liberal and patriotic government. "The intendancy of Oaxaca," he says, "is one of the most delightful countries in this part of the globe. The beauty and salubrity of the climate, the fertility of the soil, and the richness and variety of its productions, all minister to the prosperity of the inhabitants; and this province has accordingly been, from the remotest period, the centre of an advanced civilisation. The vegetation is beautiful and vigorous throughout the province, and especially half way down the declivity of the table-land, in the temperate region, where the rains are very copious from May to October. This intendancy alone has preserved the cultivation of the cochineal (*coccus cacti*), a branch of industry which it formerly shared with Puebla and New Galicia." The mines are not very considerable: hitherto, at least, they have not proved very productive. Those which have been worked with the greatest care, are those of Villalta, Zolaga, Ixtepexi, and Totomistla. They are all included in one *deputacion*, or mining district, and form the eighth groupe in Humboldt's classification, extending from lat. 16° 40′ to 18° N., and from long. 98° 15′ to 99° 50′ W. The annual produce he was unable to ascertain, and it is set down as doubtful.

The geological structure of the mountain districts singularly differs from that which is observed in Puebla, Mexico, and Valladolid. In place of the strata of basalt, porphyry, and amygdaloid, which are found from the eighteenth to the twenty-second

parallel, the mountains of Mixteca and Zapoteca are composed of granite and gneiss. The elevation of their highest summits is not known; but, from the *Cerro de Senpualtepec*, near Villalta, which is considered as one of the most elevated, both oceans are visible. This extent of horizon would only indicate, however, Humboldt says, an elevation of 7,700 feet. The same sight may also be obtained at *La Ginetta*, twelve leagues from the port of Tehuantepec, on the great road from Mexico to Guatimala.

Oaxaca (sometimes written Guaxaca), the provincial capital, built on the site of the ancient Huaxyacac, was called Antequera at the beginning of the conquest. Mr. Robinson describes it as "the neatest, cleanest, and most regularly built city in the kingdom." "The edifices are constructed with a green stone, which preserves its colour to perpetuity, and gives the city an appearance of freshness, such as we have never seen in any other. The convent of San Francisco, built more than 200 years ago, looks at this day as if it had just come from the hands of the architect. Streams of the purest water flow through all the streets; and in all the squares, are beautiful public fountains. The fruits both of the torrid and the temperate zones are to be seen every day in the market-place. We have seen on one side of the road, trees loaded with oranges, and on the other, fields of wheat. The climate of this city is considered as equal to that of any other in New Spain: the thermometer rarely falls below 63°, nor ranges higher than 78°. The inhabitants are well made and remarkable for longevity. The women are likewise distinguished for their beauty and vivacity."* According to the imperfect census of 1792,

* Robinson's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 152.

the population of this city was 24,000,* but this can be regarded as merely an approximation to the actual number. The territory of the marquisate of Cortes, comprising 4 *villas* and 49 *pueblos*, was computed to contain 17,700 inhabitants. Mr. Robinson states, that the most populous Indian villages in all Mexico are found in this province, but he furnishes no details. "Along the coast," he adds, "the climate is destructive of health; but the greater part of the province, particularly the mountains of the Misteca, is famed for its pure and salubrious air."

The district of Mixteca, the ancient Mixtecapan, formed, prior to the conquest, a distinct territory, inhabited by a race differing from the Indians of Zapoteca, the south-eastern part of the intendancy. It is divided into Upper (*alta*) and Lower (*baxa*) Mixteca. The Indians of this district are described by Humboldt as an "active, intelligent, and industrious people." On the road from Orizaba to Oaxaca, is the town of *San Antonio de los Cues*, "a very populous place, and celebrated for the remains of ancient Mexican fortifications."

The district of Zapoteca contains one of the most remarkable monuments of ancient civilisation in all Mexico, "*the palace of Mitla*;" a name contracted from *Miguitlan*, which signifies in the Aztec, "place of wo." "This term," says the learned Traveller so often cited, "seems to have been well chosen for a site so savage and lugubrious, that, according to the testimony of travellers, the warbling of birds is there

* Mr. Robinson states that, according to a census taken in 1808, the province contains 600,000 inhabitants; the city, 38,000; and the number of cities, towns, and villages, exceeds 300. "We have visited," he says, "several villages containing 6 and 7000 inhabitants;" yet not one-eighth part of the province is under cultivation.

scarcely ever heard. The Tzapotec Indians call these ruins *Leoba* or *Luiva* (burial, or tomb), alluding to the excavations found beneath the walls." This elegant ruin is about ten leagues distant from Oaxaca, on the road to Tehuantepec. It is of unknown antiquity. According to the tradition of the natives, which is confirmed by the distribution of its parts, it was "a palace constructed over the tombs of the kings," to which, it is supposed, the monarch retired on the death of a son, a wife, or a brother. "The tombs of Mitla consist of three edifices symmetrically placed in an extremely romantic situation. The principal edifice, which is in the best preservation, is nearly 130 feet in length. A stair, formed in a pit, leads to a subterranean apartment, 88 feet long by 26. This gloomy apartment, as well as the exterior walls of the edifice, is covered with *à la grecque* and *arabesque* ornaments. But what distinguishes the ruins of Mitla from all the other remains of Mexican architecture, is, six porphyry columns, which are placed in the midst of a vast hall, and support the ceiling. These columns, almost the only ones found in the New Continent, bear strong marks of the infancy of the art. They have neither base nor capital. Only a simple contraction of the upper part is observable. Their total height is nearly nineteen feet; the shaft of each is of a single piece of porphyry; but broken fragments for ages heaped together, conceal more than a third of the height of these columns." The ceiling which they served to support, was formed of beams of savine wood, three of which are still in good preservation. "The roof consisted of very large slabs."

According to a plan of the palace, drawn by a Mexican artist, Don Luis Martin, there originally existed at Mitla, five separate buildings, disposed

with great regularity. "A very large gate, some vestiges of which are still to be seen, led to a spacious court, 150 feet square. Heaps of earth and remains of subterraneous structures indicate that four small edifices of oblong form surrounded this court. That on the right is in a state of tolerable preservation, and the remains of two columns still exist. In the principal edifice, we distinguish, first, a terrace, raised three or four feet above the level of the court, and surrounding the walls, to which it served at the same time as a base; secondly, a niche formed in the wall, between four and five feet above the level of the hall with pillars. This niche, which is broader than it is high, is supposed to have enclosed an idol. The principal door of the hall is covered with a stone twelve feet long by three. Next, after entering the inner court, is seen the well, or opening of the tomb. A very broad staircase leads to the excavation, which is in the form of a cross, supported by columns. The two galleries, which intersect each other at right angles, are each eighty-two feet long by twenty-five. Lastly, three small apartments surround the inner court, and behind the niche is a fourth, with which they have no communication. The different parts of this edifice present very striking inequalities and a want of symmetry. In the interior of the apartments are paintings representing weapons, trophies, and sacrifices. There is no appearance of their having ever had windows."

"The *arabesques* (with which the exterior walls are covered) form a kind of mosaic work, composed of several square stones (of porphyry), placed with much dexterity by the side of each other. The mosaic is attached to a mass of clay, which appears to fill up the inside of the walls, as is also observed in some

Peruvian edifices. The length of these walls on the same line, is only about 130 feet; their height probably never exceeded fifteen or sixteen feet. This edifice, however, though small, might produce some effect by the arrangement of its parts, and the elegant form of its ornaments. Several of the Egyptian temples are of still less considerable dimensions. In the environs of Mitla are remains of a great pyramid, and some other buildings very much resembling these."

"The Greek ornaments of the palace of Mitla present, no doubt," continues M. Humboldt, "a striking analogy to those of the vases of lower Italy, and to others which we find spread over the surface of almost the whole of the Old Continent. We perceive in them the same design which we admire in the vases falsely called Tuscan (Etruscan?), or in the frieze of the ancient temple near the grotto of Egeria at Rome." But the perfection of these ornaments, he contends, "is no indication of any great progress of civilisation in the people among whom they are found. M. Krusenstern gives a description of arabesques of great elegance, fixed, by means of tattooing, on the skins of the most savage inhabitants of Washington's Islands."* Without running into hypothesis, however, the ornaments in question, and the whole style of the building, are so little in unison with the character of the Mex-

* Pol. Essay, vol. ii. pp. 191—4. Researches, vol. ii. pp. 152—9. The learned Author promises to give a further account of these interesting remains in his personal narrative; but that portion of it relating to New Spain, has never as yet made its appearance. He does not, however, seem to have visited Mitla himself. The drawing given in the Picturesque Atlas, was communicated by Don Luis Martin. The whole of this district merits the particular attention of the future traveller. We should have been glad to give a view of this interesting site, but Humboldt's plate exhibits only some fragments of wall.

ican *teocallis*, that they would seem to justify our referring them to a people of distinct origin. M. Humboldt thinks it scarcely probable, that the edifice is of a date anterior to the thirteenth or fourteenth century. Possibly, a further examination may throw some light on its comparative antiquity. It will deserve also to be ascertained, whether the excavation be natural or wholly artificial. The "great pyramid," of the existence of which we are somewhat sceptical, claims particular attention; and it will be important to ascertain, what apparent analogy there is between the ruins of Mitla and those of Palenque, and other ancient remains in the kingdom of Guatimala; particularly the cavern of Mixco in the valley of Xilopetec, the entrance to which is stated to have a "Doric portico."

An interesting natural curiosity is found at the village of *Santa Maria del Tule*, three leagues east of Oaxaca, between Santa Lucia and Tlacochiguaya. It is an ancient cypress (*cupressus disticha*), the trunk of which is still larger than that of the cypress of Atlixco,* measuring nearly 120 feet in circumference. On a minute examination, however, its enormous bulk is found to be composed of three trunks that have grown together.

The only port in this intendancy mentioned by Humboldt, is that of Tehuantepec or Teguantepec, situated at the bottom of a creek formed by the ocean between the small villages of San Francisco, San Dionisio, and Santa Maria de la Mar. "This port," says Humboldt, "though impeded by a very dangerous bar, will become one day of great consequence, when navigation in general, and especially the exportation

* See vol. i. p. 250.

of the indigo of Guatimala, shall become more frequent by the *Rio Guasacualco.*" As a port, it hardly deserves the name: none but small vessels can pass the bar, and without, they are exposed in an open roadstead. The sands brought down by the river Chimalapa, increase the bar every year, and the town of Tehuantepec is now four leagues from the sea. But it is at this part of the isthmus, between the bay of Tehuantepec and the port of Guasacualco, that the continent is narrowest, the distance from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean not exceeding 45 leagues.* The isthmus of Tehuantepec comprises, under the parallel of 16° N., the sources of the Guasacualco (or Huasacualco), which discharges itself into the Gulf of Mexico, and those of the Chimalapa, which mingles its waters with the Southern Ocean near the *Barra de San Francisco.* The approximation of the sources of these two rivers, (which, according to Mr. Robinson, are within five leagues of each other,) suggested to the patriotic viceroy, Count de Revillagigedo, the project of a canal to connect the two seas. A fortunate accident, Humboldt informs us, towards the end of the last century, was the means of directing the attention of the Mexican Government to this part of the isthmus.

"There was discovered, in 1771, at Vera Cruz, amongst the artillery of the castle of San Juan de Ulua, several pieces of cannon, cast at Manilla. As it was known that, before the year 1767, the Spaniards neither doubled the Cape of Good Hope nor Cape Horn, in their voyage to the Philippine Islands, and that since the first expeditions of Magellan and Loysa, who

* Mr. Robinson states the latitude of Guasacualco loosely at about 18° 30′; that of Tehuantepec at about 16° 36′.

set out from Spain, all the commerce of Asia was carried on in the Galleon of Acapulco, they could not conceive how these guns had crossed the continent of Mexico on their way from Manilla to the Castle of Ulua. The extreme difficulty of the road from Acapulco to Mexico, and from thence to Xalapa and Vera Cruz, rendered it very improbable that they should come by that way. In the course of their investigations, they learned both from the chronicle of Tehuantepec* written by Father Burgoa, and from the traditions preserved among the inhabitants of the Isthmus of Huasacualco, that these guns were cast at the Island of Luzon, and landed at the Bar of San Francisco; that they had ascended the bay of Santa Teresa, and the Rio Chimalapa; that they had been carried by the farm of Chivela and the forest of Tarifa to the Rio del Malpasso; and that, after having been again embarked, they descended the Rio Huasacualco, to its mouth in the Gulf of Mexico.

"It was then very reasonably observed, that this road, which had been frequented in the beginning of the conquest, might still become very useful for the opening a direct communication between the two seas. The viceroy, Don Antonio Bucareli, gave orders to two able engineers, Don Augustin Cramer and Don Miguel del Corral, to examine with the greatest minuteness, the country between the Bar of Huasacualco and the road of Tehuantepec; and he instructed them at the same time to verify whether, as was vaguely supposed, among the small rivers of Ostuta, Chicapa, or Chimalapa, there was none which in any of its branches communicated with the two seas. From the itinerary

* "Burgoa, Palestra Historial o Cronica de la Villa de Tehuantepec. Mexico, 1674."

journals of these two engineers, of whom the former was lieutenant of the castle of Ulua, I drew up my map of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. They found that no river discharged at the same time its waters into the South Sea and the Atlantic Ocean; that the Rio Huasacualco did not take its rise, as the viceroy had been informed, near the town of Tehuantepec; and that, on ascending it beyond the cataract, even as far as the old *desembarcadero* of Malpasso, they were still more than twenty-six leagues distant from the shores of the South Sea. They observed that a chain of mountains, of very inconsiderable height, divides the waters between the gulf of Mexico and the gulf of Tehuantepec. This small cordillera stretches from east to west, from the Cerros de los Mixes, formerly inhabited by a wild and warlike tribe * towards the elevated table-land of Portilla de Petapa. The engineer, Cramer, affirms, however, that to the south of the village of Santa Maria de Chimalapa, the mountains form a groupe rather than an uninterrupted chain, and 'that there exists a transversal valley, in which a canal of communication might be cut between the two seas.' This canal, which would unite the Rio de Chimalapa with the Rio del Passo (or Malpasso), would be only six leagues in length. The boats would ascend the Rio Chimalapa, which affords a very easy navigation from Tehuantepec to the village of San Miguel; and from thence, they would pass by the canal projected in the time of Count de Revillagigedo, to the Rio del Passo. This river discharges itself into the Rio de Huasacualco near the *Bodegas de la Fabrica*; but its navigation is extremely difficult on account of the seven rapids (*raudales*) which are

* "Cartas de Cortez, p. 372."

counted between its source and the mouth of the Rio de Saravia.

" It would be of infinite importance again to order this ground to be examined by intelligent engineers, to determine whether, as was believed by M. Cramer, the *canal between the two seas* can be executed without locks, or without *inclined planes*, and whether, by blowing up the rocks with powder, the beds of the rivers Passo and Chimalapa can be deepened. The Isthmus is rich in cattle, and would, from its great fertility, supply valuable productions for the commerce of Vera Cruz. The fine plains of Tehuantepec would be susceptible of irrigation from the Rio de Chimalapa: in their present state, they produce a little indigo and cochineal of a superior quality.

" Before setting on foot, in the Islands of Cuba and Pinos, the felling of cedar and acajou wood (*cedrela odorata* and *swietenia mahogany*), the dock-yards of the Havannah drew their wood for ship-building from the thick forest which covers the northern slope of the Cerros de Petapa and Tarifa. The Isthmus of Tehuantepec was at that time very much frequented, and the ruins of several houses which are still to be seen on the two banks of the river Huasacualco, are to be dated back to that period. The cedar and acajou wood was embarked at the Bodegas de Malpasso.

" To avoid the seven rapids of the Rio del Passo, a new port (*desembarcadero*) was established in 1798, at the mouth of the Rio de Saravia: the salt provisions (*tasajo*) of Tehuantepec, the indigo of Guatimala, and the cochineal of Oaxaca, were conveyed by this way to Vera Cruz and the Havannah. A road has been opened from Tehuantepec, by Chihuitan, Llano Grande, Santa Maria Petapa, and Guchicovi, to the new port of La Cruz. They reckon this road thirty-four

leagues. The productions destined for the Havannah do not descend to the mouth of the Rio Huasacualco, or to the small port of that name, because they are afraid of exposing their canoes to the north winds, during the long passage from the bar of Huasacualco to the port of Vera Cruz. They disembark the goods at the Passo de la Fabrica; and from thence they are conveyed on the backs of mules, by the village of Acayucan to the banks of the river San Juan, where they are again embarked in large canoes, and transported by the bar of Tlacatalpan to the port of Vera Cruz."

By this road, which was completed in the year 1800, the river Guasacualco forms a commercial communication, though an imperfect one, between the two oceans. When Spain was at war with Great Britain, the indigo of Guatimala was brought by way of this isthmus to the port of Vera Cruz, whence it was exported to Europe; but the carriage of goods on the back of mules, from Tehuantepec to Vera Cruz, by Oaxaca, was, in 1804, as high as thirty piasters (6*l.* 6*s.*) per load; and the muleteers took three months in accomplishing the journey, though the distance is not 75 leagues in a straight line. By way of the isthmus and the river Guasacualco, Humboldt states, nearly half the expense of carriage, and seventy days, might be saved.

The mouth of the Guasacualco has already been referred to as one of the four points to which it was proposed to transfer the commerce of Vera Cruz;* and it would seem to be by far the most eligible. The inhabitants of Oaxaca have long been bent on this favourite object. So far back as the year 1745, a memorial was presented to the viceroy by several distin-

* Vol. i. p. 354.

guished Creoles, praying him to represent to the court of Madrid, the immense benefits to the kingdom that would result from making Guasacualco a port of entry, and the grand commercial depôt, instead of Vera Cruz. This memorial, a copy of which Mr. Robinson saw when at Oaxaca, in 1816, after giving a topographical description of the isthmus, and expatiating on the beauty and fertility of the country, explicitly declares, that the projected canal is a feasible measure. It then goes on to state, that, should *political reasons* forbid its formation, a road might be cut across the ridge, by which property could be transported in carriages at a moderate expense. The memorial was transmitted to the Spanish Government; but "the Cadiz monopolists and the Philippine Company viewed with alarm a project that threatened to divert the trade out of its ordinary channels. The mercantile establishments they had formed at Acapulco and Vera Cruz, and the expensive edifices they had erected at those places, would become valueless in proportion as this should be effected. These parties, therefore, and their agents in Mexico, put in action every engine of intrigue in order to defeat the wishes of the Oaxaca memorialists. The memorial was placed among the secret royal archives at Madrid; that is, it was laid on the shelf of oblivion; and the only notice ever bestowed on it, was an order from the Court, prohibiting the parties from ever reviving the subject under pain of the royal displeasure; and severely reprimanding, or stigmatising the Oaxaca memorialists, as audacious innovators of the established regulations and commerce of the kingdom."* The Count de Revillagigedo himself is stated to have incurred the

* Robinson's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 301.

displeasure of the cabinet, by favouring the project of a water communication between the two rivers.

The harbour of Guasacualco is stated by Mr. Robinson to be the most spacious and secure of any on the Atlantic coast. "It is," he says, "the only port in the Mexican Gulf, where vessels of war and others of a large size can enter,* and is far superior either to Pensacola or Espiritu Santo. There are, at all seasons, on the bar at the mouth of the port, twenty-two feet water; and it is said, that, during the flood of the river, the bar occasionally shifts, and affords passages in five and six fathoms water. Some years ago, a Spanish ship of the line, called the Asia, crossed the bar of Guasacualco, and anchored in the port. The river is navigable for vessels of the largest size, to within twelve leagues of the navigable waters of the Chimalapa and Tehuantepec. The latter river admits vessels drawing twenty feet water. It was on this river that Cortes constructed ships, when he sent Pedro de Alvarado to conquer Guatimala." The expedition of Fernando de Grixalva to California, in 1534, sailed also from Tehuantepec; and in like manner, the vessels in which Cortes embarked at Chametla, in the following year, were constructed at the mouth of the Chimalapa, of materials brought by the river Guasacualco; so early had this part of the coast attracted the attention of the Spaniards. One of these vessels was lost in crossing the bar of St. Francis, on leaving the *laguna* of Santa Theresa. The topography

* See p. 24 of the present volume. This gentleman mentions, on hearsay information, a port, which he calls *Matagorda*, as the best to the north of Vera Cruz: it is, he says, in lat. 28° 30′, about half way between the rivers Sabine and Del Norte, and has twenty feet on the bar. No such port is mentioned by Humboldt, but he confesses that this part of the coast had never been accurately explored. The latitude is that of the entrance to the Bay of St. Bernard.

of the isthmus of Tehuantepec, however, Humboldt remarks, (and he might have added, the hydrography of the whole coast,) is altogether unknown in Europe. The memorial of the Oaxacan citizens speaks of a number of valuable ports on the coast of this intendancy, which are set down, indeed, in Humboldt's map, but respecting which nothing is known. They particularly mention, Mr. Robinson says, besides Tehuantepec, San Diego, Santa Cruz de Guatulco, Cacalutla, San Augustin, Puerto de los Angeles, Escondido, and the bay of Mazuntla. "The port of Escondido (hidden port) has," it is added, "a narrow but excellent entrance, which is only discovered on a very near approach to the coast; it is as spacious as Acapulco, and would afford perfectly secure moorings for hundreds of vessels. It could easily be fortified, so as to render it impregnable to external attacks. The port of Santa Cruz de Guatulco, likewise, is equal to any on the shores of the Pacific, and is situated only 35 leagues S. of the city of Oaxaca."

Of the feasibleness of a canal between the two rivers, this Traveller entertains little doubt. By some extraordinary convulsion of nature, he states, vast chasms or ravines have been formed among the mountains which traverse the isthmus; and during the rainy season, these chasms contain a vast body of water, which seeks its discharge by rivers flowing into either ocean. "The Indians of the isthmus, particularly those of Tabasco and Tehuantepec, assert that they pass with their canoes entirely through the isthmus. We endeavoured, while at Oaxaca, to ascertain this fact, and are convinced, that when the waters are at their height during the rainy season, a canoe may pass, by the sinuosities of the ravines, from the Guasacualco to the rivers Chimalapa and Tehuan-

tepec. We will not positively assert that a navigable canal may be formed so as to unite the waters of these three rivers, but we believe it practicable." No doubt, however, he adds, can exist, "that a good carriage road might be made, of from twelve to fourteen leagues, along the sides of the mountains, by which every species of merchandise could be transported with ease, in a few hours, from the waters of the Chimalapa to those of the Guasacualco." By this means, the passage of the isthmus might, he calculates, be effected in less than six days. A steam-vessel could perform the voyage from Tehuantepec to Canton, in less than 50 days, and might get from the same port to the mouth of Colombia river, in from 18 to 24 days. The voyage from Philadelphia to Guasacualco would occupy six days. Thus, by means of steam-boat navigation, Mr. R. reckons, that a voyage from the United States to China might be performed in less than sixty-three days, the route being shortened by a fourth; and from Philadelphia to Colombia river, on the north-west coast, in from thirty to thirty-six days, a distance being saved of more than two-thirds. These calculations would at one time have appeared extremely visionary: they now require only to be verified.

The population of Tehuantepec, Mr. Robinson adds, are among the most active and healthy race of Indians in the country. "The Indian females may properly be styled the Circassians of Southern (Central) America. Their piercing eyes give to their countenance an extraordinary animation; their long black hair is neatly plaited, and adorned with combs, made of gold or tortoise-shell; while the celerity and grace of their movements strike a stranger with astonishment. They are very industrious, and manufacture nearly all their own clothing. They are remarkable for their cleanli-

ness, and are fond of bathing." The Spanish Government, during the recent revolution, looked upon these Indians with a jealous eye, in consequence of their known predilection for the insurgents. The vicinity of the town to the sea-coast, and its being situated on a navigable river, were circumstances that gave the Government much uneasiness, because they were aware, that if a foreign enemy should land on the coast of Oaxaca, they would be received with open arms by the Indians of Tehuantepec, and, indeed, by the greater part of the population of the whole province.

The intendancy of Oaxaca, continues Mr. Robinson, "not only possesses an immense population, but is of the highest importance for its valuable productions. It is the region of New Spain that appears the most favourable to the production of the important article of cochineal. In no other part of Mexico does the *nopal* (on which tree the cochineal insect subsists) flourish so well. Its propagation has been unsuccessfully attempted in various other provinces; but not only do the climate and soil appear peculiarly adapted to this plant in Oaxaca, but the Indians have, by a long course of practice, acquired so much experience in the manner of cultivating the nopal, and collecting the insects, as to preclude all rivalship in any of the other provinces. In some years there have been produced, in Oaxaca, four hundred thousand pounds weight of cochineal: this is worth in Europe, even during peace, about one million six hundred thousand dollars. During war, it has frequently sold in England at twenty-five shillings sterling per pound. The poor Indian who collects this precious commodity, barters it for manufactured goods to the Spanish shop-keepers in the villages. The extortion of these men, together with

the exactions of the Government and the priesthood, leave to the Indian a miserable return for his care and industry; but we have no doubt, that if these unjust and unnatural restrictions on the labour of the natives were removed, the intendancy of Oaxaca would, in a very few years, produce above a million of pounds of cochineal per annum.

"The mountains of this intendancy, particularly those of the Misteca, are likewise peculiarly adapted to the growth of the mulberry-tree. Many years ago, the experiment was made, and it succeeded so well, that it awakened the jealousy of the European Spaniards; and they created so many obstacles to the manufacturing of silk in Oaxaca, that the Indians became exasperated, and *in one night* destroyed every mulberry-tree in the intendancy; since which time no attempts have been made to renew its culture.

"The indigo of the district of Tehuantepec, is superior in quality to that of Guatimala; but, as there are no ports open to foreign commerce along the coast of the Pacific Ocean, in the vicinity of Tehuantepec, nor, indeed, on any part of the coast of Oaxaca, the inhabitants have not been stimulated either to the culture of that, or of the cotton-plant, or of the sugar-cane, except so far as is absolutely necessary to supply their own immediate consumption.

"In all the mountainous districts of Oaxaca, and more especially in the spacious valleys which are situated from twenty-five hundred to six thousand feet above the level of the sea, we find a soil and climate at least equal, if not superior, to any on the globe. There is not a single article raised in the temperate zone, that would not here find a congenial region. Wheat and all kinds of grain yield a return to the cultivator, equal to that of the most fertile parts of

Europe. The fruits and vegetables of Oaxaca are unrivalled for luxuriance and delicacy. Peaches, pears, apricots, and strawberries, are here to be found of a size and flavour superior to those of the south of France; and the variety and excellence of the grape point out the valleys of Oaxaca as the great future vineyards of New Spain. Asparagus, artichokes, turnips, cabbages, and all the various productions of horticulture, grow to a size and perfection we have never beheld elsewhere.

"To all these important natural advantages of this favoured country, must be added that of its mineral productions. Some of the most valuable gold mines of New Spain are in this province; but they have not yet been extensively worked, inasmuch as the attention of the directors of the mining establishments in Mexico has been principally directed to the mines of Guanaxuato, and of other provinces, silver mines being considered more profitable than those of gold. The Indians of the Upper and Lower Misteca, as well as those of the district of Tehuantepec, collect grains of gold in the beds of the rivulets that flow through the mountains; and larger masses of gold have been found in Oaxaca, than in any other part of New Spain. Indications of silver ore are, likewise, discoverable in all the mountainous districts; but as yet, scarcely any attention has been paid to them. In fact, there cannot be a doubt that this province abounds in all the precious minerals; and when the use of machinery shall be introduced, and the restrictions on human industry and enterprise be removed, this province will yield as much gold and silver as any other in America. It is worthy of remark, likewise, that copper and iron ore have been found in different parts of Oaxaca. In the village of *Yanhuitlan*, there is a

large piece of metal, which the blacksmiths of the place use as an anvil. It was found on the summit of a hill near the village, and is of an extraordinary weight for its dimensions. Various attempts have been made to fuse it, but it has resisted the most intense heat."

This mass of metal is termed, in some manuscript notes, drawn up by generals Teran and Bustamente, *platina;* a metal which, according to Humboldt, has never yet been discovered in any part of America north of Panama. Mr. Robinson says: "The mineralogists will of course pronounce it to be impossible, and we are content." Whatever the metal may be, the fact is curious, and the statements of this intelligent American; being drawn from native sources, merit attention. It will not be long before the topography of this valuable province will be better known to us. No part of Mexico is more accessible than this province. According to Mr. Robinson, an army could march in 48 hours from the port of Guasacualco to the table-land of Oaxaca. We trust that no invading army will ever be allowed to make such an experiment; but British and American merchants and travellers may ere long be able to report as to the practicability of the route.

It only remains to give some account of the great peninsula of Yucatan, situated between the bays of Campeachy and Honduras, which forms the intendancy of

MERIDA.

THIS province, which is separated, on the south-west, by the *Rio Baraderas* or *de los Lagartos* (lizards),*

* The mouth of this river is stated to be in lat. 21° 34′ N.; long. 90° 30′ 15″ W. of Paris.

from the intendancy of Vera Cruz, is bounded on the south by Chiapa and Vera Paz in Guatimala; and on the west, by the English establishments, which extend along the eastern coast, from the mouth of the river Hondo to the north of Hanover Bay, opposite the island of Ubero (Ambergris key). Cape Catoche, its north-eastern point (in lat. 21° 30′), is only 51 leagues distant from Cape San Antonio, the western extremity of the island of Cuba, which is supposed at a remote period to have formed part of the American continent. The northern coast of Yucatan is observed to follow exactly the direction of the "current of rotation" or gulf stream. The peninsula consists of a vast plain, intersected from N.E. to S.W. by a chain of hills of small elevation. "The country which extends east from these hills towards the bays of Ascension and Espiritu Santo, appears to be the most fertile part, and was the earliest inhabited. The ruins of European edifices in the island of Cozumel,* in the midst of a grove of palm-trees, indicate that that island, now uninhabited, was, at the commencement of the conquest, peopled by Spanish colonists. Since the settlement of the English between Omoa and the Rio Hondo, the Government, to diminish the contraband trade, concentrated the Spanish and Indian population in that part of the peninsula which is west of the mountains of Yucatan. Colonists are not permitted to settle on the eastern coast, on the banks of the Rio Bacalar and Rio Hondo; and all this vast country remains uninhabited, with the exception of the *presidio* of Salamanca."

The extent of the intendancy of Merida, is stated at nearly 6000 square leagues; the population, in 1803,

* See vol. i. p. 6.

at 465,800, being only 81 to the square league; and this in one of the healthiest, though one of the warmest provinces of equinoctial America. This calculation, however, does not include the several Indian tribes who have preserved their independence in the southern part of the mountain district, which is rendered almost inaccessible by thick forests and the luxuriance of tropical vegetation. The only towns in this intendancy mentioned by Humboldt, are Merida, Campeche, and Valladolid.

Merida de Yucatan, the provincial capital, is situated ten leagues in the interior, in the midst of an arid plain: the population is estimated at 10,000. Its small port is called Sizal, situated to the west of Chaboana, opposite a sand-bank nearly twelve leagues in length, in lat. 21° 19′ N., long. 92° 19′ 45″ W. of Paris. Campeche has a resident population of 6000. The port, formed by the mouth of the Rio de San Francisco, is not very secure, and vessels are obliged to anchor a great way from the shore. It derives its name from two words in the *Maya* language; *cam* signifying serpent, and *peche*, the *garapata* insect (acarus), both of which, it may be inferred, annoy the inhabitants. It stands in lat. 19° 50′ 45″ N., long. 92° 50′ 45″ W. Between Campeche and Merida are two very considerable Indian villages, called Xampolan and Equetchecan. Valladolid is a small town, surrounded with extensive cotton-plantations.

The chief exports, besides the famous Campeche wood, are cotton and wax. The trees which furnish this wood, *(hæmatoxylon campechianum,)* grow in abundance in several districts of this intendancy. The cutting takes place once a year, on the banks of the river Champoton, the mouth of which is to the south of Campeche, within four leagues

of the small village of Lerma. "It is only with the special permission of the intendant of Merida," Humboldt says, "that the merchant can from time to time cut down Campeche wood to the east of the mountains, near the bays of Ascension, Todos los Santos, and Espiritu Santo, where the English carry on an extensive and lucrative contraband trade." After being cut down, the wood must dry for a year, before it can be sent to Vera Cruz, the Havannah, or Cadiz. The tree is not peculiar to Yucatan and Honduras, but is found scattered throughout the forests of the equinoctial regions, wherever the mean temperature of the air is not below 71° of Fahrenheit. The climate of Merida does not admit of the cultivation of European grain, but the inhabitants cultivate maize and the manioc root.

Humboldt attributes the salubrity of the climate in this intendancy to the extreme dryness of the soil and atmosphere. From Campeche to Cape Catoche, the navigator does not find a single spring of fresh water; but, on the northern coast, a very remarkable phenomenon occurs. At the mouth of the Rio de los Lagartos, 1300 feet from the shore, springs of fresh water spout up from amidst the salt water. They are called the *boccas* (mouths) *de Conil.* The learned Traveller supposes that, by some strong hydrostatic pressure, the fresh water, after bursting the calcareous rock, between the clefts of which it has flowed, is made to rise above the level of the salt water. The same phenomenon is found in the bay of Xagua, off the Island of Cuba.

The name of New Spain was at first given (in 1518) only to the peninsula of Yucatan. Grijalva, who landed here the year before the expedition of Cortes, was astonished at the cultivation of the fields and the beauty of the Indian edifices. Cortes afterwards

extended the name to the whole empire of Montezuma. Yucatan was never subject, however, to the Aztec sultans. The first conquerors were struck with the advanced civilisation of the inhabitants. They found houses built of stone, cemented with lime, pyramidal edifices (*teocallis*), which they compared to Moorish mosques, fields enclosed with hedges, and the people clothed. Many ruins, particularly of sepulchral monuments, are still to be discovered to the east of the small central chain of mountains. The language spoken by the Indians of this intendancy is the Maya, which is extremely guttural, and of which there exist four tolerably complete dictionaries. The intendant of Merida bore the title of captain-general of Yucatan, and appears to have been in some degree independent of the viceroy, it being recognised as a distinct territory.

We have now completed our survey of the twelve intendancies and the three provinces into which, by the latest arrangement under the colonial system, Mexico was divided. We have been compelled to adhere to that arrangement, and to preserve the name of intendancies, although, by the recent political changes, these terms have been rendered obsolete, and the distribution of the provinces has been somewhat modified. The present arrangement, however, can hardly be considered as definitive. For instance, the interior eastern provinces will not ultimately remain consolidated into one state; Texas will probably be annexed to Louisiana, and Santander and Leon will detach themselves from Cohahuila. Then, again, Durango and New Mexico cannot eventually remain united, nor will the latter be always dependent for its supplies on the southern provinces. On the other hand, Queretaro and Tabasco seem scarcely entitled

to rank as separate states. The latter, if detached from Vera Cruz, might unite with Chiapa.* Other changes will be introduced both in the Mexican Federation and that of the Central States. As Chiapa, however, though usually comprehended in Guatimala, has adhered to Mexico, and now forms an integral part of that republic, it may be proper, before concluding our description of the latter country, to give some account of it in this place.

CHIAPA.

THIS state, formerly an intendancy of Guatimala, is bounded, on the north, by Tabasco; on the north-east, by Yucatan; on the east, by Totonicapan and Suchiltepec; on the west, by Oaxaca and Vera Cruz; and on the south, by the Pacific Ocean. It is about 250 miles in length from east to west, and 90 miles in its extreme breadth, lying between lat. 14° 40′, and 17° 30′ N., and long. 93° 16′, and 95° 46′ W. It contains 1 city, 1 town, 109 villages, and 128,000 inhabitants.† "What now forms the intendancy of Chiapa," says a native historian, to whom we shall have occasion to make frequent reference hereafter, "was, in the period of its paganism, divided into five

* We regret that we have not more accurate information on the subject of the present arrangement. The enumeration given by Mr. Poinsett as taken from the "Constitutive Act of the Mexican Nation," apparently omits the important province of Guadalaxara, while it includes, as a separate state, *Xalisco*, a place not any where mentioned by Humboldt; only, in his map, we find the port of *Xalisco Matanche* on the coast of that intendancy, near the *Cerro del Valle*, in lat. 21°. If this place be important enough to give its name to the State, it is marvellous that it should never before have been heard of. No geographical order is observed in the enumeration.

† Juarros's Hist. of Guatimala, p. 21.

provinces, peopled by as many different nations, who have, to the present day, preserved their distinct idioms; viz. Chiapa, Llanos, Tzendales, Zoques, and Soconusco. Of the last, the Spaniards formed the government of Soconusco, and of the other four, the *alcaldia mayor* of Ciudad Real. By a royal order in the year 1764, the latter was again subdivided to form the *alcaldia mayor* of Tuxtla, which was composed of the districts of Chiapa and Zoques, while those of Llanos and Tzendales remained to Ciudad Real. In 1790, the intendancy of Chiapa was created, and these three divisions were re-united under the jurisdiction of the intendant, who resides in Ciudad Real, and has a deputy at Tuxtla, Soconusco, and Comitan."* The district of Soconusco, however, has been, by the recent arrangements, again constituted a separate government; and the above description will not strictly apply to the State of Chiapa, which, instead of reaching to the shores of the Pacific, is bounded by Soconusco on the south, and must be considered as wholly an inland province. It has already been stated, that this province, lying contiguous alike to Mexico and the Central States, was claimed by both; and that, the option being given to the inhabitants, Chiapa declared its wish to join the Mexican union, while the district of Soconusco adhered to the Central Federation. Thus, the province has been divided between the two Republics. The history of Soconusco abounds with vicissitudes. That district was the first into which Pedro de Alvarado penetrated, and the first Indian villages that were reduced by him to the Spanish dominion, were on this part of the coast. In former times, it was one of the most populous and

* Juarros's Hist. of Guatimala, p. 14.

opulent districts in the kingdom of Guatimala. Its ancient capital, from which the province took its name, situated between the villages of San Domingo de Escuintla and Acacozagua, contained a numerous population, among whom were 200 Spaniards; but upwards of two centuries have elapsed since this extensive town fell to decay, and became at length entirely abandoned. For some time after the establishment of the *audiencia* of Guatimala, Soconusco remained under the jurisdiction of that of Mexico. By an edict of Jan. 20, 1553, it was annexed to the royal chancery of Guatimala. When that court was transferred to the city of Panama, Soconusco reverted to the *audiencia* of Mexico; but, in Jan. 1569, another edict restored it to Guatimala. It is supposed to have belonged originally to the diocese of Tlascala; on the creation of the see of Guatimala, it was annexed to that see; for a short time it was transferred to the bishopric of Vera Paz, but was soon restored to Guatimala; and finally, in 1596, it was transferred to the bishopric of Chiapa. Its separation from Chiapa will probably lead to another ecclesiastical change, unless, which is not unlikely, it should be superseded by the re-annexation of the district to the State of Chiapa, as a part of the Mexican Union.

Ciudad Real, or *Chiapa dos Espagnos*, the capital of the intendancy and an episcopal city, is situated in the plain of Gueizacatlan, about 200 miles from the Pacific Ocean, and 130 leagues N.W. of the city of Guatimala: lat. 16° 35′ N.; long. 94° 16′ W. The population is inconsiderable, consisting of less than 4,000 inhabitants, an eighth of whom are Indians. The city contains but one parish, that of the cathedral; but there are four convents, a nunnery, a church dedicated to Our Lady of Charity, two other chapels

without the walls, and five for the Indians, one in each of their *barrios* or wards. The Jesuits had also a college here. The town was founded by Diego de Mazariegos in 1528, with a view to keep in subjection the province which he had with difficulty recovered, after the revolt of the natives in 1526. It was at first called *Villa Real;* for a short time it bore the name of *San Christoval de los Llanos;* but, by an edict dated July 7, 1536, the Emperor Charles the Fifth ordered the name to be changed to *Ciudad Real*, and granted it all the honours and privileges of a city. It is a place of some trade. In its vicinity are several caverns, in which are found some very beautiful stalactites.

San Bartolomé de los Llanos, the chief place in the district so called, is a large village, containing two churches, with a population, including the surrounding plantations, of 7,400 souls. *San Jacinto Ocosingo*, the chief place in the district of Tzendales, contains above 3,000 inhabitants. *San Domingo Comitan*, the residence of the deputy-intendant, has a population of nearly 7,000, including the plantations. The Dominicans have a good convent here. *San Domingo Sinacantan* is a very ancient village, containing about 2,000 inhabitants. It formerly belonged to the Mexican empire. In its vicinity are found "small steel-coloured stones, of a cubical figure, and two or three lines in length, called St. Anne's stones," which are believed to have medicinal virtues: "it is asserted, that persons suffering under hysterical affections receive relief from drinking water in which they have been boiled." *San Juan Chamula* is a large village; the population exceeding 6,000 persons. *San Fernando de Guadalupe*, a village on the bank of the river Tulija, nine leagues from Tumbala, was founded

by the intendant of the province, in 1794, with the view to facilitate the navigation of the river, and, by its means, to open a communication with Campeche, the lake of Terminos, Carmen, and other contiguous points. It contains a few Spanish and Mulatto families, and about 200 Indians. The soil is fertile, and adapted to the cultivation of the cane, pepper, and cocoa. *Tuxtla*, the residence of the deputy-intendant of the district to which it gives its name, contains "a custom-house, a post-office, and a tobacco-manufactory." The population consists of a few Spanish families, and some mulattoes, but the greater part are Indians, amounting altogether to between 4 and 5,000 souls. This place is 18 leagues from Ciudad Real, and 140 leagues from Guatimala. *Tecpatlan*, the chief place in the district of Zoques, contains about 2,300 inhabitants. But the largest place in the whole province is *Chiapa dos Indios*, a very ancient village, founded in 1527. It is advantageously situated in a valley near the banks of the river Tabasco, in lat. 17° 5′ N., long. 93° 53′ W.; about 36 miles W. of Ciudad Real, and 358 miles S.E. of Mexico. The inhabitants are chiefly Indians, but they are reported to be rich, and a great deal of sugar is grown in the district. They are said to amount to about 4,000 families.* During the day, the heat is excessive, but the nights are cold. This place enjoys many privileges, and will probably rise in importance. We find it, indeed, denominated in Alcedo's Dictionary, a city.

The climate of this intendancy is for the most part hot and moist, but there are large tracts of rugged,

* Don D. Juarros states the population at 1,568 inhabitants. Unless this be an error of the press for 15,680, the discrepancy is unaccountably great.

mountainous country, covered with forests of cedar, cypress, pine, and walnut-trees. Extensive woods are found also in the lower region, which abound with the American lion (*mixtli*), the jaguar or ounce, the wild boar, parrots of great beauty, and great numbers of serpents. Goats, sheep, and pigs, of the European breed, have multiplied in this province to a remarkable degree; and the breed of horses is so much esteemed, that colts are sent to Mexico. The chief productions are cotton, cocoa, maize, cochineal, honey, and aromatic gums. Our information with regard to this province is very vague and imperfect, but it is evident that a very small proportion of it has been brought under cultivation. The population does not amount to quite five-sixths of that of Vera Cruz, which contains only 36 inhabitants to every square league, but is about twice as large. It appears, however, to have been, prior to the conquest, the seat of an advanced civilisation, and to have been well peopled. Near the village of *San Domingo Palenque*, on the borders of Yucatan, are considerable vestiges of an Indian capital, which were accidentally discovered about the middle of the last century, in the midst of a fertile and salubrious tract of country, almost entirely depopulated. These remains, although both their antiquity and their architectural beauty have been absurdly magnified, are highly interesting, and merit the attention of future travellers. "This metropolis," says Don Domingo Juarros, the historian of Guatimala, "like another Herculaneum, not indeed overwhelmed by the torrent of another Vesuvius, but concealed for ages in the midst of a vast desert, remained unknown until the middle of the eighteenth century, when some Spaniards having penetrated the dreary solitude, found themselves, to their great astonish-

ment, within sight of the remains of what had once been a superb city, six leagues in circumference. The solidity of its edifices, the stateliness of its palaces, and the magnificence of its public works, were not surpassed by the vastness of its extent: temples, altars, sculptures, and monumental stones, bear testimony to its vast antiquity." The hieroglyphics and emblems found here, are represented by the learned historian as bearing so strong a resemblance to those of the Egyptians, that he is strongly inclined to ascribe them to a colony of that nation!

The marvellous report brought back by the first discoverers having reached the ears of the Spanish Government, a royal mandate was issued in May 1786, directing a further examination of these ruins; and Captain Don Antonio del Rio was appointed by the Captain-general of Guatimala, to carry the mandate into execution. Being provided with a corps of Indian pioneers, he proceeded to the spot; but he had first to open a road to the "Palencian city," and a fortnight was occupied with felling and firing the timber with which the ruins were inaccessibly surrounded. Having succeeded by this means in obtaining not only a clear path, but a wholesome atmosphere for his further operations, he set to work on the *Casas de Piedras*, as the ruins are called; and ultimately, he says in his Report, "there remained neither a window nor a doorway blocked up, a partition that was not thrown down, nor a room, corridor, court, or tower, unexplored, nor a subterranean passage in which excavations were not effected from two to three yards in depth." The original manuscript document in which Don Antonio gives an account of his proceedings, was brought to light not many years ago, in an examination of the public archives of the

city of Guatimala. It has since been made public in the shape of an English translation, together with the learned commentary of Doctor Paul Felix Cabrera, of New Guatimala, who is still more confident than his fellow-citizen as to their Egyptian origin.* Don Antonio's description of the site is as follows.

"From Palenque, the last town northward in the province of Ciudad Real de Chiapa, taking a south-westerly direction, and ascending a ridge of high land that divides the kingdom of Guatimala from Yucatan or Campeche, at the distance of two leagues is the little river Micol, whose waters flowing in a westerly direction, unite with the great river Tulija, which bends its course towards the province of Tabasco. Having passed the Micol, the ascent begins; and at half a league from thence, the traveller crosses a little stream called Otolum, discharging its waters into the before-mentioned current. From this point, heaps of ruins are discovered, which render the road very difficult for another half league, when you gain the height on which the Stone Houses are situated, being fourteen in number, some more dilapidated than others, but still having many of their apartments perfectly discernible.

"A rectangular area, three hundred yards in breadth by four hundred and fifty in length, presents a plain at the base of the highest mountain forming the ridge; and in the centre is situated the largest of these structures which has as yet been discovered. It stands on a mound twenty yards high, and is surrounded by the other edifices, namely, five to the northward, four to the southward, one to the south-

* "*Description of the Ruins of an Ancient City, discovered near Palenque, in the Kingdom of Guatemala,*" &c. 4to. London, 1822.

west, and three to the eastward. In all directions, the fragments of other fallen buildings are to be seen extending along the mountain, that stretches east and west, about three or four leagues either way; so that the whole range of this ruined town may be computed to extend between seven and eight leagues. But its breadth is by no means equal to its length, being little more than half a league wide at the point where the ruins terminate, which is towards the river Micol, that winds round the base of the mountain, whence descend small streams that wash the foundation of the ruins on their banks; so that, were it not for the thick umbrageous foliage of the trees, they would present to the view so many beautiful serpentine rivulets."

The rivers abound with turtle and the smaller shell-fish, and running to the east, north, and west, afford the utmost facility to inland traffic. An abundance of wild fruit-trees, the sapote, the plantain, the aguacate, the camote, and the cassava, indicate what the soil would yield under proper cultivation. Under the largest building there runs a "subterranean aqueduct, built of stone, of great solidity." The description given of the *Casas de piedras* is vague and confused, and has the further disadvantage of appearing in a very indifferent translation; but, in the absence of a more accurate account, it may not be unacceptable to the reader.

"The interior of the large building is in a style of architecture strongly resembling the Gothic; and, from its rude and massive construction, promises great durability. The entrance is on the eastern side, by a portico or corridor thirty-six yards (*varàs*) in length and three in breadth, supported by plain rectangular pillars, without either bases or pedestals, upon which there are square smooth stones of more than a foot in

thickness, forming an architrave; while on the exterior superficies are shields of a species of stucco; and over these stones, there is another plain rectangular block, five feet long and six broad, extending over two of the pillars. Medallions or compartments in stucco, containing different devices of the same material, appear as decorations to the chambers; and it is presumable from the vestiges of the heads which can still be traced, that they were the busts of a series of kings or lords to whom the natives were subject. Between the medallions there is a range of windows like niches, passing from one end of the wall to the other: some of them are square, some in the form of a Greek cross, being about two feet high and eight inches deep. Beyond the corridor there is a square court, entered by a flight of seven steps. The north side is entirely in ruins, but sufficient traces remain to shew that it once had a chamber and corridor similar to those on the eastern side, and which continued entirely along the several angles. The south side has four small chambers, with no other ornament than one or two little windows like those already described. The western side is correspondent to its opposite in all respects but in the variety of expression of the figures in stucco: these are much more rude and ridiculous than the others, and can be attributed only to the most uncultivated Indian capacity. The device is a sort of grotesque mask with a crown and long beard like that of a goat, under which are two Greek crosses, one within the other.

"Proceeding in the same direction, there is another court, similar in length to the last, but not so broad, having a passage round it that communicated with the opposite side: in this passage there are two chambers like those above mentioned, and an interior gal-

lery, looking on one side upon the court-yard, and commanding on the other a view of the open country. In this part of the edifice, some pillars yet remain, on which are relievos apparently representing the sacrifice of some wretched Indian, the destined victim of a sanguinary religion.

"Returning by the south side, the tower presents itself to notice: its height is sixteen yards; and to the four existing stories of the building * was *perhaps* added a fifth *with a cupola.* These stories diminish in size, and are without ornament. The tower has a well-imitated artificial entrance.....Behind the four chambers already mentioned, there are two others of larger dimensions, very well ornamented in the rude Indian style, and which appear to have been used as *oratories.* Beyond these oratories, and extending from north to south, are two apartments, each twenty-seven yards long by little more than three broad; they contain nothing worthy of notice, excepting a stone of an elliptical form, embedded in the wall, about a yard above the pavement, the height of which is one yard and a quarter, and the breadth one yard. Below this stone, is a plain, rectangular block, more than two yards long by one yard four inches broad, and seven inches thick, placed upon four feet in form of a table, with a figure in bas-relief, in the attitude of supporting it. Characters or symbols adorn the edges of the table. At the extremity of this apartment, and on a level with the pavement, there is an aperture like a hatchway, two yards long and more than one broad, leading to a subterranean passage by a flight of steps, which, at a regular distance, forms flats or landings, each having its

* There are only three floors in the subjoined etching.

respective doorway ornamented in front. Other openings lead to this subterranean avenue. On reaching the second door, artificial light became necessary to the descent into this gloomy abode, which was by a very gentle declivity. It has a turning at right angles; and at the end of the side-passage, there is another door, communicating with a chamber sixty-four yards long, and almost as large as those before described. Beyond this room there is still another, similar in every respect, and having light admitted into it by some windows commanding a corridor * fronting the south, and leading to the exterior of the edifice. Neither bas-reliefs nor any other embellishments were found in these places, nor did they present to notice any object, except some plain stones, two yards and a half long by one yard and a quarter broad, arranged horizontally upon four square stands of masonry, rising about half a yard above the ground. These I consider to have been receptacles for sleeping. Here all the doors terminated.

"On an eminence to the south is another edifice, of about forty yards in height, forming a parallelogram, and resembling the first in the style of its architecture. It has square pillars, an exterior gallery, and a saloon twenty yards long by three and a half broad, embellished with stucco medio-reliefs, representing female figures with children in their arms, all of the natural size: these figures are without heads. In the inner wall of the gallery, on each side of the door leading into the saloon, are three stones, three yards in height and upwards of one in breadth,

* How this consists with its subterraneous position, we cannot explain: there is probably some error.

covered with hieroglyphics in bas-relief. The whole of this gallery and saloon are paved.

" Leaving this structure, and passing by the ruins of many others, which were probably accessory to the principal edifice, the declivity conducts to an open space, whereby the approach to another house in a southerly direction is rendered practicable.....Eastward of this structure are three small eminences forming a triangle, upon each of which is a square building, eighteen yards long by eleven broad, of the same architecture as the former, but having, along thin roofings, several superstructures about three yards high, resembling turrets, covered with ornaments and devices in stucco. In the interior of the first of these three mansions, at the end of a gallery almost entirely dilapidated, is a saloon having a small chamber at each extremity. In the centre of the saloon is an oratory, rather more than three yards square, presenting on each side of the entrance a perpendicular stone, whereon is portrayed the image of a man in bas-relief. The outward decoration is confined to a sort of moulding, finished with small stucco bricks, on which are bas-reliefs. The pavement of the oratory is quite smooth, and eight inches thick. On perforating it in order to make an excavation, I found, about half a yard deep, a small round earthen vessel, about a foot in diameter, fitted horizontally with a mixture of lime to another of the same quality and dimensions. The digging being continued, a quarter of a yard beneath we discovered a circular stone of rather larger diameter than the first articles; and on removing this, a cylindrical cavity presented itself, about a foot wide and the third of a foot deep, containing a flint lance (lance-*head?*), two small conical

pyramids with the figure of a heart in dark crystallised stone, (known by the name of challa,) and two small earthen jars with covers, containing small stones and a ball of vermilion."

The two other edifices are of similar architecture, divided internally in the same manner; and here also, the Don states, were found, by excavating under what he calls the oratories, a flint lance or lance-head, two conical pyramids with the representation of a heart, and two earthen jars. On digging in other parts, they found small pieces of challa "in the shape of lancets or razor-blades," and a number of small bones and teeth, which, together with specimens of the masonry, and representations of the principal bas-reliefs, were forwarded by Don Antonio to the commandant-general, in order to be transmitted to Europe.

Among the seventeen plates which accompany the English translation, there is but one that exhibits any of the edifices. In this is represented a square building with two receding stories, which has apparently been carried higher. This we presume to be the tower referred to. There are square windows within arched niches, rudely cut; and between each story, a sort of frieze or ledge runs round the building. Branches of trees appear to have forced their way through the walls. The other plates contain representations of the bas-reliefs. These consist chiefly of figures in varied dresses and attitudes, and with different accompaniments, but all more or less decorously clothed, with caps or helmets adorned with flowers, pearls, and sundry nondescript ornaments. Necklaces and strings of pearls are a conspicuous decoration of most of the figures. But the most striking peculiarity in these representations is, the physiognomy of the

countenances, which is of one strongly marked character, though the individuals differ. A prodigious development of feature, especially of that which would be called the nose, but which in these personages comes nearer to a beak, is common to all of them; in almost all, the chin recedes not less remarkably than the proboscis protrudes; while some of the visages have the additional recommendation of being fearfully under-hung. This is especially the case with an old priest in a cap and apron, who holds an infant in his arms, doubtless with no very good purpose. In one of the plates, a figure whom we take to be a deity, is seated on a curious sort of throne, with one leg brought up into the lap, and the other depending, very much after the fashion of some of the Hindoo celestials, who prefer very odd and uncomfortable postures. This personage is very significantly pointing upwards with the fore-finger of the left hand, while the middle finger of the right is brought to rest emphatically upon the thumb, like a person talking with his fingers. The throne is ornamented with an enormous head and claw of an animal on each side of it; and perched on these heads are two undefined imp-like forms, with something resembling a flame proceeding from their forehead. In the next plate, a medallion of inferior execution represents a personage adorned with ear-rings, necklace, and bracelets, but no clothing except round the waist, seated *à la Turque* on a two-headed monster, and receiving a present from a full-dressed figure in a kneeling attitude. A smaller medallion, in the rudest style, represents a tree with a serpent twining round the trunk, and a bird perched on a branch hard by; and another presents a naked youth kneeling, and looking into the open jaws of a monstrous head, while another pair of tusks are

protruding at his back. It is observable, that none of the figures have a martial character, nor have they any weapon at all resembling a sword. But what the strange instruments are which they hold, or what they are engaged in, and what is the import of the strange hieroglyphics flourished round the largest drawing, we are unable to tell.* All the figures are beardless. The protruding under-lip is so much out of nature, that it suggests the idea of an artificial extension; and one might imagine that these personages set the fashion of wearing the *botoque*. One of the figures has, suspended from the neck, a very pretty ornament, which seems meant for an image of the sun. Other drawings are referred to in the Report, though they did not find their way with the MS.

* Doctor Paul Felix Cabrera, however, with an ingenuity and penetration truly marvellous, finds out the whole history of America in these rude representations, and tells us who the personages are, as readily as if they had all been his patients. The principal figure, it seems, is no other than Votan, great-grandson of Noah, who was the first man sent by God to America "to divide and portion out these Indian lands." He was not only a great prince, but an historical writer; and an account of his birth, parentage, and adventures, drawn up by himself, fell into the hands of the bishop of Chiapa, Don Francesco Nunez de la Vega, author of the "Diocesan Constitutions," printed at Rome in 1702, who was led to withhold it from the public only by his religious scruples, "on account of the mischievous use the Indians made of their histories in their superstition of *nagualism*," or demonology. It is much to be regretted, as the Doctor very sapiently observes, "that the place is unknown where these precious documents of history were deposited." But a still more lamentable loss to the world has been sustained in the destruction, by the hands of the same orthodox but over-zealous prelate, of certain large earthen vases containing figures in stone of the ancient Indian Pagans, which the unerring testimony of tradition ascribed to the same worthy American patriarch, and which consequently must have been the most ancient pottery now to be met with.

to the publisher, representing serpents, lizards, statues of men with palms in their hands, others beating drums and dancing, &c. &c.

According to the testimony of a monk of Merida, who gave the account to Captain Del Rio, about twenty leagues south of that city are found the remains of similar edifices, the largest of which is in good preservation. Eight leagues to the northward of Merida are ruined walls of other stone-houses, which increase in number in an easterly direction. At Mani on the *Rio de los Lagartos*, is "a very ancient palace," resembling that at Palenque, which was for some time inhabited by the Franciscans while their convent was building: in the centre of the principal area stands a conical pillar or pyramid of stones. On the road from Merida to Bacalar occur many other buildings. These are evidently the pyramidal edifices which struck the Spanish conquerors with so much surprise on their first landing in the peninsula of Yucatan, and which they compared to Moorish mosques. There can be no doubt of their sepulchral character, although they may have answered, like other ancient monuments, the double purpose of temples and tombs. The province of Chiapa would thus seem to have received its aboriginal population from the same source as the peninsula of Yucatan; and if the language spoken by the Indians should prove to be the Maya, (a point which we must look to some future traveller to ascertain,) there will be no room for hesitation in referring these monuments of ancient civilisation to a race distinct from the Aztec, and bearing more affinity to the Zapotec Indians of Oaxaca. The Cyclopean masonry of the Cholulan builders, differs scarcely less specifically from the

architecture of Mitla and Palenque, than the temples of Nubia from the pyramids of Gheeza.

CONCLUSION.

WE must now take leave of this interesting portion of the New Continent,—the most interesting perhaps, in respect of its physical features, its natural curiosities, and the monuments of its ancient civilisation. To Mexico and Peru alone, of all the countries in the western hemisphere, belongs a traditional history stretching back into an undefined antiquity, and connecting the present generation with an ancestry greater than themselves. Rude and insignificant as are the Mexican pyramids and sepulchres in comparison of the stupendous works of Theban and Persepolitan architects, and comparatively modern as is their supposed date, they have an interest peculiar to themselves, arising from their being the only monuments of man in these *extra-mundane* regions (as the whole continent might be termed in relation to the world of history), and from their obvious affinity to those which superstition and despotic power have erected in the Old World.* What they want as works of art, they acquire as moral phenomena. Among the nations who have disappeared in the Old World, it is the conjecture of Humboldt, that

* "A small number of nations, far distant from each other, the Etruscans, the Egyptians, the Thibetians, and the Aztecs, exhibit striking analogies in their buildings, their religious institutions, their division of time, and their mystic notions,—analogies which are as difficult to explain as the relations that exist between the Sanscrit, the Persian, the Greek, and the languages of German origin."—HUMBOLDT'S *Researches*, vol. i. p. 11.

the remains of some may yet be preserved in the scanty tribes who are dispersed through the vast solitudes of America. That hitherto it has been found impossible to ascertain the period when the communication between the two continents was first established, can waken no surprise, when it is considered how totally ignorant we are of the early history of those Asiatic nations to whom the Toltecs, the Aztecs, the Muyscas, and the Peruvians present the nearest analogies. "No historical fact, no tradition," says the learned Traveller, "connects the nations of South America with those that inhabit the countries north of the Isthmus of Panama." And yet, their physiological affinity is not more decisively marked than the analogies found in their institutions and history. "Men with beards, and of lighter complexions than the natives of Anahuac, Cundinamarca, and the elevated plain of Cuzco, make their appearance without any indication of the place of their birth; and, bearing the titles of high-priests, of legislators, of the friends of peace and the arts which flourish under its auspices, operate a sudden change in the policy of nations, who hail their arrival with veneration. Quetzalcoatl, Bochica, and Manco Capac, are the sacred names of these mysterious beings. Quetzalcoatl, clothed in a black, sacerdotal robe, comes from Panuco on the shores of the Gulf of Mexico. Bochica, the Buddh of the Muyscas, presents himself on the high plains of Bogota, where he arrives from the savannas which stretch along the eastern foot of the cordilleras. Some learned men have pretended to discover that these strangers were shipwrecked Europeans, or the descendants of those Scandinavians who, in the eleventh century, visited Greenland, Newfoundland,

and perhaps Nova Scotia;* but a slight reflection on the period of the Toltec migrations, on the monastic institutions, the symbols of worship, the calendar, and the form of the monuments of Cholula, of Sogamozo, and of Cuzco, leads us to conclude, that it was not in the north of Europe that Quetzalcoatl, Bochica, and Manco Capac framed their code of laws. Every consideration leads us rather towards Eastern Asia,—to those nations who have been in contact with the inhabitants of Thibet, to the Shamanist Tartars, and the bearded Ainos of the isles of Jesso and Sachalin."†

The annals of the Mexican empire appear to go back as far as the sixth century of the Christian era,—the epoch of the emigration of the Toltecs from the banks of the *Rio Gila*. Even this era is antecedent to the rise of Mohammedism, and the earliest authentic records of Arabian history. But when we consider the strong instinctive disposition of semi-civilised nations to perpetuate, by mechanical imitation, the same forms, and to adhere in all their works to a primitive type or model,—a disposition remarkably characteristic of the tribes of Eastern Asia,—these monuments of the ancient Mexicans would seem to carry us back to a period far more remote than their actual construc-

* The learned Author himself, however, remarks in another place: "They who have studied the history of the Scandinavian nations in the heroic times, must be struck at finding in Mexico a name (*Votan*, or Vodan) which recals that of Wodan, or *Odin*." According to the learned researches of Sir William Jones, Odin and Boudha, or Buddh, are probably one and the same person; and it is curious to observe, remarks M. Humboldt, "that the names of *Boud-var*, *Wodan's-dag* (Wednesday), and *Votan*, denote in India, in Scandinavia, and in Mexico (Chiapa), a day of a small period." These coincidences, however, are fallacious *data* for reasoning.—See *Researches*, vol. i. pp. 173, 319.

† Researches, vol. i. pp. 29, 30.

tion. In them we doubtless have the fac-similes of the works of their Asiatic ancestry; and viewed in this light, they serve as legendary records, embodied traditions of a primeval race. Their specific date becomes but a starting-post from which imagination takes her flight into the fabulous regions of history.

Various interesting topics of inquiry suggest themselves relative to the remarkable concentration of population, as well as of civilisation, in the central regions of America; — the successive emigrations which must have taken place at remote intervals; — the distinctive features of the hunter, pastoral, and agricultural tribes of America; — and the probable course of the great stream of population southward, till we reach the shores of the mighty Amazons, which seems the limit of aboriginal civilisation. These subjects, however, lie far out of our province, and we refer to them merely with a view to furnish hints to future travellers.

The mineral treasures of Mexico form, at the present moment, its strongest attraction; and owing to the influx of foreign capital which they are occasioning, the Mexican mines may prove indirectly, what mines have rarely proved, the sources of national prosperity. We have endeavoured to convey the amplest information on this point that we at present possess, and shall have occasion to recur to the subject before we close the volume. To the eye of the philanthropist, however, or of the enlightened politician, neither the mines, nor the monuments, nor any of the physical phenomena of Mexico, constitute the chief interest of this rising country. The sudden apparition of the volcano of Jorullo itself, is not a more striking event in the natural history of the globe, than is the formation of a connected chain

of federal republics in the two Americas, in its moral history. Unhappily signalised as their birth has been by devastation and terror, now that the convulsion has subsided, they will be found, we trust, to have supplied, as it were, the soil in which social institutions, the public virtues, and domestic charities shall strike deep and flourish. An immense responsibility has devolved on the present federal government, to whom it has been confided to conduct the grand social experiment to its issue. May the result justify the universal admiration which is entertained for the character of the truly patriotic president,—the Mexican Washington, and that of his brave and generous compeer! And may the words not be forgotten with which the Traveller to whom both Mexico and Europe are so greatly indebted, concludes his Political Essay,—"That the prosperity of the whites is intimately connected with that of the copper-coloured race; and that there can be no durable prosperity for the two Americas, till this unfortunate race, humiliated, but not degraded by *long* oppression, shall participate in all the advantages resulting from the progress of civilisation and the improvement of social order."

END OF MEXICO.

GUATIMALA.

GUATIMALA.*

[A Federal Republic, extending from about long. 81° 45′ W. to 95° W., and from lat. 8° to 17° N.; bounded, on the N.W. by Mexico; on the N. and E. by the Atlantic; on the S.E. by Colombia; and on the S. and S.W. by the Pacific Ocean.]

THE kingdom of Guatimala "received its name from the word *Quauhtemali*, which, in the Mexican language, means a decayed log of wood, because the Mexican Indians who accompanied Alvarado, found, near the palace of the kings of Kachiquel, an old worm-eaten tree, and gave this name to the capital." Such is the statement adopted by Don Domingo Juarros, in his History of the Kingdom of Guatimala, as the true origin of the name. Some writers, however, he tells us, have derived it from *Uhatezmalha*, which signifies, in the Tzendale dialect, a mountain that throws out water, "alluding, doubtless, to the mountain on the skirts of which the city of Guatimala was built." With due submission to the historian, we incline to the latter etymology; first, because it appears extremely unlikely that the name of the kingdom should not be more ancient than the Spanish conquest; and secondly, because Alvarado would not have left it to Mexican Indians to name the city. The Aztec word *Quauhtli* signifies eagle, in which sense it occurs in composition in the words *Quauhtinchan*, house of the eagle, (a Mexican city,) and

* More properly GUATEMALA; but we have adhered to the usual orthography.

Quauhtemotzin, the name of the last sultan of Tenochtitlan. We cannot affirm that *Quauhtemali* may not signify a log of wood, but, if it be really derived from an Aztec word, we should deem an etymology referring to the eagle far more plausible. The mountain affords, in all probability, the true derivation. Another etymology, however, is given by one historian, Francisco de Fuentes y Gusman, who derives the name from *Coctecmalan*, signifying "milk-wood,"—a peculiar tree found only in the neighbourhood of the supposed site of the original capital, where now stands the village of Tzacualpa. Lastly, Juarros suggests, that the word may possibly be merely a corruption of the name of Juitemal, the first king of Guatimala, as Quiché was named from Nimaquiche, and Nicaragua from the cacique of the same name. It is not quite clear, however, that the name of the territory has not, in some of these instances, led to the invention of a name for its sovereign; and the existence of King Juitemal is not sufficiently established to afford a solid basis for this ingenious conjecture.

At the time of the conquest (A.D. 1524) this region is stated to have been well peopled by more than thirty distinct tribes, each governed by its own chief, and having its peculiar dialect. These tribes were continually at war with each other, and the ancient distinctions are still perpetuated in the variety of languages and dissimilar customs which are found in the different provinces. The Mexican or Aztec language is spoken by the Pipil Indians, who are settled along the coasts of the Pacific, and by some other tribes; besides this, no fewer than twenty-four dialects, peculiar to Guatimala, are still said to be spoken, the names of which are, the Quiché, the

Kachiquel, the Zutugil, the Mam, the Pocomam, the Pupuluca, the Sinca, the Chorti, the Alaguilac, the Caichi, the Pochonchi, the Ixil, the Zotzil, the Tzendal, the Chapaneca, the Zoque, the Coxoh, the Chañabal, the Chol, the Uzpanteca, the Lenca, the Aguacateca, the Quecchi, and the Nahuate or Pipil. The Maya language is also spoken in Chiapa. "It is true," says Don Domingo Juarros, "there is a strong resemblance between some of the idioms; and the Indians of one tribe can understand those of another from analogy: these instances, however, are not very frequent, nor can the intercourse be maintained with sufficient clearness and precision to enable them to traffic with each other readily and satisfactorily." The learned Don labours with patriotic solicitude to shew, that his country was never subject to the Mexican sovereigns. The proofs he adduces are, first, that the Mexicans always compelled the inhabitants of the countries they conquered to adopt their language, but the Aztec is not the prevailing language in Guatimala; secondly, that at the time of the conquest, the Spaniards found no open road from Mexico to Chiapa, but only narrow paths, in many places overgrown by vegetation. The latter is a very weak and insufficient argument. That there was an intercourse between the two countries is indubitable, and there must therefore have been what the natives would call a road. According to the tradition recited by the learned Historian himself, the Tulteca or Toltec Indians, the most powerful and civilised of all the nations of Guatimala, came originally from the neighbourhood of Tula, in the kingdom of Mexico. This emigration took place by direction of an oracle, in consequence of the great increase of the population, in the reign of Nimaquiché,

the fifth king of the Tultecas. "In performing this journey, they expended many years, suffered extraordinary hardships, and wandered over an immense tract of country, until they discovered a large lake (the lake of Atitan), and resolved to fix their habitations in a convenient place at a short distance from it, which they called Quiché, in commemoration of their king Nimaquiché (Quiché the Great), who died during their peregrination." The time of this emigration, it is, of course, impossible to ascertain with precision. Nimaquiché was succeeded by his son Acxopil, from whom Kicab Tanub, the contemporary of Montezuma II., was the fourteenth in succession who reigned in Utatlan, the capital of Quiché. Allowing twenty years to a reign, this would carry back the foundation of the Toltec empire of Quiché to nearly the middle of the thirteenth century, about thirty or forty years after the arrival of the Aztecs in the valley of Mexico.* So far the accounts would seem to agree. Autzol, or Ahuitzotl, the eighth sultan of Tenochtitlan, is stated to have sent a special embassy to the kings of Quiché, Kachiquel, and Zutugil, with the professed object of establishing an alliance between the two kingdoms; but those chiefs, suspecting the sincerity of his proposals, dismissed the Aztec ambassadors, whom they regarded as no better than spies, with evasive answers and less than usual courtesy. The King of Quiché alleged that he could not understand their language: if so, two hundred and fifty years must have produced a great change either in the dialect of Tenochtitlan or in that of Utatlan, as they must originally have been the same. The kings of both countries were of the

* See vol. i. p. 39.

same race. "It appears, too," says Juarros, "that these princes acknowledged the relationship, and maintained a communication with each other; for it is related in a manuscript of sixteen quarto pages, which is preserved by the Indians of the village of St. Andres Xecul, that when Montezuma II. was made prisoner (by Cortes), he sent a private ambassador to Kicab Tanub, King of Quiché, to inform him that some white men had arrived in his states, and made war upon him with such impetuosity, that the whole strength of his people was unable to resist them; that he was himself a prisoner surrounded with guards; and, hearing it was the intention of the invaders to pass on to the kingdom of Quiché and subdue it, he resolved to send notice of the design, in order that Kicab Tanub might be prepared to oppose them. This," adds our historian, "is a strong proof of a good understanding having existed between the two kings; for if Montezumá, watched as he was by his keepers, could contrive to despatch this messenger secretly to Kicab, there is no doubt that frequent intercourse took place between them in the time of peace and tranquillity." But if so, there must have been a road from one kingdom to the other; and the argument that Guatimala could not have been tributary to Mexico, because there was no means of keeping up a communication prior to the Spanish conquest, falls to the ground. Montezuma was the immediate successor of Ahuitzotl, whose ambassadors were sent home with so little ceremony, but who is stated, nevertheless, to have found the means of introducing into the country certain Mexicans in the character of traders, for the purpose of forming a party that might be useful in furthering his attempts at subjugating the kingdom. The good

understanding between Ahuitzotl's successor and the King of Quiché remains unaccounted for. Either some amicable overtures must have subsequently been made by the Mexican sovereign with better success, or there must have taken place, transactions of a military nature, not, perhaps, to the honour of the Guatimalan monarchs. Nor is the argument less inconclusive, which Don Domingo founds on the diversity of dialects. The number of languages spoken in Mexico exceeds twenty, and many of them differ from each other far more remarkably than, as we suspect, the Quiché, Kachiquel, Zutugil, and Pipil, will be found to do from the Aztec. Nevertheless, as there is no positive proof that the kingdom of Guatimala was ever subject to the Mexicans, we are quite willing to take for granted that its independence remained inviolate up to the period of the Spanish conquest.

When the Toltecs arrived in Guatimala, they found the country already inhabited by various tribes, as, in Mexico, they were preceded by the Chichimecs and Ottomites. The remains of these aboriginal tribes, who appear to have been driven southward, are probably still in existence. The Toltec empire founded by Acxopil, afterwards subdivided into the lordships of Quiché, Kachiquel, and Zutugil, is said to have comprised the provinces of Solola, Chimaltenango, Sacatepec, and part of Quezaltenango and Totonicapan. At the time of the Spanish conquest, a civil war was raging between the King of the Kachiquels and the Zutugil monarch, which induced the former to call in the aid of those dangerous allies. "The fame of Cortes's exploits," we are told, "spread rapidly through the country, and soon reached the court of the Kachiquel kings, who, of

their own free will, sent an embassy to him, offering to acknowledge themselves vassals of the King of Spain. The chief received the ambassadors with all the kindness and affability so peculiar to him, treated them with every mark of distinction, and gave assurances that himself and all those under his command would govern them with mildness in peace, and defend them against all enemies. Cortes sent Pedro de Alvarado, one of his officers who had been most active in the conquest of New Spain, to take possession of Guatimala, and receive the subjection of the native kings. He quitted the city of Mexico on the 13th of November, 1523, accompanied by 300 Spaniards and a large body of auxiliaries, Mexicans, Tlascaltecs, and Cholulans. After a short detention in subduing the natives of Tehuantepec, who had revolted, he advanced, completed the conquest of Soconusco and Tonala, and arrived in the territory of the Quichés on the 24th of February, 1524."

Kicab Tanub was engaged in a sanguinary war with the Zutugiles and the Mams, when the tidings reached him, that the Spaniards had arrived at the boundaries of Soconusco. On receiving this intelligence, he suspended further hostilities, and despatched messengers to the different kings and chiefs, inviting them to confederate for their common defence. The same spirit of rivalry and bitter animosity, however, which led to the overthrow of the Mexican empire by a handful of Europeans, prevailed, on this occasion, over every patriotic feeling. The Kachiquel monarch openly declared himself a friend to the *Teules*, or gods, as the Spaniards were called; and the king of the Zutugiles rejected the proposal with haughty contempt. At this crisis, Kicab fell sick and died. He was succeeded by his eldest

son, Tecum Umam, who had but little leisure to indulge in sorrow for his father's death, as every hour brought him advice of the enemy's approach. At length, information arrived, that the Spaniards had laid siege to Xelahuh (or Quezaltenango), the most important place in the kingdom, and which was garrisoned at this time by 80,000 Indians. Alarmed at their rapid progress, Tecum Umam quitted his capital at the head of an army of 70,000 men, and by the time he reached Quezaltenango, he was joined by several petty chiefs, so that he was able to marshal on the plain of Tzaccaha 232,000 warriors. Here he fortified his camp with a wall of loose stones, strengthened by a deep fosse, which was lined with rows of poisoned stakes. The Spaniards, having traversed the province of Soconusco, entered the mountains, and captured the stronghold of Xetulul, or Sapotitlan; they then pursued their march till, on arriving at the banks of the river Zamala, they found themselves vigorously attacked by a large body of Indians. The Spanish musketry soon threw the Quichés into confusion: three times they rallied, and renewed the attack with great fury, but at length, their leaders being slain, they fled with precipitation. The invaders now thought themselves secure from the assaults of the barbarians, but, on their beginning to ascend the steep ridge now called the *Cerro de Santa Maria de Jesus*, they found the summit covered with the enemy, who prepared to dispute the passage of the defile. Between the rivers Zamala and Olintepec, six actions took place, in all of which the Indians were defeated with great slaughter. That which was fought in the defile of the latter river, was the most desperate: its waters were reddened with

the carnage, and received from that circumstance the name of *Xiquigel*, or river of blood. This was one of the severest conflicts in which the Spaniards had yet been engaged. After this victory, they remained for three days without further molestation from the natives, which afforded them time to recover from their great fatigues. On the fourth day, they advanced to Xelahuh, which they found abandoned; and some stragglers who were brought in, reported that all the inhabitants had fled to the mountains. It was soon discovered, however, that all the force of the surrounding country had been collected to make another attack on the Spaniards. The army immediately quitted Xelahuh, and took up a favourable position on the plain. The cavalry, consisting of 135 men, was divided into two troops: Alvarado himself commanded the infantry. The Indian army was formed into two very strong divisions, one of which was headed by the monarch in person. "As soon as the contending parties came within reach of each other, a furious combat ensued. One of the Indian divisions, being attacked by the cavalry, was forced to abandon its position, and retire for support on the other, which was resolutely engaged with the infantry. On the defeat of this first division, the cavalry rejoined the main body, where the general had, by several small detachments, been able to resist the force of Tecum Umam. The king personally attacked Alvarado, and wounded his horse so severely, that he was forced to dismount and procure another. Tecum Umam renewed his assault upon the general a second and even a third time, and, in the last encounter, received a wound from a lance by the hand of Alvarado, of which he died almost immediately.

The fury of the Indians was increased to madness on seeing their monarch fall: the discharge of pikes, arrows, and stones that followed, was more violent than any thing that had hitherto been witnessed. A critical moment was seized for attacking in close column, and that manœuvre decided the fate of the day. The Indians, unable to make head against this solid body, yielded to despair, and broke away in the most precipitate flight, leaving the Spaniards completely masters of the field.

"Hopeless of being able longer to resist the conquerors by the force of their arms, they had recourse to stratagem and treachery, which was determined upon in a council of war held in Utatlan, by the King Chignauivcelut, son and successor of Tecum Umam. To put their design into practice, the king began by sending a solemn embassy to Alvarado with a valuable present of gold, to sue for peace and forgiveness for the past, and to offer submission to the Spanish monarch. The ambassadors entreated the general to visit the capital, where he might conveniently refresh himself after his late severe fatigues, and where the king was anxious to receive and entertain him with whatever his dominions could afford. Alvarado most anxiously desired to establish peace, and this invitation being considered as a favourable opportunity, he received the ambassadors with every mark of distinction and kindness; he promised to repair to Utatlan, and dismissed them with presents of some trifles of Spanish workmanship, that were held in the highest estimation by the Indians. On the following day, the army decamped for Utatlan, in the highest spirits, believing the demonstrations of the Quichés to be sincere, and supposing that the war was terminated. But, on entering the city, and observing the strength

of the place, that it was well walled and surrounded by a deep ravine, having but two approaches to it; the one by an ascent of twenty-five steps, and the other by a causeway, both of which were extremely narrow; that the streets were but of trifling breadth, and the houses very lofty; perceiving also that there were neither women nor children in the place, and that the Indians appeared greatly agitated, the soldiers began to suspect some deceit. Their apprehensions were soon confirmed by the Indians of Quetzaltenango, who accompanied the army. These had discovered, that the people of Utatlan intended that night to set the town on fire in order to destroy the Spaniards; and that large bodies of them were concealed in the neighbouring defiles, who were, as soon as they saw the flames, to fall upon the Spaniards, as they endeavoured to escape from the fire. On gaining this intelligence, the troops observed the movements of the Utatlans very cautiously. They examined the houses, and ascertained that there was no preparation of victuals to regale them, as they had been promised; but that there was in every place a great quantity of light, dry fuel, and other combustibles. Alvarado no longer doubted the correctness of the information. He assembled a council, represented to the officers the perilous situation in which they were involved, and the immediate necessity of quitting the place. The troops were then collected, and, without any appearance of alarm, marched out in good order to the open plain; pretending to Chignauivcelut and his caciques, that they quitted the city for the better accommodation of the horses, which were accustomed to feed at liberty in the fields. The king, with pretended courtesy, accompanying the army to the plain, the general availed himself of this opportunity to make him a prisoner;

and after a trial, in which proofs of his treachery were adduced, he was sentenced to be hanged, and the punishment immediately inflicted. Neither the death of Tecum Umam and their principal leaders slain in battle, nor the ignominious execution of Chignauivcelut, was sufficient to intimidate the fierce spirit of the Quichés; on the contrary, it excited fresh ebullitions of rage and animosity. They gave the signal to the troops that lay in ambush, and a general attack upon the Spaniards ensued. The army was assaulted simultaneously on all sides by powerful squadrons of the Indians. But Spanish bravery increased with increasing dangers. The artillery was brought into action, and made dreadful havoc in the enemy's ranks, who however maintained the contest with desperate valour for a short time; but they were soon thrown into confusion. The leaders were unable to rally their troops against the destructive fire of the guns, and they abandoned a field already covered with heaps of slain. Some fled to their places of refuge, and others threw away their arms in token of submission, and surrendered themselves and their caciques to the generosity of their conquerors, who, by this victory, remained undisputed masters of the kingdom."

This victory was gained on the 14th of May, 1524. A small chapel was hastily erected on the spot, and on the following day, which was the Pentecost, mass was celebrated; and "thus commenced the Catholic worship in this region." Alvarado, we are told, unwilling to deprive the royal race of Tanub of their inheritance, raised to the throne Sequechul, the next in succession to Chignauivcelut. He remained at Utatlan for eight days, during which he sent out detachments to explore and reduce the surrounding country; and in this interval, ambassadors arrived

from Sinacam, King of the Kachiquels, tendering his allegiance, with offers of troops and other necessaries. Leaving Juan de Leon Cardona in command at Utatlan, Alvarado set out for Guatimala, escorted by 2,000 Kachiquels, who were employed to clear the road. The Spaniards were not without their misgivings respecting the intentions of these new allies, but they proved to be unfounded. Sinacam advanced to meet them in his litter, richly adorned with plumes of quetzal's feathers and ornaments of gold; and the two chiefs proceeded at the head of their respective suites, by the route of Iztapa, to the capital, situated, according to Fuentes, at the place now called San Miguel Tzacualpa, which signifies "old town." Here the Spaniards were most hospitably entertained by the Guatimalan monarch. After remaining here for some time, Alvarado again set out towards the village of Atitlan, to attack the Zutugiles. Taking their route by the villages on the coast, they overcame whatever force attempted to dispute their passage, until they arrived, on the 24th of July, at a place called Atmulunca, or Almolonga, "the water that springs up." "This situation," says Remesal, "pleased the Spaniards so much by its fine climate, the beauty of the meadows, delightfully watered by running streams, and particularly from lying between two lofty mountains, from one of which descended rills of water in every direction, while from the summit of the other issued volumes of smoke and fire; that they determined to establish themselves here, and, aided by the Mexicans and Tlascaltecs, they erected the requisite quarters. On the 25th of July, the festival of St. James, the patron of Spain, the troops were mustered under arms, and marched to attend divine service with martial music, and repeated

discharges of fire-arms. In this array, they proceeded to the humble church which had been constructed, where Juan Godines, chaplain to the army, said mass. This service finished, the whole body invoked the protection of the apostle, gave his name to the town they had founded, and dedicated to him the church that was to be built. The foundation of the new town was solemnized by the army with feasts and military rejoicings, that continued for three days." On the 29th of July, the alcaldes and regidors of the new city took their seats in council. On the 12th of August, another council was held, at which the public officers, with other persons to the number of ninety-seven, were registered as citizens. "With these formalities," says Juarros, "the foundation of the city of *San Jago de los Caballeros de Guatimala* was completed."*

Alvarado, either in person or by his lieutenants, governed the newly acquired territories in Guatimala from the year 1524, until 1541, the year of his death; for the first four years by commission from Cortes, and afterwards as governor and captain-general of the kingdom of Guatimala by commission from the Emperor Charles the Fifth, dated Dec. 18, 1527. On the death of Alvarado, a royal *audiencia* was established, by a decree dated Nov. 20, 1542, for the provinces of Guatimala and Nicaragua, of which Alonzo de Maldonado was appointed president. It was ordered to hold its sittings in the town of Valladolid de Comayagua; but this being deemed inconvenient, the royal permission was obtained for its removal to the city of Gracias a Dios, where the first session was

* Juarros, pp. 125, 6: 394—403.

held in May 1544. In 1555, the tribunal was transferred to the city of Guatimala. It was then for a short time removed to Panama, but, in 1569, the previous order was rescinded, and the *audiencia* was once more established at Guatimala. Philip II. enlarged its powers, and constituted it a pretorial court independent of the viceroy of Mexico. The jurisdiction of the royal chancery of Guatimala extended along the shores of the Atlantic, from the coast of Balize in the Bay of Honduras, to the *Escudo de Veraguas*, a small desert island off the coast of Veraguas, in lat. 9° 21′ N., and long. 82° 46′ W.; and, on the Pacific coast, from the bar of the river Parredon in the province of Soconusco, to the mouth of the river Boruca in that of Costa Rica. The river Chilillo was its boundary towards Oaxaca, and it extended to the district of Chiriqui towards the south-east, where the jurisdiction of Santa Fé de Bogota terminated. The territory comprised within these limits, is about 900 miles in length; * its breadth from sea to sea varies from 180 to upwards of 500 miles. The extent of surface is computed to be 200,500 square miles. The population, in 1778, according to a census taken by royal orders, amounted to 832,055 souls. In 1791, a considerable increase had taken place in some districts, and in 1800, it is supposed by Humboldt to have risen to 1,200,000 souls; which, taking the extent of surface at 26,000 square leagues, gives 46 inhabitants to the square league.† A still more recent

* The "*travelling* distance" from the river Chilillo to Chiriqui, is estimated by Juarros at more than 700 Spanish leagues, or upwards of 3,000 English miles.

† Humboldt, Pol. Essay, vol. iv. p. 322.

account brings up the population to 1,300,000;* but in this, as well as in the preceding calculations, Chiapa is included, the population of which is stated at 128,000.

The provincial divisions of Guatimala have varied with the changing circumstances of the country: the number of provinces has at one time been increased, at another time reduced, as new *alcaldias mayor* have been created, or several *corregimientos* have been united. At one period, there were as many as thirty-two provinces, of which four were distinguished as governments, viz. Comayagua, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and Soconusco; nine were *alcaldias mayor*, viz. San Salvador, Ciudad Real, Tegucigalpa, Zonzonate, Verapaz, Suchiltepec, Nicoya, Amatique, and the *real* of San Andres de Zaragoza; and eighteen were *corregimientos*, the corregidors of which were nominated by the *audiencia*. Such was the distribution of the kingdom in the seventeenth century; but, about the year 1660, the population of the province of Costa Rica being greatly diminished, four of the *corregimientos* were extinguished, and the divisions were annexed to that government: at the same time, four other *corregimientos* were shared between the governments of Comayagua and Nicaragua. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, the *alcaldias mayor* of Amatique and San Andres were suppressed, and several new ones were created. By these and other changes, the thirty-two provinces were reduced to fifteen, one of which is styled a government, four are intendancies, eight are *alcaldias mayor*, and two are corregidorships. Five of the provinces are situated

* Poinsett's Notes, p. 239.

on the shores of the Pacific; five on the Atlantic coast; and five are inland. They are as follow:

MARITIME PROVINCES ON THE COAST OF THE PACIFIC.

1. Intendancy of Ciudad Real, or Chiapa.
   including (1) District of Ciudad Real.
   (2) ——— Tuxtla.
   (3) ——— Soconusco.
2. Alcaldia-mayor of Suchiltepec.
3. ——— Escuintla.
4. ——— Zonzonate.
5. Intendancy of San Salvador.
   including (1) District of Santa Ana.
   (2) ——— San Salvador.
   (3) ——— San Vicente.
   (4) ——— San Miguel.

MARITIME PROVINCES ON THE ATLANTIC COAST.

6. Alcaldia-mayor of Vera Paz.
7. Corregimiento of Chiquimula.
8. Intendancy of Comayagua, or Honduras.
   including (1) District of Comayagua.
   (2) ——— Tegucigalpa.
9. Intendancy of Nicaragua, or Leon.
   including (1) District of Leon.
   (2) ——— Matagalpa.
   (3) ——— Realejo.
   (4) ——— Subtiava.
   (5) ——— Nicoya.
10. Government of Costa Rica.

INTERIOR PROVINCES.

11. Alcaldia-mayor of Totonicapan and Gueguetenango.
12. Corregimiento of Quezaltenango.
13. Alcaldia-mayor of Sololá and Atitan.
14. ——— Chimaltenango.
15. ——— Sacatepec.

Between the intendancies of Nicaragua and Comayagua, lie two provinces peopled by uncivilised Indians of various nations, who are called indiscriminately

Xicacs, Moscos, and Sambos. These provinces, which extend along the Atlantic coast from the river Aguan to the San Juan, are called by Juarros, the Provinces of Taguzgalpa and Tologalpa. They form part of the tract better known under the name of the *Mosquito Shore*. The Mosquito Indians, as they are generally called, have always borne an inveterate dislike to the Spaniards. The Duke of Albemarle, when governor of Jamaica, fostered this dislike, and he invested one of the Indians with the office of chief of the Mosquitoes, under the protection of England. But, by a convention between Great Britain and Spain, signed in London on the 14th of July, 1786, it was agreed on the part of his Britannic Majesty, that his subjects and other colonists who had hitherto enjoyed the protection of England, should evacuate the country of the *Mosquitos*, as well as the continent in general, and the islands adjacent, without exception; his Catholic Majesty pledging himself not to exercise any act of severity against the *Mosquitos*, on account of the connexions which may have subsisted between the said Indians and the English. The town and territory of Poyais, where, a few years ago, some adventurers from this country attempted to establish an independent colony, are situated on the river Tinto, or Black river, which discharges itself into the Atlantic near Cape Camaron: they are included in Taguzgalpa, which, though nominally a part of Guatimala, has never actually been appropriated. So far his highness Gregor Macgregor, the self-styled cazique of Poyais, had some plea in justification of his trespassing on these shores. Poyais town is a paltry village of huts and log-houses, on the west side of Black river, about sixty miles inland. The river Aguan, which divides Taguzgalpa from Honduras,

discharges itself about sixty miles to the westward of Cape Camaran: eastward, the province extends to Cape Gracias a Dios. Beyond that point, the tract of coast extending southward to the river Chagres, and including the province of Tologalpa, now belongs to the republic of Colombia; and a decree of that government, dated Santa Fé de Bogota, July 5, 1824, declares all persons attempting to colonise that part of the coast liable to penal severities.*

* The decree is as follows: "Francisco de Paula Santander, General of Division of the Armies of Colombia, Vice-President of the Republic, &c.—Inasmuch as it has come to the knowledge of the Government of the Republic of Colombia, that various individuals, resident in foreign countries, have projected the foundation of establishments in a certain territory called Poyais, situate on the coasts of Mosquito; and considering that similar enterprises of unauthorised adventurers may be prejudicial to the interests of the Republic and to themselves, in virtue of the provisions of the 5th Article of the Fundamental, it is decreed as follows:

"Art. 1. Is declared illegal every undertaking which has for its object the colonisation of any point of that part of the coast of Mosquito, from the Cape Gracias a Dios inclusive to the River Chagres, which belongs, in dominion and property, to the Republic of Colombia, in virtue of the formal declaration, made in San Lorenzo on the 30th of November, 1803, by which the said part of the coast of Mosquito is definitively adjoined to the ancient vice-royalty of Nueva-Granada, and separated from the jurisdiction of the captain-generalship of Guatimala, to which it previously belonged.

"Art. 2. It is declared also to all person or persons who, in contravention of the former article, intend to found colonies or foreign establishments on the above-mentioned coast of Mosquito, up to Cape Gracias a Dios inclusive, that they incur the penalties to which those persons are subjected who violently usurp national property, and disturb internal peace and tranquillity, unless they have previously obtained the approbation and consent of the government, conformably to the laws.

"Art. 3. It is also declared, that the necessary approbation and consent to colonise the coast of Mosquito, which is under the immediate jurisdiction of the Republic, or part of it, not having

The ecclesiastical government of the kingdom of Guatimala consists of an archbishop and three suffragans. The immediate diocese of the archbishop of Guatimala, extending 214 leagues from west to east, comprises 108 curacies, besides others under the charge of the monastic orders, and 424 parochial churches: it was created an episcopal see by Pope Paul III. in 1534. The bishop of Leon has jurisdiction over the intendancy of Nicaragua and the government of Costa Rica: in his diocese are 39 curacies and 88 parochial churches. The bishop of Ciudad Real has under his jurisdiction the whole of Chiapa, containing 38 curacies and 102 parish churches. The fourth bishopric is that of Comayagua, comprising the intendancy of Honduras: it contains 35 curacies and 145 parish churches. The small district of Peten in Vera Paz, belongs to the diocese of the bishop of Yucatan. Both the ecclesiastical and the civil distribution of the country, however, will probably undergo considerable modifications under the new order of things. The greater part of the bishopric and intendancy of Chiapa has become united to Mexico; part of Vera Paz is ecclesiastically annexed to Yucatan; and Colombia has obtained, by the cession of Tologalpa, a large portion of Nicaragua and of the bishopric of Leon, including 180 leagues of coast, the importance of which, in connexion with the projected communication between the two oceans by means of the river San Juan and the lake of Nicaragua, will be incalculable. Eventually, Guatimala will probably be divided between

been granted to any person within or out of the territory of the Republic, whatever person or persons, citizens or foreigners, attempt to affect it, will, *ipso facto*, be subject to the consequences to which such illegal and unauthorised conduct exposes them."

Mexico and Colombia. The remainder of Nicaragua and Costa Rica will naturally fall to the share of the latter power, while the provinces to the northward and west of Cape Camaron, will more conveniently unite themselves to the Mexican States. We shall now proceed to give some further topographical details respecting this almost unknown portion of the New World.

PROVINCES ON THE COAST OF THE PACIFIC.

THE intendancy of Ciudad Real has been described in the account of the Mexican States, with the exception of the maritime district of Soconusco, which extends fifty-eight leagues along the shores of the Pacific, from the plains of Tonalá, in the district of Tehuantepec, to the river Tilapa, which divides it from Suchiltepec: its breadth, from the sea to the mountains, is about sixteen leagues. The climate is hot, the country level and fertile, yet, from want of hands, very little of the land is under cultivation. It is watered by fifteen rivers, and abounds in woods of the most valuable trees. The principal productions are indigo, vanilla, *leche de maria* (a valuable gum), *pita* (a species of flax),[3] cotton, cocoa (the most esteemed of any in the kingdom), *achiote*, and a great variety of medicinal plants and drugs. But, in proportion as the valuable products of the earth in this beautiful country are numerous, the abundance of wild beasts and reptiles is so great, as to render it almost uninhabitable. Among these is a peculiar species of venomous wasp, called *ahorcadores* (hangmen), on account of the singular remedy which is believed to be the only means of averting the fatal effect of their sting: this is, "to plunge the

sufferer immediately into the water, or to compress the throat in the manner of hanging, till he is nearly exhausted." The vernacular language of Soconusco is the Mam, but the natives generally speak the Spanish. The whole district contained, in 1778, only twenty villages and about 9,000 inhabitants, being less than a seventh part of the whole population of Chiapa. Yet, "this district," says Juarros, "which in the present day is so much neglected, was, in former times, one of the most populous and opulent in the kingdom. The cocoa produced in it is still considered as superior to that of any other place in the world. The ancient capital was the large town of Soconusco, from which the province took its name, situated between the villages of San Domingo de Escuintla and Acocozagua. Besides the Indian population, it was the residence of about 200 Spaniards. But upwards of two centuries have now elapsed since this extensive town fell to decay and was entirely abandoned. The same fate has attended many other villages of the district. Previously to the annexation of the province of Soconusco to the intendancy of Ciudad Real, it was distinguished as a government,—a title given to the largest provinces only, and which sufficiently shews the estimation in which it was held."

To the west of Soconusco, proceeding along the coast, lies the *alcaldia-mayor* of Suchiltepec. It extends in length thirty-two leagues, and the breadth from the sea to the mountains is twenty-two leagues; but all the villages are comprised within the space of twelve leagues. The whole province contains only sixteen villages, and the inhabitants of these, of the salt-works, the farms, and the manufactories, do not exceed 27,000. Yet, the climate,

though warm, is less so than that of Soconusco, and the province is equally fertile, being well-wooded, and watered by sixteen rivers: it produces all the fruits, timber, gums, and medicinal plants, peculiar to the *tierras calientes*. The chief article of commerce is cocoa, which is reckoned quite equal, if not superior to that of Soconusco: the inhabitants trade also in cotton and *sapuyul*, the kernel of the sapote. "This is a fruit about six inches in length: the kernel, which is from two to three inches long, is enclosed in a shell like a filbert, and round the shell is a pulp of a fine scarlet colour, as beautiful to the eye as it is delicious to the taste: over this there is a hardish rind. The Indians mix the *sapuyul* with cocoa to make chocolate. The abundance of sapotes is so great in this province, that the fruit is thrown away to obtain the sapuyul, of which the consumption is so general, that, in Quezalttenango alone, the sale of it amounts to between four and five thousand dollars annually."

The principal places in this province are: *San Antonio Suchiltepec*, the ancient capital, now an insignificant village, but with a large and handsome church: *San Bartolome Mazatenango*, the present capital, situated in lat. 14° 20′ N.; long. 92° 26′ W.; population between 2 and 3,000: *San Lorenzo el Real*, remarkable only for the pilgrimages made by the people of the surrounding provinces to visit the image of *Nossa Senhora de la Candelaria* in its church: and the two adjacent villages of *San Antonio Retaluleuh* and *Santa Catherina Sacatepec*, which form the most commercial place in the province, serving as a depôt for the productions of Soconusco and Tehuantepec.

The language generally spoken by the natives, is the Quiché dialect.

The third province, following the line of coast, is that of Escuintla: * it extends 80 leagues along the shores of the Pacific, and is above 30 leagues in breadth; yet, the population is only 38,400 souls. In this province, the Spanish language is generally spoken, but the mother tongue is the Sinca. The only towns or villages worthy notice, are: *La Concepcion Escuintla*, the residence of the *alcalde-mayor*, situated in lat. 14° 15′ N., and long. 91° 46′ W.: *Guazacapan*, formerly a separate *alcaldia-mayor*, but now in decay: and *Santa Cruz Chiquimula*, two leagues from Guazacapan, now the most populous place in the district, containing upwards of 8,000 inhabitants, who are chiefly employed in the cultivation of rice, with which they supply the capital. The town of Escuintla is much frequented, Juarros says, by the inhabitants of Guatimala, in the months of January and February, for the purpose of bathing in the delightful river that flows close by it. The distance from Guatimala is seventeen leagues. It contains a magnificent parish church, and an oratory dedicated to San Sebastian: there were formerly four other chapels, which have fallen to decay. About three leagues from the town is the small village of *Masagua*, which, like San Lorenzo in Suchiltepec, contains a wonder-working image of the Virgin, which attracts crowds of pilgrims.

Of the numerous rivers that water this province, the most considerable is the *Michatoyat*, which flows out of the lake Amatitan: after the course of a few leagues, it has a beautiful fall, called the falls of San

* *Itzcuintli*, in the Aztec or Mexican language, signifies *dog*.

Pedro Martin. The *Rio de los Esclavos* (slave river) is distinguished by the bridge built over it in 1592, by far the handsomest and best constructed in the kingdom: it is 128 yards in length, 18 yards in breadth, and has eleven arches. The river is of great depth, and, in the rainy seasons, is so much swelled, that, before the bridge was built, the communication was then cut off between the eastern provinces and the capital. Notwithstanding the great height of the bridge, the floods are sometimes so high as to cover it, and have repeatedly occasioned serious damage. It derives its name from the circumstance of Alvarado's having punished some of the refractory Indians in this quarter by branding them as slaves. The river *Guacalat*, which rises in the province of Chimaltenango, flows by the site of Old Guatimala, where it is called the Magdalena: it is then joined by the *Rio Pensativo*, and after entering the province of Escuintla, receives so many tributary streams as to become navigable, and finally disembogues into the Pacific, where it forms the bar of Istapa, celebrated for being the place where Alvarado equipped his armaments in the years 1534 and 1539. "This place," says Juarros, "is highly deserving of notice in a commercial point of view, as it affords every convenience and advantage for carrying on an extensive traffic in the Pacific. Its contiguity to the city of Guatimala would enable speculators to obtain all the productions of the country at a moderate rate, which could be conveyed by land-carriage to the place of embarkation at a trifling expense, on a road that was opened and levelled in 1539, for the purpose of transporting upon carriages some of Alvarado's small vessels. There is excellent anchorage, well sheltered on every point; there are neither reefs nor shallows, and the entrance is per-

fectly safe and easy. A redoubt, with four or six pieces of cannon, would afford protection to the shipping; and for the construction of such a defence, there are many eligible points. With respect to ship-building, the advantages are of still greater importance, as wood of the best quality is found in the neighbourhood, in quantities inexhaustible; for the fertility of the land is so great, and its quality so peculiarly adapted to the growth of timber, that, after a tree is felled, the root will send out five or six shoots that, in four years, become trees of considerable girth and height. The cedars are of immense size, some exceeding seven fathoms in circumference. The wood called *palo de maria*, excellent for masts, is in very great abundance. Cordage is still more plentiful; for, on every part of this coast, the *pita* grows luxuriantly and profusely, which is much superior for the manufacture of cables and other ropes, to the *esparto* (*genista hispanica*). Pitch and tar are both good and cheap in the valley of Jumais. Freights of cocoa and other articles of agricultural produce, planks of cedar and caoba-wood, so much esteemed for cabinet-work, may be procured here to almost any extent. Notwithstanding all the inducements and facilities for carrying on an important traffic which this place offers, but little success has hitherto attended the various experiments that have been tried." The little trade carried on by this province, is confined to fish, salt, maize, bananas, sapotes, and other fruits, which are carried to the market of Guatimala.

The most remarkable natural curiosity in Escuintla, is the rock called *La Peña de Mirandilla*. Juarros describes it as "a huge promontory of live rock, so lofty as to be seen at many leagues' distance, the summit presenting a most correct resemblance of a large

trunk or chest; and what appears to be the lid, is perforated from side to side so exactly as to admit of the light passing through." "These openings have undoubtedly," he adds, "been made by lightning, as, either from the great elevation of this vast pile, or from the metallic attraction of its mass, in which many veins of tin are apparent, the electric fluid is invariably observed to strike against its surface, in the frequent thunder-storms that take place in this part."

Like the other maritime provinces on the western coast, Escuintla is infested by immense numbers of noxious animals and reptiles. Among these, not the least formidable are the warrior-ants (*hormigas guerreras*), who are double the size of the common ant, and always move in regular array, like an army. "Wherever they enter a house, they spread all over it, and clear it so effectually as not to leave a single worm, reptile, or vermin of any sort, behind them when they depart. To the larger creatures, such as snakes, scorpions, toads, rats, &c. they are formidable from their numbers: in attacking these animals, they adhere so closely to their bodies that they soon kill them, and devour them to the bones. When they have cleansed one house, they quit it, and proceed to another." Juarros adds to this account a very marvellous property of these beneficent marauders. "If any injury be done to them when in the house, they revenge it by biting or stinging the assailant, and immediately retreat, leaving the vermin untouched!"*

* There is a Spanish saying, *No ay criatura tan libre, a quien falta su alguacil:* There is no creature so free as to be without its *alguacil* (police-officer). Snakes and scorpions, according to this account, are not excepted from this general law. In like manner, the great American fire-fly preys upon mosquitoes and other gnats;

This same writer describes a remarkable species of snake, called by the Indians *tepulcuat*, which, he says, has two heads, one at each extremity, and can advance with facility in either direction without turning. But he does not affirm that he ever *saw* one of these monstrous reptiles, and no mention of them occurs in Alcedo's Dictionary. The *danta* or tapir, and the *cayman* or alligator, are found in this province, and, among other birds, the *guaycamayo* or macaw. The vegetable productions are numerous and valuable. The most esteemed is the banana, (here called *gordo*,) which, says Juarros, "for delicacy of flavour, is superior to the *anana* (pine-apple), the *guanabana*, or the *chicozapote* (little sapote or medlar), and, for beauty of colour, to the scarlet sapote: being, perhaps, more extensively useful than any other fruit, it forms a principal article in the traffic of the province. In the first place, it furnishes a substantial food, each fruit yielding a large quantity of nutritive matter, without skin, stone, or other inedible part. Poor people eat it both in a ripe and an immature state, but others only in a mature state, as it then has a most agreeable flavour. Dried in the sun, it has an exquisite taste, and is greatly superior to the dried figs brought from Europe; it is also eaten boiled, roasted, and fried with sugar; it furnishes the chief materials for several kinds of savoury stews; and finally, it supplies the place of maize. Fuentes says, that the plantains, dried in an oven, then peeled and pounded to a paste, and pressed

the toad is said to be an excellent fly-catcher; snakes are good mousers; and the mouse is the enemy of the cock-roach. "We have not taken animals enough into alliance with us," says the Author of Madoc; "the gull should be taught to catch fish for us in the sea, the otter in fresh water. In hot countries, a reward should be offered to the man who could discover what insect fed upon fleas."—*Notes to Madoc*, vol. ii. p. 223.

to a vessel, may, after being kept for about a fortnight, be dissolved in water and strained, and the liquor will make a sort of wine, not to be distinguished from that which is called *Ojo de Gallo*. The facility of cultivating this valuable fruit, and the great abundance of its produce, occasion its real worth to be but ill appreciated, and its extensive utility to be much neglected."* Among the other productions, are cinnamon wood (or *cascarilla de loxa*), tamarinds, cassia, long pepper, ginger, the root *suchilpactli*, *scorzonera*, *orejuela*, (the flowers of which are used to perfume and flavour chocolate,) and excellent cocoa. The wood already mentioned, called *palo de maria*, yields a sap that is esteemed for its medicinal properties in healing wounds and dissolving tumours. From the ule-tree is obtained a paper, made of its bark; and on piercing its trunk, a liquor exudes copiously, which, when boiled, becomes an excellent preservative of leather, rendering it completely water-proof.

The river Paza divides this province on the south-east, from the *alcaldia-mayor* of Zonzonate, (corrupted from Zezontlatl†,) a territory of very small extent, having only 18 leagues of coast and 13 leagues of breadth, but much better peopled; containing, within these limits, a population of 45,000 souls. *Santissima Trinidad de Zonzonate*, the head-town, is pleasantly situated on the *Rio Grande*, in lat. 13° 35′ N., and long. 90° 26′, about four leagues from the sea. It

* See for the importance and various uses of the banana, the fruit of the plantain-tree (*platano arton*, *zapalote*, or *musa paradisiaca*), vol. i. p. 180; and Humboldt, Pol. Ess., vol. ii. pp. 366–380.

† This word, in the Mexican language, is said to signify *many springs*, and is the name given to the provincial capital from the river on which it is situated, now called *Rio Grande*, which is formed by innumerable springs.

contains a spacious church, three oratories, four convents, royal magazines, and a treasury. The population, in 1778, amounted to 3,500, of whom nearly 500 were Spaniards. On the opposite side of the river, communicating with the town by a stone bridge, is a suburb called the *barria del angel*, with a chapel; and in the vicinity are three small Indian villages, numerous cottages, and gardens. The climate is very hot. *Acajutla*, the port of Zonzonate, is merely an open bay, without shelter; yet, notwithstanding the difficulties of the coast, it is the anchoring-place for ships coming from Peru with freights of wine, brandy, oils, olives, raisins, skins, and other produce; in return for which, they take back indigo, sarsaparilla, naphtha, tar, turpentine, balsam, amber, and other gums and resins, in which this province carries on a considerable commerce.*. An inland trade is likewise carried on in mats, woven in different colours by the Indians, which are used in Guatimala as carpets. The province yields also cotton, cocoa, sugar, indigo, sessamum, and rice. The other chief places are *Aguachapa*, a large and flourishing town, in a district producing excellent sugar; and *Izalco*, containing two parishes, with a population exceeding 6,000. The volcano of Izalco, from which the town takes its name, is distinguished by its frequent eruptions: a very violent one took place in April 1798, which lasted for several days.

The fifth province, that of San Salvador, is of sufficient importance to be made an intendancy. It is bounded on the west by Zonzonate, on the east and

* About forty leagues north-west of the port of Acajutla, in the province of Escuintla, is a small bay, called in some maps, the port of Guatimala; but this, Juarros says, is an error: it is not a port, nor has it any shelter whatever.

north by Comayagua, and extends fifty leagues along the shores of the Pacific: its breadth is about thirty leagues. It is more numerously peopled than any other province, the number of inhabitants being upwards of 211,000. The Indians of this intendancy are highly civilised, and all speak Spanish. The most valuable trade of the whole country is carried on here, the principal branch of which is indigo, now become almost exclusively a production of this province. From the rich tract of country within this intendancy, called the Balsam coast, is obtained the richest balsam in the world.* The valuable plant which grows here in great abundance, not only yields both the white and the black balsam, but a nut from which is extracted the oil of balm, and a spirit called *aguardiente de balsamo*, is distilled from the flowers. There are said to be mines also of silver, iron, and lead.

The intendancy is divided into four districts. The first, proceeding from west to east, is that of *Santa Ana*. The climate in this district is milder than in any other part of the intendancy; the chief article of commerce is sugar, with some indigo, cattle, and sheep. The town of *Santa Ana Grande*, which gives name to the district, contained, in 1778, a population exceeding 6,000, of whom about 350 were Spaniards. *Chalchuapa* is a large, well-built village; the principal occupation of the inhabitants is breeding hogs. The best-built town in the district is *San Pedro Matapas*, situated about two leagues from the lake Guija, which communicates with the river Lempa, the largest in the kingdom. At its lowest ebb, that river is said to exceed 140 yards in breadth. The lake is about eight

* This balsam, says Juarros, has always been so highly esteemed, that, in 1562 and 1571, Popes Pius IV. and V. granted permission that the American balsam might be used in the holy chrism.

leagues in length and three in width, and abounds with fish. In the environs of Matapas are five iron-founderies. The church is handsome and richly endowed: the population exceeds 4,000.

The city of *San Salvador*, which gives its name to the principal district, as well as to the whole intendancy, stands in a delightful valley, surrounded by mountains covered with wood, which terminate towards the north-east in a volcanic summit, that has caused at different periods great devastation by its eruptions: it is in lat. 13° 36′ N.; long. 89° 46′ W. The town was founded in 1528, with the view to keep the province of Cuscatlan (land of riches), as it was then called, in subjection. It was created a city by Charles the Fifth in 1545. Besides the church of San Salvador, there are four oratories, three convents, Dominican, Franciscan, and Mercedarian, a custom-house, a post-office, a tobacco-factory, and a town-house. The streets are laid out in right lines, the houses are commodious, and the markets are well supplied. The inhabitants, in 1778, were nearly 12,000, of whom 600 were Spaniards. The population has doubtless considerably increased since that time. The distance from Guatimala is 60 leagues E.S.E. The other principal towns of the district, are Nejapa, Tejutla, San Jacinto, Suchitoto, Cojutepec, Texacuangos, Olocuilta, Tonacatepec, Chalatenango, and Masagua. The trade of this district, which contains half the population of the intendancy, is chiefly confined to indigo, to which, indeed, the inhabitants devote their attention almost exclusively, so as to neglect the culture of other articles of prime necessity. "The cultivation of indigo," Humboldt says, "which is very general in Guatimala and Caraccas, is neglected in Mexico; and indigo is annually imported from Guatimala, where

the total produce of the plantations amounts to the value of twelve millions of livres. Raynal is wrong when he maintains that the Europeans introduced the cultivation of this valuable plant into America. Several species of *indigofera* are peculiar to the New Continent. Ferdinand Columbus, in the life of his father, mentions indigo among the productions of Hayti. Hernandez describes the process by which the natives separated the fecula from the juice of the plant; a process different from that now employed. The small cakes of indigo dried by fire, were called *mohuitli* or *tleuohuilli:* the plant was designated by the name *Xiuhquilipitzahuac.*" * In Guatimala, the plant is called *Giquilite*, and the indigo prepared from it, *añil:* the former is the native name; the latter has passed into the Spanish language from the Arabic word *nix* or *nil.* Hernandez calls the Mexican indigo, *aniz.*

The district of *San Vicente* has a climate more intensely warm than San Salvador: its trade consists chiefly in tobacco and dyeing materials. The head town, *San Vicente de Austria*, otherwise called *Lorenzana*, is situated on the skirts of a lofty mountain, at the base of which are several caverns, wherein are some warm springs; the waters are extremely fetid, and "burst forth with an incredible noise." In different parts of the valley there are mineral springs of different temperature, and the whole region bears marks of volcanic phenomena. Two deep rivers, the Acaguapa and the Amapulta, nearly surround the town; the one skirting the northern side, the other flowing on the south; and at a short distance is a third river, called the San Christobal. These three

* Pol. Essay, vol. iii. p. 44.

streams are said to vary most remarkably in temperature. The waters of the Acaguapa are particularly cold, those of the Amapulta are warm, while the San Christobal is always of the temperature of the human body. The climate is warm and humid, but healthy. Besides the principal church of San Vicente, there is a very handsome one dedicated to *Nossa Senhora del Pilar*, erected at the sole cost of a private individual; it has three vaulted aisles of beautiful architecture, and is richly decorated. There is also an oratory of Calvary, and a Franciscan convent. It is 74 leagues from Guatimala, 14 leagues east of San Salvador, and 23 west of San Miguel. At the base of the volcano of San Vicente, and directly opposite the town of the same name, is the village of *Sacatecoluca*, "one of the finest in the kingdom," with a population of upwards of 5,000 persons. About a league from San Vicente, on the skirts of the same mountain, in a mild climate, is the large village of *Apastepec*, noted for its annual fair, held on the 1st of November, for the sale of dyeing woods, &c. The village of *Istepec* is celebrated for its tobacco; and at the adjoining village of *Tepetitan*, there is a royal tobacco-factory.

The fourth and most easterly district of the intendancy is that of *San Miguel*, the climate of which is intensely hot and insalubrious: the produce consists chiefly of indigo and tobacco. On the coast are two ports; one called Jiquilisco, the entrance of which is six leagues eastward of the bar of the river Lempa; it is shut in by several islands, that shelter and defend the anchorage. The other, called Conchagua, is a large bay, capable of receiving ships of any tonnage; it is situated on the confines of the province towards the district of Cholulteca. The city of *San Miguel de la Frontera*, situated in lat. 12° 50′ N., and long. 88°

46′ W., contains a good church, two convents, Franciscan and Mercedarian, an oratory, and a town-house; the population exceeds 6,000 souls. It was formerly much more populous. "Indeed," says Juarros, "the commercial advantages it enjoys, would render it one of the most numerously peopled places in the kingdom; but the insalubrity of the climate keeps down the number of the native residents, and deters others from taking up their abode in it." The inhabitants are said to be wealthy. It is 12 leagues from the sea, 37 from San Salvador, and 97 from Guatimala. The other towns are *San Alexis*, *Chapeltic*, and *San Juan Chinameca*. The last of these, situated in an elevated region, enjoys a mild and salubrious climate, and the soil produces all the species of grain, fruit, and vegetables peculiar to the temperate zone, with which it supplies the city of San Miguel. At Estanzuelas, a small village of Indians and Mulattoes, there is a mineral spring which has petrifying properties.

The whole of this fine province invites the especial attention of the geologist and naturalist, from the very circumstances which render it an undesirable residence. The violent earthquakes by which it has repeatedly been visited,* the three volcanoes of San Salvador, San Miguel, and San Vicente, (from the former two of which eruptions have happened within the memory of the natives,) the sulphureous springs in the valley of San Vicente, and other circumstances, indicate that the shores of the Pacific here form but an immense vault over the subterranean depositories of combustible matter which feed the volcanic furnaces.

* Those from which it has suffered the greatest injury, took place in the years 1575, 1593, 1625, 1656, and 1798.

There seems to be a repetition here of many of the phenomena which occur on the coast of Valladolid.* The volcanoes of San Salvador tower far above the neighbouring mountains, especially that of San Vicente. No account exists of any eruption from this volcano, but the numerous springs of warm water that descend from its sides, are all impregnated with sulphur; and on its northern flank is an aperture, called the *Infernillo*, which emits smoke or vapour like the *hornitos* of Jorullo. In this direction also are many other openings, filled with very hot water, in which may be heard a noise resembling that of a fluid in a state of ebullition, (a circumstance observed also in the *Malpays*,) and this noise is increased by the slightest agitation of the air, even by the human voice. On some parts of the mountain, we are told, is found a very white earth, commonly used for painting in distemper; in other parts are yellow, rose-coloured, purple, and blue earths; green copperas is also met with. These are doubtless pyrites. No information of a scientific kind is to be obtained from the vague accounts of the native writers. The altitude of the *volcan* is said to be so great that, in the upper regions, the cold is excessive; but, whether it rises into the region of snow, is not stated. Among the animals who inhabit it, are the wild boar and the danta or tapir.

The lakes of Guija (or Guixar) and Metapa form one of the most interesting features of this intendancy. They are said to communicate by a subterranean channel. The lake of Metapa, which is fed by the rivers Langue and Languetuyo, and has, apparently, no other outlet, by this means discharges its super-

* See p. 126 of this volume.

fluous waters.* The lake Guija, which is twenty leagues in extent, is also fed by the large river Mitlan, which, augmented in its long course by many tributary streams, discharges itself into the lake under the name of the river Ostua, near the village so called. The river Guija, a large and powerful stream, in no part fordable, flows out of the lake, and, after a winding course, joins the river Lempa. This latter river has its sources in the mountains of Esquipulas, in the province of Chiquimula. It is at first an inconsiderable rivulet called the Sesecapa; but, in a course of more than forty leagues, it receives the tribute of a great number of small streams, and after being joined by the Guija, rolls an immense volume of water towards the Pacific, where it discharges a little to the westward of the Bay of Jiquilisco, forming the boundary between the districts of San Vicente and San Miguel. The two lakes above-mentioned furnish to the whole district an inexhaustible supply of delicate fish. In the middle of that of Guija, is a large island most picturesquely clothed with wood, which gives cover to immense quantities of game. On this island, are the ruins of some ancient buildings, called by the natives *Tzacualpa* (old village), which are of sufficient extent to convey the idea of its having been a place of some importance.† Two other lakes are mentioned by Juarros, those of Texacuangos and Gilopango, which, he says, afford various kinds of fine fish, more than

* We say apparently, because the vague statement of Juarros requires to be verified by actual investigation.

† In the interior of the woods on this island, Fuentes states, that it had been affirmed on very respectable authority, that *satyrs* had been frequently seen. Juarros dismisses the assertion as undeserving of attention; yet, it might be worth inquiry, whether these woods may not conceal a species of anthropomorphous ape, or savages.

enough for the markets of San Salvador and a great portion of the intendancy; but he gives no account of their situation or extent.

Almost the whole of the tract of country which we have been describing, lies either within the regions called the *tierras calientes*, or occupies the southern declivity of the cordillera, the crests of which, "bristling with volcanic cones," stretch along the coast of the Pacific from the lake of Nicaragua to the bay of Tehuantepec. The province of Costa Rica likewise contains volcanoes. But the most remarkable are in the inland province of Sacatepec, which, as comprising both the ancient and the modern capital, will now claim our attention. It forms part of the territory designated in some geographical works by the name of Guatimala Proper.*

* In a recent geographical work, Guatimala is with singular inaccuracy described as containing eight provinces, viz. Chiapa, Vera Paz, Guatimala Proper, Soconusco, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and Veragua. The latter belongs to New Granada. It is hard to say what is meant to be included in Guatimala Proper. Its boundaries are said to be Vera Paz and Chiapa on the N.E. (an obvious blunder for N.W.); Honduras on the E.; Nicaragua on the S.E.; and Oaxaca on the N. and W. Oaxaca neither lies in that direction, nor can it touch on Guatimala Proper, as Soconusco divides them. No notice is taken in this enumeration, of the important intendancy of San Salvador. Guatimala Proper, therefore, would, according to this statement, comprise the four maritime provinces of Suchiltepec, Escuintla, Zonzonate, and San Salvador, or the whole coast between Soconusco and Nicaragua, and the five midland provinces! It would more correctly be restricted to the three interior provinces, lying between Vera Paz on the north and Escuintla on the south, which composed the ancient Kachiquel or Guatimalan kingdom. In Alcedo's Dictionary, a work considered as a high authority, Guatimala is described with similar inaccuracy. It is stated to contain 13 provinces, viz. Soconusco, Chiapa, Suquitepec, Vera Paz, Honduras, *Icalcos*, San Salvador, San Miguel, Nicaragua, Xeres de la Choluteca, Tegusigalpa, and Costa Rica. These 13 provinces are said to be divided

VALLEY OF GUATIMALA.

THE province of Sacatepec, being of limited extent, though unusually populous, is only an *alcaldia-mayor*. It lies between the 14th and 15th parallels of north latitude, and between long. 90° 46′ and 91° 46′ W. It is not above 20 leagues in length, and is nearly as much in breadth, and contains upwards of 115,600 inhabitants. It is the most southern of the five interior provinces, and, together with the *alcaldias* of Chimaltenango and Solola, formed the ancient kingdom of Kachiquel. Within these contracted limits, the country presents a singular variety of surface and of climate. The soil, Juarros says, is favourable to the productions of every temperature. The Vale of Guatimala, known also by the name of Pasuya, seems to bear an analogy to that series of immense plains which encircle the capital of Mexico. It consists of nine basins or valleys, of varying elevation, comprised within one vast circuit, which extends from the mountains of Quezaltenango on the west, to the maritime province of Chiquimula on the east. Three of these valleys, those of Chimaltenango, Xilopetec, and Alotenango, are comprised within the *alcaldia-mayor* of Chimaltenango: the other six, which form the *alcaldia-mayor* of Sacatepec, are the valleys of Guatimala, Mixco, Sacatepec, Las Vacas, Mesas de Petapa, and Canales. We are unacquainted with the different

into 25 governments and alcaldias-mayores; and afterwards, the *province* of Guatimala, (which is not mentioned in the first enumeration,) is stated to be one of the *three* composing the kingdom. It is needless to point out the gross inaccuracies in this account. Icalcos is probably Izalco in Zonzonate, which does not appear to have ever formed either an *alcaldia-mayor* or a *corregimiento*. The same remark applies to San Miguel.

elevations of these valleys, as no Humboldt has hitherto explored this region; but there is reason to suppose that they will be found to vary not less remarkably in their climate and productions, than the four Mexican plateaus.* Juarros states, that the valley of Chimaltenango enjoys a cold, dry, but healthy climate, and that it is of so exactly proportioned a level, that the drainage waters of one half of the town of Santa Ana descend into the Atlantic, and those of the other half into the Pacific. The soil produces wheat, maize, and European fruits. The vicinity of Almolonga and San Gaspar in Sacatepec, used to supply the capital with pulque or maguey wine, until the governor, Andres de los Navas, prohibited the traffic under pain of excommunication; while, in the valley of Xilotepec, the sugar-cane is cultivated.

That which is properly called the Valley of Guatimala † occupies nearly the centre of the chain of plateaus, having the valleys of Chimaltenango and Xilotepec on the north, that of Mixco on the east, that of Petapa on the south, and that of Alotenango on the west. Old Guatimala stands nearly in the centre of the plain, encompassed by eleven suburbs, which are environed by no fewer than thirty-one villages, the most distant of which is not two leagues from the city: some of these are on the plain, others on the declivities of the mountains. The

* The valley of Toluca is 8,530 feet, the valley of Tenochtitlan 7,460 feet, the valley of Actopan 6,450 feet, and the valley of Istla 3,300 feet, above the level of the sea. They differ as much in their climate as in their elevation, each being adapted to a different species of cultivation. The last, which is the least elevated, admits of the growth of the sugar-cane; the third is adapted for that of cotton; the second, for the cultivation of European grain; and the first, for agave-plantations.—HUMBOLDT, *Pol. Essay*, vol. i. p. 56.

† Its ancient name was the valley of Tuerto or Panchoi.

present inhabitants are, it seems, indebted to the Spanish conquerors for this succession of villages. It appears from the records of the *cabildo*, that soon after the city was founded, a distribution was made, in lots, of the lands in the valley. It being found, however, that some of the worthy citizens had, in the scramble, got possession of larger portions than fell to their share, while others had none, in a meeting of the *cabildo* held in April 1528, it was determined to equalise the distribution by dividing the whole valley into lots called *caballerias* and *peonerias;* the former, 1,000 paces long by 600 in breadth; the latter, half that quantity. To a horse-soldier was assigned a *caballeria;* to a foot-soldier, a *peoneria.* These lots were laid out by the proprietors, some as maize-fields, others as gardens, or for other agricultural labours. "At this period," continues Juarros, "there were great numbers of the unreclaimed natives wandering about in the forests and on the mountains, without any kind of subjection or government, who were very detrimental to those who had already been converted. The Spaniards, desirous of applying a remedy to this evil, began to devise means of collecting them together, and establishing them in small villages. This design was still further promoted by various edicts from the king, particularly one dated June 10, 1540, which especially ordered that all methods should be tried to induce the Indians to live in societies and form villages, to accomplish more effectually the important object of civilising and instructing them. As the wild Indians disregarded all the friendly offers that were made them, and shewed but little inclination to listen to the preaching of the missionaries, the governor gave permission to *hunt them out of their retreats.* In consequence, the officers, each taking ten or twelve

soldiers, sallied forth on the darkest nights, conducted by expert guides, to an Indian hovel, where they frequently seized six, eight, or ten Indians, whom they brought home and placed on their maize-plantations and other works, under the superintendence of careful persons. These excursions were repeated until sixty, eighty, two hundred, three hundred, or even greater numbers were got together and formed into a village, on which was usually bestowed the name of the saint of the proprietor's peculiar devotion, with the addition of the surname of his family. Thus, Luis de Bivar established the village called San Gaspar Bivar; Ignacio de Bobadilla, that of Santa Catarina Bobadilla; Alonzo de Zamora, that of Santiago Zamora, at a place where he used to wash the soil to find gold; and Gabriel Cabrera, that of San Lucas Cabrera.* Several others are designated by the dignity or office held by their founders; as, San Juan del Obispo, founded by Bishop Francisco de Marroquin; San Andres Dean, founded by Dean Juan Alonzo; and San Pedro Tesorero, established by the treasurer, Pedro de Becerra. San Miguel Milpa Dueñas, founded by Alvarado, is named from a portion of land which he had ordered to be sown with maize for the benefit of the widows of his soldiers; San Dionisio Pastores is said to have received its name from the inhabitants having tended Alvarado's flocks; and San Luis de las Carretas was so called because the inhabitants were chiefly cartwrights. The in-

* Others are enumerated by Juarros, which we have not thought it necessary to particularise. San Lucas Cabrera is also called San Lucas *Yehanzuquit*, which signifies, in the Pipil language, house of mud; deriving this appellative from some wells near the village, "in which, if any kind of linen be laid for three or four days, it will be dyed a most beautiful black, and the colour so durable that it cannot be discharged."—JUARROS, p. 479, *note*.

habitants of the city derive many advantages from these numerous places: besides the supply of every kind of provisions, they draw plenty of hands for their different works and manufactories. If a person is in want of bricklayers, he is sure of finding them at Jocotenango, Santa Ana, and San Gaspar; masons at San Cristoval (the lower); gardeners at San Pedro de las Huertas; bakers at Santa Ana; and butchers at Santa Isabel. The inhabitants of Almolonga supply the city with fruit of all kinds, either the growth of their own gardens, or procured from other villages towards the mountains or the sea-shore; Almolonga and Upper San Cristoval furnish all kinds of flowers; San Gaspar and Almolonga used to supply pulque; and San Pedro de las Huertas sends cauliflowers, cabbages, onions, and every other description of garden vegetables. Wood, *coals*, and similar articles of domestic necessity, are brought from the other villages."

This description, while it discloses the unprincipled method pursued by the Spanish conquerors for subjugating and *converting* the natives, shews that the site of Alvarado's capital was not injudiciously chosen. The spot first selected was about a league to the south-west of Old Guatimala, between the two volcanoes, near the place now called Almolonga, and sometimes *Ciudad Vieja* (the old city).* The settlement here, Juarros states, was meant to be a tem-

* It is a disputed point among the Spanish historians, whether the first settlement was at Almolonga, or in the capital of King Sinacam, the Indian city of Tecpanguatemala, which occupied the site of *San Miguel Tzacualpa*, a village at a short distance. Juarros says, that directly above Tzacualpa (which signifies old town), may be distinguished the deep channel made by the torrent of water and detached masses of rock by which the old town was overwhelmed.

porary one, until a more convenient spot could be selected; but, "not discovering another situation offering superior advantages, the inhabitants determined to remain here, and to extend their buildings a little to the eastward, upon the skirt of the mountain called the *Volcan de Agua;* a place of great fertility, very pleasant, under a fine climate, healthy, and abundantly supplied with excellent water. On this spot, they commenced building the city on the 22d of November, 1527; and in a short time they had erected a decent cathedral, convents of Dominicans, Franciscans, and Mercedarians, two *hermitas*, a town-house, and a hospital. After fourteen years' progress, further improvements were stopped by a calamity that finally decided its fate. On the night of September 11, 1541, an eruption of water from the mountain took place, when a torrent so immense rolled down from the summit, sweeping before it large trees and enormous rocks, that the city was overwhelmed, the buildings destroyed, and great part of the inhabitants buried beneath the ruins.* This irreparable disaster

* The account which Juarros gives of this dreadful catastrophe, is as follows. "It had rained incessantly and with great violence on the three preceding days, particularly on the night of the 10th, when the water descended more like the torrent of a cataract than rain. The fury of the wind, the incessant, appalling lightning and dreadful thunder, were indescribable. The general terror was increased by eruptions from the volcano to such a degree, that, in this combination of horrors, the inhabitants imagined the final destruction of the world was at hand. At two o'clock on the morning of the 11th, the vibrations of the earth were so violent, that the people were unable to stand. The shocks were accompanied with a terrible subterranean noise, which spread universal dismay. Shortly afterward, an immense torrent of water rushed down from the summit of the mountain, forcing away with it enormous fragments of rocks and large trees, which, descending upon the ill-fated town, overwhelmed and destroyed almost all the houses, and buried a great number of inhabitants under the ruins."

compelled the survivors to seek another settlement; and they fixed upon the place where Old Guatimala now stands, about a league north-east of *Ciudad Vieja.*"

Among the victims of this catastrophe, was Doña Beatriz de la Cueba, the widow of Pedro de Alvarado, who had been elected governess of the city. While the survivors were holding a council in the cathedral on the 18th of September, a week after the eruption, to deliberate on the removal of the city, several shocks of earthquake compelled them to seek their safety by flight. At a subsequent meeting, on the 27th, the removal was resolved on by a majority of forty-three votes against five. The situations at first proposed for the new city were, the valleys of Alotenango and Chimaltenango; and a considerable majority gave the preference to the latter. But, at this juncture, there arrived an engineer sent out by the Spanish Government, Juan Battista Antonelli, in consequence of whose representation, both plans were given up, and the valley of Tuerto, or Panchoi, was finally chosen as the site for the city of Santiago. The council in which this decision was made, took place on the 22d of October, 1541; and such was the zeal of the people in carrying on the work, that by the May following, a great part of the city was inhabited, although the complete demarcation of it was not finished before November. It was the metropolis of the kingdom until the year 1776, when the capital was transferred to the valley of Mixco, in consequence of the devastation occasioned by the earthquake of 1773.

OLD GUATIMALA.

OLD GUATIMALA (*la Antigua Guatimala*), anciently a city and the metropolis of the kingdom, now ranks only as a town; it is, however, as being the residence of the *alcalde mayor*, the provincial capital of Sacatepec. Its proper title is *Santiago* (or San Jago) *de los Caballeros de Guatimala*. Saint Cecilia is also considered as the co-patroness of the city, in consequence of a memorable victory obtained over the Kachiquel Indians, who had revolted, in 1526.* It was constituted an episcopal see in 1534 by Pope

* The history of this revolt is briefly given by Juarros. When Pedro de Alvarado left Guatimala in 1526 to wait upon Cortes, he left his brother Gonzalo lieutenant of the newly acquired kingdom during his absence. Impelled by avarice, Gonzalo determined to improve the favourable opportunity of enriching himself. "With this view, he demanded an exorbitant tribute from the populous village of Pitinamit, requiring that 800 of the Indians should each bring him, every day, a reed of the size of his little finger filled with fine gold, under the penalty of being taken as slaves. The unhappy victims of his rapacity exerted themselves to the utmost to pay this iniquitous exaction; but all their endeavours being ineffectual, the governor went to the village, inflicted severe punishments, and threatened them with death, should his demand be neglected. The natives, driven to desperation by these vexations, invoked all the towns of the Kachiquel nation to their aid, and soon collected a force of 30,000 combatants. A part of this host was detached to defend the mountains in the road from Petapa, by which they feared Pedro de Alvarado might return, while the main body suddenly fell upon the town, and, taking the inhabitants by surprise, killed many, wounded more, and put the rest to flight. After this defeat, the city was abandoned by the Spaniards, until the return of Alvarado, who, without loss of time, exerted himself to regain what they had been deprived of, and to reduce the Kachiquels once more to subjection. This was not done without great trouble, and several severe contests. He at last vanquished them, after a very obstinate battle, and they then submitted. This victory was obtained on the 22d of November, St. Cecilia's day."

Paul III., and Pope Benedict XIV. in 1742 raised it to the rank of a metropolitan city. "It stands in a delightful valley, shut in by mountains and hills that always retain their verdure, and encompassed by meadows and lands which supply pasturage to large herds of cattle. Two rivers run through the valley, and supply to the gardens and meadows, the farms and country-houses, every convenience for irrigation. The climate is extremely agreeable, and of so happy a medium, that neither heat nor cold ever predominates to the injury of vegetation; but a perpetual spring presents its varied bounties. The city extends about twelve squares of houses (*manzanas*)* in the narrowest part: the streets are broad, straight, and well paved, running in right lines from east to west and from north to south, except in the suburbs, where are many both narrow and irregular. There are numerous fountains, supplied from three different springs; and water is also diffused into all parts of the city by pipes, so that there is scarcely a house without three or four cisterns regularly replenished. There are large reservoirs in the streets and public places: that in the Great Square is worthy of notice, being constructed entirely of stone, very well wrought, and filled by two different streams that fall into it on opposite sides. The consistorial houses deserve attention, both for the solidity of building, and their excellent distribution, as well as for an elegant corridor fronting the square, formed by columns and arches of masonry. There are thirty-eight edifices appropriated to religious worship and establishments, viz. the cathedral, three parish churches, and sixteen

* A *manzana* is a solid square of houses, formed by the intersection of streets at right angles, and varying in extent from 150 to 350 yards in front.

others, eight convents for men, eight for women, the congregations of San Felipe Neri, and of Calvary, and eleven chapels. The cathedral is a magnificent temple, more than 300 feet long, 120 broad, and nearly seventy high, lighted by fifty windows; it has three aisles, and eight chapels on each side, of which those of the Sanctuary and Nuestra Señora del Socorro are very spacious; the decorations consist of beautiful statues, paintings of the best masters, many inestimable relics, and numerous utensils of gold and silver. The grand altar stood under a cupola, supported by sixteen columns, faced with tortoiseshell, and adorned with medallions in bronze of exquisite workmanship; on the cornice are placed the statues of the Virgin and the twelve apostles in ivory. In this sumptuous edifice, to which there are seven spacious entrances, repose the ashes of Pedro de Alvarado, the conqueror of the country, of Francisco Marroquin, the first bishop, eight of his successors, and of many other illustrious men. The church of San Domingo deserved notice by its elegant design, great elevation, capacious vestibule, and splendid decorations, among which was a statue of the Virgin del Rosario, nearly six feet in height, of massive silver. In the church of San Francisco, one of the largest in the city, were three alcoves, beautifully and richly adorned, which contributed greatly to the splendour of the grand altar; the singularly curious chapel of Our Lady of Loretto, in which the image of the Virgin of Alcantara * is worshipped; at the portal

* "This image is not without its miracle, for it appears (from records juridically authenticated, obtained in the year 1601, and preserved in the archives of the convent), that it is the identical image which was worshipped at Alcantara in Estremadura, where the tradition was, that it had been found in the river Tagus, en-

there are several statues of saints done in stucco, and enamelled, which far exceed any thing of the kind in the kingdom. But the greatest treasure in popular estimation belonging to the church, are the mortal relics of Pedro de San José de Betancurt,* that are preserved under the safeguard of three keys, in a niche on the left hand side of the presbytery. The church of the College of Jesuits, and that of Nuestra Señora de la Merced, each spacious, and with three aisles, possess their due share of magnificence. The Dominican, Franciscan, and Mercedarian convents, are the most remarkable for their size, solidity of the building, neatness, and convenient arrangement of their respective offices. Of the nunneries, that of La Conception is the largest; it is said to have been formerly inhabited by upwards of 1,000 persons, nuns, pupils, and servants."†

In the time of its prosperity, as the capital of the kingdom, Old Guatimala was the residence of the captain-general, who was also president of the chancery and royal *audiencia*. In 1676, the royal and pontifical university of San Carlos was founded by Charles II., on which, in 1687, Pope Innocent XI. conferred all the privileges enjoyed by the universities of Mexico and Lima. This city has given birth to many illustrious individuals. Among these, the

closed with the infant Don Pelayo, in a chest, and the preservation of the prince was attributed to the special protection of his virgin patroness."

* "Pedro de Betancurt was a priest, native of the island of Teneriffe, who settled in Guatimala; he was held in great estimation by the populace, who believed that he wrought miracles: the subject of his beatification was warmly debated in the Romish conclave, but not carried; however, Pope Clement XIV. declared that his virtues were entitled to the most heroic degree."

† Juarros, pp. 112—14.

native Historian above cited enumerates, Christoval Flores, a Franciscan, of one of the noblest families of Guatimala, who suffered a cruel death for preaching Christianity in Algiers in 1627; Diego de la Cerda, of the order of *La Merced*, who was torn in pieces by four horses at Constantinople for preaching Christianity; Blas de Morales, a Franciscan of noble race and exemplary virtue, who died in 1646; Alonzo Sanchez, a secular priest, who, for his eminent virtues, was honoured with a public funeral,—he died in 1652; Juan Bautista Alvarez de Toledo, of an illustrious family, who, after filling the Duns Scotus professorship in the university of San Carlos, was raised to the episcopal chairs, successively, of Chiapa, Guatimala, and Guadalaxara, and died in his native country in 1726; Juan de Padilla, a secular ecclesiastic of considerable literary attainments, who died in 1749; Miguel de Zilieza y Velasco, of a noble family, bishop of Cuidad Real, where he died in 1768; Antonio de Pineda y Ramirez, who accompanied Malaspina, in a scientific capacity, in his voyage round the globe; Ignacio Ceballos, dean of Mexico and Seville, member of the Royal Spanish Academy, and one of the compilers of the Spanish Dictionary; and lastly, Miguel Gutierres, an ex-jesuit, who died at Rome in 1794,—his life has been written in Latin by Luis Maniero.

The history of Old Guatimala is singularly disastrous. Juarros devotes a separate chapter to its calamities, beginning with the Kachiquel revolt of 1526, and the destruction of the *Ciudad Vieja*, and bringing down the story to the fatal earthquake of 1773.* Although

* In these disastrous annals of the first city, it is recorded, that in 1532, "the vicinity of the city was ravaged, and the inhabitants thrown into consternation, by a *lion* of uncommon magnitude and

the inhabitants had changed the situation of the town, they could not evade the calamities that still awaited them. In 1558, an epidemic disorder, attended with a violent bleeding at the nose, swept away great numbers of the inhabitants. In 1565, a severe shock of earthquake seriously damaged many of the principal buildings. The earthquakes of 1575, 76, and 77, were not less ruinous. "On the 27th of December, 1581, the population was again alarmed by the volcano, which began to emit fire; and so great was the quantity of ashes thrown out and spread in the air, that the sun was entirely obscured, and artificial light was necessary in the city at mid-day. Processions were formed to implore the Divine intercession; people confessed themselves aloud in the streets, being persuaded they were on the point of suffering some awful visitation of Providence. A northerly wind, however, at last relieved them from their fears, by dispersing the ashes towards the Pacific Ocean, and again allowing them to view the splendour of the sun. On the 14th of January, 1582, the mountain vomited fire with great force for twenty-four hours successively.

"The years 1585 and 6, were dreadful in the extreme. On January 16, of the former, earthquakes were felt, and they continued through that and the

ferocity," (probably the *puma*, or *miztli*, is meant,) "which descended from the forests on the *Volcan de Agua*, and committed great devastations among the herds. A reward of 25 gold dollars, or 100 bushels of wheat, was offered by the town council to any person that could kill it; but the animal escaped even from a general hunting-party of the whole city, with Alvarado at the head of it. After five or six months' continual depredations, he was killed by a herdsman, who received the promised reward." In February 1536, a fire, originating in a blacksmith's shop, destroyed a great number of houses, in consequence of which forges were prohibited within the city.

following year so frequently, that not an interval of eight days elapsed, during the whole period, without a shock more or less violent. Fire issued incessantly, for months together, from the mountain, and greatly increased the general consternation. The most disastrous of these eruptions took place on the 23d Dec., 1586, when the major part of the city again became a heap of ruins, burying under them many of the unfortunate inhabitants; the earth shook with such violence, that the tops of the high ridges were torn off, and deep chasms formed in various parts of the level ground.

"In 1601, a pestilential distemper carried off great numbers. It raged with so much malignity, that three days generally terminated the existence of such as were affected by it. In 1607, fresh shocks of earthquakes were felt, causing great damage to several of the buildings, and killing many people. These terrible visitations did not return again until the year 1640. In 1620, a fiery meteor appeared, and filled the inhabitants with terror and dismay, from their ignorance of the nature of such phenomena: similar appearances at the present day, as philosophy is better understood, would excite only admiration. Meteors of the same description appeared on the 14th April, 1649; the 23d March, 1680; the 20th January, 1681; in January 1683; and on the 18th of September, 1691.

"In the month of January 1623, the volcano was observed to be again in action; it threw out much flame and thick smoke, accompanied by violent and loud reports, to the great terror of the inhabitants, but fortunately without injury.

"On the 18th of February, 1651, about one o'clock, afternoon, a most extraordinary subterranean noise

was heard, and immediately followed by three violent shocks, at very short intervals from each other, which threw down many buildings, and damaged others; the tiles from the roofs of the houses were dispersed in all directions, like light straws by a gust of wind; the bells of the churches were rung by the vibrations; masses of rock were detached from the mountains; and even the wild beasts were so terrified, that, losing their natural instinct, they quitted their retreats, and sought shelter from the habitations of men. Among these, a lion of great size and fierceness entered the city, on the southern side, and advanced into the middle of it; he tore down a paper fixed against one of the consistorial houses, and retreated by the streets on the north side. These shocks were repeated frequently, until the 13th of April.

"Very few years passed in which this devoted place did not experience the horrors of these exterminating phenomena; for, enumerating only such as caused serious damage since 1651, the worst were those in March 1679; 22d July, 1681; May 1683; August 1684; September and October 1687; and the 12th of February, 1689, which, a writer of that period asserts, was even more disastrous than the one in 1651.

"The year 1686 brought with it another dreadful epidemic, which, in three months, swept away a tenth part of the inhabitants. Some of them died suddenly; others expired under the most acute pains of the head, breast, and bowels. No remedy was discovered that could check its destructive progress, although many of the deceased were opened, to endeavour, by that means, to come at the cause of the disorder. So great was the number of the infected, that there was not a sufficient number of priests to administer to them the religious rites. The bells

were no longer tolled for the dead individually, and the corpses were buried, *en masse*, in a common grave. From the capital, the pestilence spread to the neighbouring villages, and thence to the more remote ones, causing dreadful havoc, particularly among the most robust of the inhabitants.*

"Pursuing this narrative of misfortunes, the next in succession happened on the 1st of February, 1705; when the mountain again disgorged ashes and thick smoke in such abundance, that the sun was entirely obscured; and the Guatimaltecans, like the ancient Egyptians, were enveloped in impenetrable darkness at noon-day, which continued for several hours. In 1710, a violent eruption of smoke and ignited stones took place; but no serious injury was sustained. The year 1717 was memorable: on the night of August 27th, the mountain began to emit flames, attended by a continued subterranean rumbling noise. On the night of the 28th, the eruption increased to great violence, and very much alarmed the inhabitants. The images of saints were carried in procession, public prayers were put up, day after day; but the

* The author makes no mention of the manner in which this epidemic terminated; but, says his Translator, "religious ingenuity was not tardy in producing a miracle to remove so dreadful a scourge. The inhabitants being grievously alarmed at the frightful havoc among them, resolved upon the expedient of addressing public prayers to the Virgin for her interference; they carried the image that is worshipped in the village of Almolonga, thence to the church of Calvary, in the city, in solemn procession. The rogation continued three days; on the last day, about two in the afternoon, the face of the sacred effigy was perceived to be in a profuse perspiration for a long time: this prodigy was immediately certified officially by a couple of notaries who were present. In the evening, the image was restored to the village with becoming solemnity, and from that day the pestilence ceased; no more persons were infected, and those who were sick recovered immediately."

terrifying eruption still continued, and was followed by frequent shocks, at intervals, for more than four months. At last, on the night of September 29th, the fate of Guatimala appeared to be decided, and inevitable destruction seemed to be at hand. Great was the ruin among the public edifices; many of the houses were thrown down, and nearly all that remained were dreadfully injured; but the greatest devastation was seen in the churches. The inhabitants, from what they actually saw, and from what their terrors suggested to them, expected the total subversion of the place; and nearly all sought refuge in the villages adjacent. After this disaster, they solicited permission of the Government to remove to any other spot that might be judged less exposed to the effects of the volcano; but, by the time the council of the Indies transmitted a license for the removal, they had recovered from the panic, returned to their dilapidated dwellings, had repaired a great part of the city, and no longer thought of making the transfer.

"In 1732, during the month of May, the volcano once more seemed to threaten fresh disasters, but nothing more than an eruption of flame, that continued many days, then took place. In 1733, the city suffered very grievously from the small-pox, which, in one month, swept away 1,500 persons. This misfortune was followed, in June 1736, by a violent tempest, that threw down several houses, and many persons were buried under the ruins.

"On the 27th August, 1737, the mountain was again in commotion, and discharged flames and smoke for some days successively; numerous small craters, that emitted both fire and smoke, opened on the sides of it; and, on the 24th of September, smart shocks of

earthquake took place, but fortunately without causing injury. On September 21, 1749, another violent tempest began, and continued for three days; it was attended with an incessant heavy rain: the torrents of water that descended from the surrounding mountains caused much damage in the villages on the plain below. On the 4th of March, 1751, two very severe shocks were felt; the first about eight o'clock in the morning, and the other at two in the afternoon: much injury was done by them, chiefly to the churches.

"On the 8th of October, 1762, a heavy rain began, and lasted until the morning of the 9th; by which the rivers were so increased, that great part of the country was inundated: on this occasion the large village of Petapa was destroyed, and the division of the city called the Barrio de los Remedios was laid under water.

"The year 1773 was the most melancholy epoch in the annals of this metropolis; it was then destroyed, and, as the capital, rose no more from its ruins. Since the year 1751, there had been no considerable misfortune sustained; for although, in 1757, there had been the shock, distinguished by the natives as the earthquake of St. Francis, and, in 1765, that of the Holy Trinity, which spread devastation over the province of Chiquimula; and afterward, that denominated St. Raphael's, which grievously devastated the province of Suchiltepeques; yet, neither of these extended to the capital with sufficient violence to cause any extraordinary damage. In the month of May, some few slight shocks were perceived; and, on the 11th of June, a very violent one took place. Its duration was considerable; many houses and several churches were much injured: during the whole of

the night, the shocks were repeated at short intervals, and, for some days afterward, with less frequency. About four o'clock, on the afternoon of July 29th, a tremendous vibration was felt, and shortly after began the dreadful convulsion that decided the fate of the unfortunate city. It is difficult, even for those who were witnesses of this terrible catastrophe, to describe its duration, or the variety of its undulation, so entirely did terror and the apprehension of immediate annihilation, absorb all powers of reflection. For several days these shocks continued, and sometimes in such quick succession, that many took place in the short space of fifteen minutes. On the 7th September, there was another, which threw down most of the buildings that were damaged on the 29th of July; and, on the 13th December, one still more violent terminated the work of destruction. To this memorable calamity succeeded a schism among the inhabitants, that caused many disagreeable dissensions. Two parties were formed; the one, terrified by the recent chastisement of Providence, and bearing in mind the miseries that had been so often endured from similar visitations, was desirous of establishing the city anew, in a situation further away from the mountain, and less exposed to such troubles. The other, arguing from constant experience, that there was scarcely a district throughout the kingdom which was not, at times, subject to the same inconvenience, contended that it would be better to rebuild the city on its present site, than to abandon the delightful climate, the fertile soil, excellent water, and the thousand other advantages they enjoyed in it; and that the very ruins of their former dwellings would furnish part of the materials for reconstructing them. The people had not well recovered from the consterna-

tion inflicted by the events of the fatal 29th of July, when a meeting was convoked, for the purpose of collecting the sense of the inhabitants on the subject of the removal. This assembly took place on the 4th of August; the governor presided, and it was attended by the archbishop, and all the persons of consequence who remained on the spot. In this meeting it was determined that all the public authorities should remove, provisionally, to the little village of La Hermita, until the valleys of Jalapa and Las Vacas could be surveyed, and until the king's pleasure could be ascertained on the subject. A member of the audiencia, two prebends of the cathedral, a regidor, and one of the principal inhabitants, were deputed to examine the two valleys. On the 6th of September, the governor and all the tribunals withdrew to La Hermita. The surveys of the just-mentioned places being completed, the inhabitants were again convoked to decide upon the transfer. This congress was held in the temporary capital, and lasted from the 12th until the 16th of January, 1774: the report of the commissioners was read, and, by a plurality of votes, it was resolved to make a formal translation of the city of Guatimala to the valley of Las Vacas."

Matters were in this state, when the new fiscal of the royal *audiencia*, Don José Sistué, arrived at Guatimala, and once more agitated the question, whether the plain of *La Virgen* (in Mixco) would not be preferable to the plain of *El Rodeo* (in Las Vacas) for the capital. In consequence of a fresh survey, the former edict was now revoked, and a new decree directed the removal of the city to the plain of *La Virgen*. The royal assent was given to this measure on the 21st of July, 1775, and a decree of the 21st of September following, granted the whole revenue

arising from the customs for the ensuing ten years, towards the expenses of erecting the new city. The *ayuntamiento* were in due form installed in the new situation on the 1st of January, 1776; the university of San Carlos removed thither in November 1777; on the 22d of that month, divine service was performed for the first time in the temporary cathedral; and in succession, the several parishes, convents, and churches were transferred as fast as circumstances would permit, a proclamation having been issued in Old Guatimala on the 29th of July, 1777, commanding the population to remove to the new city, within a year, and totally abandon the remains of the old one.

"Some private individuals," continues Juarros, "many artisans, and a great part of the people, supposing, and, as it seems, not without reason, that the royal pleasure for removing the capital was intended as a matter of favour to the whole community, but not to force them to abandon the dwellings and conveniencies they possessed in Old Guatimala, and seek habitations in the new capital, expected to remain in the quiet enjoyment of their homes. The governors of the kingdom put a very different construction upon the royal edict, and considered the translation of the capital, not as a matter of favour, but as a mandate for the total abandonment of the old city; they were therefore inflexible in forcing the inhabitants to quit the proscribed soil. These, though grieved at resigning all they possessed in their old domicile, were unwilling to have it supposed they would oppose the royal pleasure, and reluctantly quitted their abodes: some repaired to the new city, others retired to the neighbouring villages, so that on the 30th of June, 1779, Old Guatimala, in compliance with

the governor's positive orders, from being the busy haunt of men, was transformed into a dreary solitude.

"The cruel and tyrannical proclamation issued by Don Matias de Galvez, president of the royal audiencia, in the month of June 1779, for the desertion of Old Guatimala, deserves to be made generally known. He commanded that every inhabitant should quit the city within a prescribed (very small) number of days; and that from the date of the proclamation, no artificer should there exercise his trade, without being liable to very severe penalties. Until the publication of this order, it was a thing unheard of in any civilised country, that a man should be prohibited from supporting his family by the honest labour of his hands, at his settled abode. In consequence, many of these poor people were forced to the hard necessity of quitting the place, or of committing robberies to afford sustenance to those dependant upon them; yet, notwithstanding the monstrous severity of the mandate, it was allowed to have its full effect."

Caprice, intrigue, and interested motives, had probably some share in dictating the transfer of the capital, and the arbitrary policy by which it was enforced. The old city, though greatly injured by the earthquake of 1773, "was not so generally dilapidated," says our Historian, "as it appeared to the terrified, or, it may perhaps be said, the interested imaginations of architects, engineers, and notaries. Great damage was certainly done in some quarters, particularly in those on elevated situations, as La Candelaria, San Domingo, Chipilapa, and part of San Sebastian. In the centre of the city, some houses were destroyed, but more remained unhurt, or slightly injured, as they sufficiently shew at this day:

in the lower quarters of San Francisco, Tortuguero, Chajon, and others, the effect upon the buildings was very slight. As to the most sumptuous buildings and public works, viz. the cathedral and other churches, the palaces and convents, it would have been necessary for the most part to pull them down entirely. On the other hand, as it was a well-known fact, that, since the Spaniards first settled in that valley, either at Tzacualpa or Panchoi, fifty years had never elapsed without the city's suffering some injury, it appeared more desirable to remove the capital once more, although at much greater expense, than to rebuild it in the same situation. The latter alternative would have been much easier and less costly, but it would have been labouring upon a calculation of only thirty or forty years' duration of the work."

The inhabitants had not removed from the old city, when a malignant fever broke out, which raged till the month of May 1774, "making a horrible addition to the already lengthened list of mortality. The major part of the inhabitants settled in the new city; but, by a change of soil, they could not evade the penalty of misfortune, suffering, and tribulation, inflicted upon the human race: these followed them to their new *domicile*, where they experienced severe injury and much distress from dreadful storms of rain and hail, in which many persons were killed by lightning. Since the ruin of Old Guatimala, the greatest suffering of the new city was from the small-pox, in 1780, which extended nearly all over the kingdom. This distemper was of so malignant a character, that, in a few days, great numbers fell victims to it. That the infected might not die without the administration of the usual sacraments, the *viaticum* was carried from all the parish churches, and also from those of the

regular religious orders. The defunct were not permitted to be interred in the churches, both on account of the numbers, and because serious injury might be done to the survivors, from the decomposition of bodies in a state of such virulent contagion: three cemeteries without the city were, therefore, consecrated for their sepulture. The zealous devotion of the Ayuntamiento on this melancholy occasion, was honourable in the extreme. Every effort was made to give assistance to the poor. A *regidor* took charge of each quarter of the city; and one was always in attendance at the hospital established out of it, for the reception of the variolous patients. Inoculation was now, for the first time, practised in Guatimala, with the most complete success; for, although so many perished of the contagion, scarcely one of those who were inoculated died."

The proscribed city of Old Guatimala remained for some time in a state of complete desertion. At length, many of its former occupants covertly resumed their old abodes, and it has by degrees again become peopled. In the year 1799, it was invested with the privileges of a town. Juarros states the population at upwards of 8,000 souls, among whom are some Spaniards, but the greater part are natives (*ladinos*).

NEW GUATIMALA.

THE new city received, by royal appointment, the name of *La Nueva Guatimala de la Asuncion*, it being within the curacy of the hermitage of *La Asuncion de Nuestra Señora*. Possibly, the inefficiency of the sainted patrons of the old city, Saint James and Saint Cecilia, might be an inducement to consecrate the new settlement to the Virgin under one of her many forms

of invocation. The spacious plain of *La Virgen*, in which it stands, forming part of the valley of Mixco, is five leagues in diameter. It is in a delightful climate: the inhabitants scarcely know a change of temperature. The plain is watered by several small rivers and lakes, which greatly conduce to its fertility; and although the new city is not surrounded with so many villages as Old Guatimala, yet, the markets are equally well supplied with provisions of every description from the same quarters, and present a choice of vegetables, fruit, flowers, poultry, game, and other articles not often surpassed in any region. "The city forms a square about fifteen *manzanas* each way; it is divided into four quarters, and the quarters into two *barrios* or wards, each superintended by its peculiar alcalde, elected annually from the residents, and exercising his jurisdiction under the control of the judge of the quarter, who is always a minister of the royal audiencia. For the administration of spiritual concerns, the city is divided into three parishes, each extending its whole length from east to west, and embracing a third part of it from north to south; the centre is called the parish of the Sanctuary of the Cathedral; the northern side, St. Sebastian's; and the southern, Los Remedios. The streets, which cross each other at right angles, are twelve yards broad, the greater part of them paved: the houses, although rather low, to mitigate the violence of future earthquakes, are built in a good style, very commodious, and judiciously decorated, nearly all of them enjoying the advantage of kitchen and pleasure gardens, with two, three, and even more reservoirs of water. The great square is a rectangle 150 yards each way, paved all over, and having a colonnade on each side. The eastern side presents the grand en-

trance to the cathedral, with the archiepiscopal palace on the right, and the college de Infantes on the left; on the opposite side stand the royal palace, the hall of the audiencia, and offices belonging to that tribunal, the chamber of accounts, the treasury, and the mint; on the north side are the houses of the corporation, prisons, markets, public granary, &c.; and on the south side, the custom-house, and the marquezado de Aizinena, &c. In the middle there is a large stone fountain of very superior workmanship, supplied with water, brought by means of pipes from the mountains to the south-east, upwards of two leagues distant; from the same source, twelve public reservoirs in different places and streets, besides many belonging to the convents and private houses, derive their supplies. This aqueduct is in some places carried over valleys, upon an extensive range of arches, and in others, through hills, by excavations, that have cost immense labour to complete. From the south-west, there has been another stream of water brought into the city by similar means, and although from a greater distance, it has, from the nature of the country through which it passes, been effected with much less difficulty. The cathedral is small, but in a fine style of architecture, and not yet completed: the pedestals and capitals of the columns, the vaultings of the chapels, and many other parts of it, are executed in a manner that entitles them to the admiration of a scientific observer. Many other churches and convents are still in a progressive state; and, except the Jesuits' college with its dependencies, and eleven of the minor churches, are intended to be similar to those already mentioned in Old Guatimala. But besides those spoken of at the former place, there are, the college of Seises, the female seminary called the Visitation, the Hermitage

del Carmen, situated on the summit of a hill near the city, and that of Our Lady of Guadalupe. On the north-east, adjoining the city, there is an extensive suburb, divided into two quarters and four barrios, over which the two ordinary alcaldes are the presiding magistrates: the parish of La Candelaria, and the college of the Visitation, are in this division, the streets of which are crooked and irregularly built."

The population of the city, according to the census of 1795, amounted to 24,434 persons, including many families descended from the most illustrious houses of Old Spain. Since that period, the number of inhabitants has greatly increased, and is supposed now to exceed 30,000. The Guatimaltecans are characterised by Juarros as, for the most part, docile, humane, courteous, liberal, affable to strangers, and inclined to piety, but too generally chargeable with pusillanimity and indolence. "They possess an aptness for the arts, which is demonstrated by the great number of handicraftsmen in all trades, among whom there have been produced artisans of superior talents; but those who acquire most celebrity are, the silversmiths, sculptors, and musicians. The productions of the sculptors are eagerly sought after, not only in this country, but in Mexico; and even some that have been carried to Europe, have been highly esteemed by connoisseurs. The class of weavers is numerous, and their looms produce fine muslins and gauzes, calicoes, and common cottons that are used in general wear by the poor people of the country. The potters are also a numerous tribe, who furnish earthenware and china sufficient for all the provinces: in the manufacture of some articles they excel so much, as to turn them out of hand but little inferior to the porcelain of Germany. Among the females, there are excellent embroiderers,

mantua-makers, and florists, who make artificial flowers that vie with the productions of nature. Great numbers of females are employed in the manufacture of a species of cigars, called *tuza*, that are peculiar to this country; others spin cotton-yarn of every degree of fineness."

In the year 1795, a society was instituted, under the title of the Royal Economical Society of Friends of the Kingdom, with the sanction of the Government, which, during the short time that it was suffered to exist, reflected high credit on its promoters. It had for its design, to ascertain the most effectual means of encouraging agriculture and the arts, and of advancing the public prosperity of the kingdom. The first object to which the members turned their attention was, the introduction of spinning-wheels; and rewards were offered to females who should produce the best specimens of thread. With the view to encourage the cultivation of cocoa and cotton to a greater extent, premiums were next offered to the persons who should plant the greatest number of trees. To excite emulation among the weavers, prizes were assigned to those who presented the finest gauzes and muslins. To facilitate the progress of the arts, a school of drawing was opened in March 1797, in which thirty-two young men were gratuitously instructed for two hours (from seven till nine) every evening, and prizes were awarded once a month for the two best drawings. A mathematical school was opened in January 1798; and in January 1800, a model academy was opened. The society held a public sitting every half-year, at which the most distinguished personages of the capital attended. At these meetings, extracts were read from the journal of the Society's proceedings, the prizes were distributed to the successful candidates, and the

sitting terminated with a discourse delivered by one of the associates. "The patriotic zeal of this body obtained for it a fresh mark of the royal favour by his majesty's communicating to it, on the 15th of July, 1799, his entire satisfaction at the operations which had so powerfully contributed to the public advantage; and he desired that the royal *audiencia* should propose to him such measures as they might think expedient to ensure its continuance. With these flattering prospects of success, on the 14th of July, 1800, contrary to all expectation, and to the astonishment of every person, a royal order was received, by which its further meetings and ulterior progress were prohibited, without vouchsafing any reasons for a determination so extraordinary and apparently injurious." This flagrant act of despotic authority illustrates in a striking manner, the odious policy pursued by the Spanish Government towards the Colonies; nor does it leave any room for surprise, that the Guatimaltecans, not less than the Mexican citizens, should have been impatient of a yoke so galling.

From the foundation of the university to the year 1778, the lectures were delivered according to the old scholastic method. In that year, the first course of experimental philosophy was begun. In October 1792, examinations in geometry took place for the first time, which were repeated in May 1795. In 1789, 1790, and 1794, there were examinations in anatomy, for which purpose models were introduced, which are still preserved. "In March 1798, four young men were examined in surgery, being the first who had graduated in that faculty; and in July 1799, there were examinations in philosophy according to the Socratic method." * Attached to the university are twelve

* Juarros, pp. 138—144.

professorships and a public library. In 1793, was instituted, by royal permission, the *Protomedicato*, or college of physicians, composed of a president, two examiners, and a fiscal. The Economical Society, before its arbitrary suppression, laid the basis of a royal cabinet of natural history. Besides these institutions, Juarros enumerates three schools for the gratuitous instruction of youth in the elementary branches of knowledge, and two classes of Latin grammar. It remains for future travellers to tell us, what further progress science and literature have made in the capital during the last five and twenty years, and what, besides changing its form of government, the Revolution has effected for Guatimala.

Among the other chief places in the *alcaldia-mayor* of Sacatepec, we have already mentioned *Almolonga*, for some time the residence of the *alcalde-mayor*, and one of the most beautiful villages of the kingdom. It contains a splendid parochial church, with an image of the Virgin that is held in high repute, and a Franciscan convent. The Indian inhabitants claim the privileges of nobility, as being descended from the Mexicans who accompanied Alvarado at the conquest. Their principal employment is supplying the capital with fruit, which they procure from the more distant villages. The climate is cold. *San Juan Sacatepec* was also for some time the head town of the *alcaldia*; it is now the most populous village in the province, containing upwards of 6,000 inhabitants, and is described as a very handsome place. The air is salubrious, the climate temperate, the soil extremely fertile, and the market well supplied; the inhabitants are chiefly employed in agriculture and sugar manufactories. *San Juan Amatitan*, situated in the vicinity

of the lake of that name, is a favourite watering-place with the citizens of Guatimala. It is situated in a plain surrounded by very high mountains, which give it, Juarros says, a somewhat melancholy aspect; but, being in the vicinity of the lake Amatitan, and having a beautiful river flowing on the eastern side of it, the fine climate and its contiguity to the capital, occasion it to be very much frequented for the purpose of drinking the waters of the river, which is a specific in many cases; others retire thither to take the baths, and others again for their recreation. The streets are broad and straight, and the houses are commodious. The church contains a famous effigy of the infant Saviour, which was originally placed in a little hermitage at Belen, a village three leagues distant; but the archbishop, to prevent the mischiefs occasioned by large meetings in retired places, ordered it, in 1789, to be transferred to the church of San Juan, whither a vast concourse of worshippers annually repair on the first Sunday in May. The inhabitants employ themselves in fishing for moharra, crabs, and cray-fish in the lake, which they dispose of in Guatimala; in raising melons and water-melons for the same market; and in the manufacture of baskets and mats. The inhabitants of *Villa Nueva de San Miguel* in like manner subsist by fishing on the lake, and raising bananas for the capital. *Villa Nueva de Petapa* is a well-built village, situated in a delightful plain, four leagues from the metropolis. There are some very good houses, a handsome church, and an oratory; the streets intersect each other at right angles, and there is a spacious *plaza*. The inhabitants cultivate maize. *San Christoval de Amatitan*, about three leagues from *San Juan Amatitan*, is celebrated for a species of lizard found there, which is believed to be a cure for cancers; the Indians are

said to have used this medicine from the earliest periods. *San Domingo Mixco*, situated on the declivity of a mountain, and commanding a view over the extensive valley of Mixco, is famed for its mineral spring; the inhabitants are carriers and potters, and cultivate maize. *Santa Catalina Pinula* stands at the foot of the ridge of mountains called *Canales*, two leagues S.E. of Guatimala. In this place is a seminary for the education of young females,—an establishment not to be found in any other village. The institution has obtained the royal sanction: the individuals on the establishment maintain themselves by the produce of their gardens and their bee-hives. At *Nuestra Señora de la Asuncion Jocotenango*, a village contiguous to Old Guatimala, is held an annual fair for horses, mules, and merchandise, which is numerously attended. *La Ermita de la Asuncion*, the mother-church of that which was subsequently built in the plain of *La Virgen*, is a small place situated in the valley of *Las Vacas*, on the river of the same name. *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe*, is a modern village, built for the gardeners who supply the market of the capital: the church was consecrated so lately as 1803.

In the *alcaldia-mayor* of Chimaltenango, which extends about twenty leagues in length and as many in breadth, the principal places are: *Santa Ana Chimaltenango*, the head town, about eleven leagues from the metropolis; the public square is very handsome, having on one side an extensive sheet of water. *Tecpanguatemala*,* formerly a residence of the Kachiquel monarchs. Here was built the second church in the kingdom. The climate is still colder than that at

* That is, *above* Guatimala, or, Upper Guatimala; for such is said to be the meaning of *tecpan*. So, Tecpanatillan was a distinct place from Atitlan.

Santa Ana, and is favourable to the growth of wheat, maize, peaches, quinces, apples, pears, &c.; the neighbourhood abounds also with timber, which is sent to Guatimala in planks. The inhabitants, who exceed 3,000, have a high character for industry and other estimable qualities. *Patzum* contains 5,000 inhabitants of the Kachiquel nation, who are very industriously occupied in similar pursuits; and the climate is much the same as at Tecpanguatemala. *Patzizia* is a large village, containing not fewer than 5,000 inhabitants, all labourers; the climate is cold and humid. *San Andres Itzapa* contains about 1,500 persons, who raise wheat, maize, pulse, and vegetables, and feed large herds of hogs; the climate is cold, but dry. Here is held a large annual fair on the eve of Saint Andrew, the patron saint. *San Sebastian del Texar* is placed by Juarros in the *alcaldia* of Sacatepec, although within the valley of Chimaltenango: it is remarkable only for a medicinal spring. *San Martin Xilopetec* stands in the mildest climate of the valley, where the sugar-cane is cultivated with success, affording full employment to several manufactories; the population is considerable. *San Antonio Nexapa*, *San Juan Alotenango*, and *San Miguel Milpa Dueñas*, are also heads of curacies within this province.

That which first claims the traveller's notice among the natural curiosities of the valley of Guatimala, is the gigantic *Volcan de Agua* (water-volcano), which is thus described by Juarros. "This mountain is of a conical figure; its base extends over nearly all the western part of the valley of Guatimala. On the side towards the city, the ascent by the road from the base to the summit, is three leagues and a half; and from the side towards Alotenango, it is more than four leagues. The circumference at the bottom is eighteen

leagues. Cultivation is confined to the lower parts of the mountain; the middle region is covered with thick forests; and during great part of the summer, the city is supplied with snow from the upper region. On its skirts are numerous mineral and medicinal springs, and many Indian villages, besides a great number of detached houses and farms. On the summit is a concave space, resembling a crater, measuring about 140 yards by 120. From the edge of this crater, a most beautiful prospect presents itself in every direction;—Old Guatimala, with its fertile fields and numerous farms, the village and lake of Amatitan, with all the surrounding country, can be distinctly seen. Looking westward, the provinces of Suchiltepec and Soconusco, and even the plains of Chiapa may be discovered; to the eastward, the provinces of Zonzonate, Santana Grande, and San Salvador, with the lake of Gilopango, may be distinguished; on the north and south, the view is bounded by the two oceans." The mountain, seen from the plains, has a magnificent appearance in every direction: its conical figure, the great variety of colour on its surface, the various cultivation and gardens which adorn the base, its belt of forests, and its snowy summit,* give it a highly picturesque as well as majestic character. Although there can be little doubt of its being an extinct volcano, there exists no tradition of its having ever emitted fire. The eruption of 1541 consisted merely

* In another part of his work, Juarros describes this mountain as covered *to the summit* with trees that always retain their verdure; yet, it is stated above, that it supplies the city during great part of the summer with snow. He affirms, moreover, that it is the most lofty in the kingdom. The fact we apprehend to be, that it loses its snow at certain seasons of the year; and if so, its elevation does not reach the region of perpetual snow.

of an immense torrent of water, carrying with it immense stones, and, if Father Remesal may be believed, the crown of the mountain itself.* Humboldt supposes that subterraneous water had no small share in producing the stupendous phenomenon of Jorullo, but that volcano emitted flames and discharged lava.

Old Guatimala is to the northward of this mountain, which stands between two volcanoes, the *Volcan de Pacaya* on the east, and the *Volcan de Fuego* on the west. From each of these, there have been violent eruptions from time immemorial. The most remarkable on record were, that of July 11, 1775, from Pacaya, and those of the years 1623, 1705, 1710, and 1717, from the *Volcan de Fuego*. There happened one as recently as the close of the eighteenth century, but, as it was unattended with any serious consequences, it excited little attention, although it lasted several days. The waters of a spring on the side of Alotenango were observed to have become heated, during the eruption, to such a degree, that cattle were unable to pass through the rivulet running from it. The *Volcan de Fuego* is included in the *alcaldia* of Chimaltenango. At its base, near the village of San Andres, there is a thermal spring, the water of which is very hot, and is held in great repute for its medicinal virtues: it is called Saint Andrew's Bath. At a short distance is another warm spring, that emits a strong sulphureous smell, and is deemed an efficacious remedy for cutaneous complaints. The general figure of this mountain is conical, but its summit is divided into three points, in the westernmost of which may be seen several openings, which frequently emit flames,

* Probably, an accumulation of snow on the summit, which might add to the apparent height of the mountain.

pumice-stones, sand, and smoke. The *Volcan de Pacaya* stands to the eastward of Old Guatimala, but southward of the present capital, and three leagues from Amatitan. This mountain also has three distinct peaks. It is connected with a chain of elevations extending to a great distance. The surrounding country is thickly covered with the accumulation of volcanic matter that has been formed by its numerous eruptions. Fuentes says, that, in his time, there was scarcely a day throughout the year, in which one or other of its lofty peaks did not emit flames. In the year 1664, "such immense quantities of flames were vomited forth with the most appalling explosions, that, during the night, the city of Old Guatimala, at the distance of seven leagues, was illuminated by a light not inferior to that of mid-day; and the terror produced by the vibrations of the earth was so great, that the inhabitants were afraid to trust themselves within their houses during the three days of its continuance. Similar events occurred in 1668, 1671, and 1677; but there are no records of any others after the time of Fuentes, until that which took place on the 11th of July, 1775, when, at day-break, without any previous noise, or any perceptible oscillation of the earth, a dense cloud of smoke was observed from Old Guatimala* in a south-west direction, which rose from behind the range of mountains that concealed the volcano from the view. To discover the flames, it was necessary to go to the village of *Santa Maria de Jesus*, whence could be distinguished the aperture through which they burst. From this arose a large column of thick smoke, and vast quantities of burning

* Where the writer, Don Domingo Juárros, was resident at the time.

stones that fell again into the crater. Sand was also thrown out in such abundance, that, being carried by the wind, it fell so copiously in Old Guatimala as to obscure the light of the sun, and thickly cover the ground. The wind having changed, the sand was carried in a southerly direction as far as the provinces of Escuintla and Suchiltepec. It was remarked on this occasion, that the eruption was not from either of the summits, but from the region where the mountain [illegible] into three peaks."

The lake of Amatitan will claim the attention of the scientific traveller. Its shores are said to produce salt, like those of the lake of Tezcuco,* in which the inhabitants carry on a considerable trade; there are also several warm springs on its borders, which are found very beneficial in the case of glandular swellings in the throat, to which the females of this country are subject. In all probability, the waters of the lake will be found impregnated with the muriate and carbonate of soda, as well as some kind of sulphate. It is about three leagues in length, and one in breadth at its widest part; its depth is not specified. It furnishes an inexhaustible supply of fish, but there are none of the larger kinds: they consist of the *moharra*, a fish about a foot in length, and of excellent flavour; the *pepesca*, which does not exceed three inches in length, but is reckoned a delicacy; crabs and crayfish; and a species called *pescaditos*.

The valley of *Las Vacas*† is watered, on its eastern

* See vol. i. pp. 266, 315.

† This valley received its name (the Cows) from being the place where cattle were first introduced into the kingdom by one of the companions of Alvarado, from the island of Cuba. They multiplied here so fast, that they were soon dispersed over all parts of the country.

side, by the river Chorrera, which deserves notice on account of the supposed petrifying quality of its waters. "If the root or branch of a tree fall so that a part of it lies in the water, the portion which is immersed, becomes petrified into a substance of a shining white or grey colour, but the other part remains in its natural state; and it is observed, that where the current is rapid, the transformation is more speedily effected than in places where the stream is slow." The explanation of this phenomenon is not very difficult. The water, highly impregnated with calcareous matter, when the stream is slow, is precipitated, but is held in solution where the current is rapid, and forms a deposite on whatever obstructs the course of the stream. Juarros adds, that "the substance thus transformed always preserves its natural porosity and fibrous texture." This can hardly be true with regard to the part covered with the incrustation; but it is sufficiently evident, that the waters have, properly speaking, no petrifying quality.*

In the valley of Petapa, some human bones of gigantic size are said to have been discovered, and among them, Fuentes says, "a tooth as large as a man's two fists!" Possibly some fossil animal remains may be found here. In the valley of Sacatepec, near the village of San Pedro, "a mine of rubies (and silver) was accidentally discovered in the year 1681," by the curate of the village. The account given of the circumstance by the above-mentioned Historian, is as follows: "As the father was amusing himself one afternoon, he directed his walk towards a pass in the mountain, through which ran a clear rivulet. On

* See, for an account of the petrescent waters of Laara and the petrified beach of Selinty, MOD. TRAV. *Syria, &c.* vol. ii. pp. 251, 253, 260.

the side of the bed of this river, he observed a vein of white clay, interspersed with red and black patches. Being attracted by the variety and brilliance of the colours, and the reflection of small sparkling substances, he took up a part of the clay, which he carried to Guatimala, and gave to the licentiate, Christoval Martin, an intelligent man, conversant in the nature of metals; who, having fused the mass, which weighed three pounds, delivered to the curate, on his [redacted] a piece of pure silver rather more than half an *a* (about forty grains) in weight, and seven rubies of the size of small beans. A few days after the discovery, the curate was elected prior of the Dominican convent of Guatimala, which obliged him to quit his curacy; and no more was heard of the mine." Fuentes states, that he had actually had the silver and the gems in his hands. Juarros repeats the story without comment, so that, up to the close of the last century, no attention appears to have been paid to the discovery, although there is strong reason to believe that the calcareous formation which evidently prevails in this part, will be found richly argentiferous.

Don D. Juarros gives, from the same Historian, an account of a very remarkable cavern, called the cavern of Mixco, in the valley of Xilopetec, near where the ancient village of Mixco stood. "On a small ridge of land on one side of the ruins of ancient Mixco, is the entrance to the cavern, about three yards each way. The portico, formed of clay, is in some parts entire, and appears to be of the Doric order. Fuentes says, he inquired of some old Indians, how it had been contrived to give so great a consistency to the clay; and they informed him, it was done by grinding a quantity of onion-seed, and mixing it in the water

with which the clay was tempered. From the entrance, a flight of thirty-six stone steps, each of a single piece, descends to a lofty saloon about sixty yards square. From this chamber the descent continues by another flight, beyond which nothing more is known, as no person sufficiently courageous, or imprudent enough to resist the indications of imminent danger from the tremulous motion of the ground under foot, has yet advanced more than a few paces. Descending eighteen steps of this second flight [illegible] is, on the right hand, another doorway, forming a perfect arch; and having passed this, there are six steps, in all respects similar to the former, from which there is a passage about 140 feet in length. Further than this part, it has not been explored. Many extraordinary accounts of it have been fabricated, but they are such as will not bear repeating."

In this same district (Xilopetec), are other excavations not less deserving of attention. "The river Pancacoya, which rises near the pass of Pasacab, descends with great rapidity from a lofty rock, but, before it reaches the plain, it passes through a conduit formed in the rock, about a yard and a half wide, and sufficiently high for a man to pass through with ease. Where this channel terminates, there is a range of columns curiously wrought, with capitals and mouldings; and a little further on, are several round cisterns formed in the rock, about a yard and a half in diameter, and nearly a yard in depth." There is a tradition, that this part of the river was a washing place for gold; and it is supposed, Juarros says, that the cisterns were excavated for that purpose. This is highly improbable. All these excavations are doubtless to be referred to the same period and the

same artists, and class with Montezuma's Bath at Tescosingo,* the *Casas de Piedras* at Palenque,† and the Palace of Mitla in Oaxaca ;‡ not, perhaps, as monuments of the same people or era, but as indicating a striking analogy in the respective customs and attainments in civilisation of the Aztec, Zapotec, and Kachiquel nations, and possibly a common origin.

We must not omit to notice one still more marvellous curiosity which is found in these regions,—an animal which becomes transformed into a vegetable! Such is the grave statement of the Historian so frequently referred to. Near the villages of San Christoval, Amatitan, and Pampichin, he tells us, is found the green *chapuli*, a large species of grasshopper, or locust, about a span long ; at the extremity of its tail is a sharp curved point like a thorn, which becomes hard when the animal has attained its full growth. " If killed in this state, and carefully opened, a small bunch of seeds, similar to those of the passion-flower, about an inch long, attached to ramifying fibres, is found in the intestines: these grains being sown, will produce a plant like the gourd, which will bear a fruit resembling small pompions, as yellow and brilliant as gold; the seeds of which, sown again, will bring forth similar fruit, but of much larger size." Were these seeds to bring forth grasshoppers, it might be accounted for. It may, indeed, occur to the reader, that the *chapuli* must first have swallowed these seeds ; but Francisco de Fuentes assures us, on the unimpeachable testimony of Tomas de Melgar, a venerable priest, and Don Domingo Juarros is satisfied of its correctness, that this vegetable spawn

* See vol. i. p. 333.
† See p. 157 of the present volume.
‡ See p. 130.

is actually produced from the intestines of the insect; and the said priest, having sown the seeds, found the result to accord precisely with the above statement. We commend the *chapuli* to the especial attention of the learned naturalists of Europe.

To the west of the *alcaldia-mayor* of Chimaltenango, between Suchiltepec and Escuintla on the south, and Totonicapan and Vera Paz on the north, lies the province of

SOLOLA.

THIS *alcaldia* was formed by the union of the two separate *corregimientos* of Atitan and Tecpanatitlan, or Sololá, which are still considered as distinct districts. It is of small extent, but populous; lying between lat. 14° 25′ and 15° 10′ N., and long. 92° 46′ and 93° 46′ W.; the population amounts to 43,000 souls. The district of Sololá, which includes the eastern part of the province, was included in the ancient kingdom of Kachiquel. *Nuestra Señora de la Asuncion de Solola*, the head town, was the ancient Tecpanatitlan, the residence of one of the royal house of the Kachiquels. It is situated on the summit of an elevated ridge, in a cold climate, about twenty-eight leagues from Guatimala. The inhabitants, who amount to upwards of 5,000, are Indians, chiefly artisans and mechanics.

Santa Cruz del Quiché, in this district, is the modern representative of the once large and opulent capital of the sovereigns of Quiché, the city of Utatlan. It is situated on an extensive and very fertile plain, is moderately populous, and contains a Dominican priory. Such is all the information which Juarros is able to communicate respecting the modern village; but

" that indefatigable writer, Francisco de Fuentes, who went to Quiché for the purpose of collecting information, partly from the antiquities of the place, and partly from manuscripts," gives the following description of the ancient city. It stood nearly in the situation which Santa Cruz now occupies, and the latter is supposed to have been originally a suburb. The city was surrounded by a deep ravine, which formed a natural fosse, leaving only two very narrow roads as entrances, which were defended by the castle. The centre of the city was occupied by the royal palace, which was surrounded by the houses of the nobility, the extremities being inhabited by the plebeians. The streets were very narrow. The *alcazar*, or palace, in the opinion of Torquemada, could compete in magnificence with that of Montezuma at Mexico, or that of the Incas at Cuzco. It was constructed of hewn stone of various colours. The front extended 376 paces from east to west, and it was 728 paces in depth. There were six principal divisions. The first contained lodgings for a numerous troop of lancers, archers, and other troops, constituting the royal body guard; the second was assigned to the princes and relations of the king; the third, to the monarch himself; the fourth and fifth were occupied by the queens and royal concubines; and the sixth was the residence of the king's daughters and other females of the blood royal. The third division, appropriated to the use of the king, contained distinct suites of apartments for the morning, the evening, and night. In one of the saloons stood the throne, under four canopies of feathers.* In this part of the

* The Indians are said to have distinguished the degrees of sovereignty among their chiefs by the throne itself. That of Utatlan, which was the first in rank, was placed under four cano-

palace were the treasury, the tribunals of justice, and the armory, together with gardens, aviaries, and menageries. The female apartments were of great extent; and attached to them were gardens, baths, and places for breeding geese,* which were kept for the sole purpose of furnishing feathers for ornamental furniture. The castle of the *Atalaya* (watch-tower) was a remarkable structure, four stories in height. That of *Resguardo* (defence — probably the citadel is meant) was five stories high: it extended 188 paces in front, and was 230 feet in depth. From this description, these castles would seem to have resembled the Mexican *teocallies*, and the stories were possibly terraces. It is impossible to gather from this vague account, what remains yet exist of the "palaces, castles, and temples," of this Indian metropolis. Utatlan, Juarros says, was indisputably the most magnificent and opulent city, not only of Quiché, but of the whole kingdom of Guatimala. As such, its site would especially deserve to be examined by future travellers. Of the Indians of this district, some speak the Quiché, and some the Kachiquel dialect.

pies, formed of feathers, each of different colours and of different sizes, fixed one within the other. The throne of Kachiquel, or Guatimala, had three canopies; and that of Atitlan, or Zutugil, had but two. — JUARROS, p. 164.

* This is obviously a mistake, chargeable, we suspect, not on the historian, but his translator. Humboldt says, "The goose is the only one of the birds of our poultry-yards which is no where to be found in the Spanish colonies of the New Continent."—(*Pol. Essay*, vol. iii. p. 56.) The turkey, called in Mexico, *totolin* and *huexolotl*, is probably meant. Cortes relates, that several thousands of these birds were fed in the poultry-yards of the castles of Montezuma. They were formerly found wild on the ridge of the cordilleras from Panama to New England. The ancient Mexicans had also tame ducks, which they annually plucked, as the feathers were an important article of commerce.

The capital of the Zutugil kingdom was Atitlan, "otherwise called *Atziquinixai*, which, in the Quiché dialect, means the eagle's house; a name originating in the practice of their kings, who, when they took the field, wore, as a distinguishing device, a large plume of the quetzal's feathers in the form of an eagle." This extensive city, Juarros says, was in a position strongly defended by natural bulwarks, among steep, hanging rocks, on the border of the lake of the same name, which protected it on the south side. Its site is occupied by the village of *Santiago Atitan* (corrupted or softened, apparently, from Atitlan), the chief place in the district of the same name, which comprises the western part of the province of Solola. It stands on the south side of the lake, in a mild and healthy climate, 28 leagues W. of Guatimala, and contains upwards of 2,000 Indian inhabitants. The village was anciently a mission of the Franciscans, and one of the earliest founded in the province: the convent was rebuilt about the middle of the last century. Atitlan is shorn, however, of all its ancient splendour. If there are any remains of the Indian capital, Juarros does not mention them.

The lake of Atitan is one of the largest in Guatimala, being eight leagues in length from east to west, and more than four leagues from north to south. It is entirely surrounded by mountains and rocks of irregular form. "From its margin there is no gradation of depth, but the banks are precipitous, and the bottom has not been found with a line of 300 fathoms. Several rivers discharge themselves into it, and it receives all the waters that descend from the mountains; but there is no perceptible channel by which this great influx is carried off. The water is fresh, and so cold, that in a few minutes it benumbs and

swells the limbs of those who attempt to swim in it. The only fish caught in it are crabs, and a species of small fish about the size of the little finger (*pepescas?*). These are in such countless myriads, that the inhabitants of all the ten surrounding villages carry on a considerable fishery for them. The communication between one village and another is carried on by canoes." According to this account, (which will require, however, to be verified,) this lake would seem to be one of the most remarkable phenomena in the country. In the absence of all specific information with regard to its elevation and other circumstances, it would be idle to frame a conjecture as to its origin, or the probable communication of its waters with some other reservoir. The fish which it contains, are the same as are found in the lake Amatitan. May there not be some connexion between these lakes, at least the fathomless one, and the *Volcan de Agua?* Near the village of Atitan is a mineral spring of "sour water," which "exudes in the form of dew from the rock, and trickles into a channel, forming a stream sufficient to fill small vessels. On account of its medicinal virtues, it is in great request, and is sent to distant parts: it is an excellent remedy for nephritic complaints, and cures the swellings in the throat, so common in this kingdom, where the complaint is called *bosio*, and more vulgarly *guëguëcho*. The water has a flavour resembling lemon, but it leaves no taste in the mouth." A chemical analysis is a process which has never yet been achieved in the kingdom of Guatimala.

The climate of this district is for the most part mild; the soil fertile, producing cocoa, maize, pulse, all sorts of culinary vegetables, *aguacates* of extraordinary excellence, and a variety of other fruits, aniseed,

drugs, and cochineal. In these articles, aided by the labours of cabinet-makers, carpenters, and potters, the inhabitants carry on a tolerably lucrative commerce with the adjoining provinces and the metropolis. The natives speak the Zutugil and Kachiquel languages. Half of the curacies in this district belong to the Franciscans, whereas, in the district of Solola, the Dominicans are the chief proprietors.

Of the five middle provinces, two still remain to be described; they are named, from their chief towns,

QUEZALTENANGO AND TOTONICAPAN.

THE ancient kingdom of Quiché extended over great part of both these provinces, and the Quiché is still the prevailing dialect. Next to Utatlan, the most considerable city in that kingdom was Xelahuh, which occupied the site of the modern town of *Quezaltenango del Espiritu Santo*. This was the first place founded by Alvarado after his conquest of the Quiché Indians. "It is beyond doubt," says Juarros, "the most important, rich, and flourishing village of the kingdom, surpassing in several respects many of the towns and cities. The population is great, viz. (in 1778) 464 Spaniards, 5,536 Ladinos,* and 5,000 Indians. The Ladinos rear large flocks of sheep, and cultivate extensive tracts of lands for wheat. There are numerous artisans in all branches, and thirty manufactories of fine linen cloths of various colours, serges, and coarse cloth of different kinds, in which 190 workmen are employed, besides several looms for the manufactory of cotton goods. The *corregidor* of

* *Ladinos* is a Spanish word signifying intelligent, or sagacious: it is the general appellation given in Guatimala to the Indians who profess Christianity, to distinguish them from the other natives.

the province has his residence here. There is a post-office, a *depôt* of tobacco, others of gunpowder, saltpetre, and playing-cards, (all royal monopolies,) a custom-house, a deputy-commissioner of lands, and a vice-consulate. There is a Franciscan convent under the authority of a guardian. The principal church is capacious, rich, and well furnished, in which the chapel of *Nuestra Señora del Rosario* is very curious as well as in good taste: there are also five other churches. The market is better supplied than any other, excepting only that of Guatimala; the annual sales average 18,000 bushels of wheat, 14,000 dollars worth of cocoa, 50,000 of panelas,* 12,000 of sugar, 30,000 of woollen cloths, and 5,000 of cotton cloth, and provisions of all kinds in proportion." This estimate was made between forty and fifty years ago, at which time the whole population of the province amounted to about 34,000. In 1823, it is computed to have risen to nearly 44,000. That of the head-town may, therefore, be supposed to have increased in something like the same proportion. The other chief places in this *corregimiento* are; *El Barrio de San Marcos Sacatepec*, a small village of Spaniards and *Ladinos*, who breed cattle, cultivate wheat and maize, and manufacture some woollens and linens,—population between 2 and 3,000; *Santa Catalina Suñil*, population 3,000; *San Juan Obstuncalco*, with 1,300 inhabitants; *Tajamulco*, a small village, situated at the base of a volcano of that name, which is subject to frequent eruptions,—this place affords a copious supply of excellent sulphur, as it did to the soldiers of Alvarado; *Olintepec*; *Tacana*; *San Martin*; *San*

* Small loaves of unrefined sugar, much used by the natives in making rum, or *chica*.

Pedro Sacatepec; and *Santa Cruz Comitan*. The languages in use are, the Spanish, the Quiché, and the Mam.

This province (corregimiento), which lies between the 15th and 16th parallels of north latitude, and between 93° 26′ and 94° 36′ of west longitude, is thirty-five leagues in length from S.E. to N.W., and about twenty leagues in breadth from N.E. to S.W., forming the figure of a spheroid. It is bounded by Solola on the south-east; Suchiltepec on the south; Soconusco on the west; and Totonicapan on the north-west, north, and north-east. The temperature is cold, and admits of the cultivation of wheat, maize, potatoes, peaches, apples, quinces, cherries, &c. The natives also tend sheep, which are the best branch of their trade.

The *alcaldia-mayor* of Totonicapan, the most western of the interior provinces, lying between lat. 15° 12′ and 17° 20′ N., and long. 92° 16′ and 93° 26′ W., is bounded by Quezaltenango and Solola on the south; Vera Paz on the north-east; and Chiapa on the north and west. Its greatest length is sixty-six leagues; its breadth fifty. The population, in 1778, consisted of 2,750 *Ladinos*, and 55,450 Indians dwelling in fifty villages. In 1823, the total number of inhabitants was 90,000. The province is divided into the two districts of Totonicapan and Gueguetenango. The former extends over the eastern part, which is high table-land, enjoying much the same climate, and yielding the same productions as the other districts of the ancient kingdom of Quiché, of which it formed part. *San Miguel Totonicapan*, the residence of the *alcalde-mayor*, is five leagues from Quezaltenango, eleven from Solola, and thirty-eight from Guatimala. Of the inhabitants, in 1778, 450 were *Ladinos*, 578

cacique Indians, descended from the Tlascaltecs who accompanied Alvarado, and nearly 6,000 *Maseguales*, or plebeian Indians. The Franciscans have a convent here. The natives are expert in the manufacture of guitars, fancy-boxes, and other articles of cabinet-work and earthen-ware. They have, besides, some woollen manufactories. The climate is cold and humid. Near this town there are two warm mineral springs.* *San Luis Sahcaja*, situated within the district of Totonicapan, only two leagues from Quezaltenango, is the site of the first establishment made by Pedro de Alvarado, and its church is the first that was consecrated to Christian worship in this country. It originally bore the name of Quezaltenango, which signifies "the mountain of Quezales;" but, on the transfer of its population, four years after the foundation of the town, to Xelahuh, that name became appropriated to the latter place. The present hamlet of Sahcaja was built in 1780, the date of another small hamlet of *Ladinos*, named *San Carlos Sija*, situated under a very cold climate. The other chief places are, *San Francisco el Alto*, *Momostenango*, and *Santa Maria Chiquimula*, each of which contains a population of from 5 to 6,000 souls; *San Christoval Totonicapan*, 3,500 inhabitants; and *San Andres Xecul*, about 1,200.

The district of Gueguetenango, which forms the western part of the province, lies on the declivity of the cordillera, and has consequently a great variety of climate. In the upper parts wheat is grown, and

* The ancient name of the town is said to have been *Chemaquena*, signifying "upon warm water." The waters, Juarros says, are strongly impregnated with sulphur, and are so hot, that eggs, fruit, or even flesh put into it will be perfectly boiled in a short time. In the rivulet which flows from it, the weavers cleanse from grease the wool for their looms.

sheep are pastured: in the lower cantons, are sugar plantations, and Chili pepper is raised. *Concepcion Gueguetenango*, the chief place, (and formerly the head of the *alcaldia*,) enjoys a mild and benignant climate, and yields excellent fruit; it is, however, a very inconsiderable place, the population having declined. At one league's distance is *Chiantla*, famed for its sanctuary of the Virgin of Candelaria, a favourite idol in these parts. Grapes, oranges, figs, and pears are grown in its gardens, but the chief article of commerce is lead, obtained from a rich mine that also yields some silver and litharge. The vernacular dialect here is the Mam. The population is under 1,000. *San Domingo de Sacapulas*, situated on the banks of the river from which it takes its name, is in a hot and dry climate. On the banks of this river the natives collect salt, which is deposited by the waters. The town is inhabited by about 2,000 Quiché Indians. Springs of salt water are found at the village of *San Mateo Istatlan* (or *Ixtatan*), a name signifying "the land of salt." "At the foot of a large mountain, are several caverns, penetrating about two yards in the rock: from the roof of these, the water continually exudes. If a vessel be filled with it, and placed over a slow fire at night, it will be found in the morning crystallised into a fine salt, without any further process. The Indians are very economical in the distribution of this water; the caverns are locked up, and the keys are kept by the magistrate. They are opened only on Thursdays at a fixed hour, when the people assemble, and each person receives a pitcher-full; the magistrates and ecclesiastics are entitled to double portions. A considerable traffic is carried on in this article, which they sell in the adjacent provinces, deriving from it sufficient emolument to enable them to

live very comfortably." This village stands in a ravine, at a short distance from the river Lacandon: the climate is very cold. On the borders of Totonicapan stands the small village of *San Francisco Motocinta*, "no otherwise deserving of notice, than for the phenomenon of the river near it, the water of which is of a poisonous quality, and so active, that animals drinking of it die almost immediately. When cattle are obliged to pass the river, the owners take the precaution of muzzling them, to prevent the certain mortality that would be the consequence of their being suffered to allay their thirst." * The Indians of this village weave mats of a scarlet colour, that are much used in the country.

This province is watered by several rivers. Juarros enumerates the Zamala, the Sija, the Motocinta, the Sacapulas, the Zumacinta, the San Ramon, and the Cuilco. Most of these fall into the Southern Ocean; but the Zumacinta (or Sumasinta) discharges itself into the Atlantic. The Zamala (or Samala) is the same river that first bears the name of the Siguila, flowing near the village of *San Miguel Siguila*, and afterwards, at Olintepec, assumes that of Xiquigil, or river of blood, in commemoration of the numbers of Quiché Indians who fell there in disputing the passage with Alvarado. Continuing its course by Quezaltenango, it receives the river Sija, and passes by Sunil; it then enters the province of Suchiltepec, where it is called the Samala, and finally falls into the Pacific. There are several mountain-streams, which, falling from lofty rocky eminences, form cascades of exquisite beauty: for instance, the fall of the river

* Can this deleterious property arise from its traversing mines of lead ore?

San Christoval de Paula, another on the road to the *Ranchos Altos* of Totonicapan, and those at the village of *Guistla de los Xiotes*.

But the most remarkable phenomena in this part of the country are, the intermittent rivers. Herrera, the historian, mentions a spring in the province of Chiapa, which regularly flows during three years, and is then dry for a similar period, and thus alternately. This spring is said to be situated on the side of a mountain, about half a league from Cuidad Real. The rivulet is called *Yeixhihuiat*, a Mexican word signifying "three-years'-water." "At the expiration of the term of three years, the fountain dries up, and the waters burst forth at a place five leagues distant, near Teopisca. The natives of that village give this periodical spring the name of Ohxavilha, which, in the Tzendal language, means the same as the Mexican name. After this spring has flowed for three years, it disappears, and the water rises again at the former place." Such is the information obtained by Juarros from a resident in confirmation of Herrera's statement. Fuentes, he adds, gives another instance of a similar fountain near Chiantla, which flows and is dry for three years together alternately, with this additional peculiarity, that the waters appear and disappear invariably on the eve of St. Michael. "This writer declares, that he had in his possession documents written by Diego de Rivas, other monks of the order of *La Merced*, and several curates of unimpeachable character, attesting the fact. With a view to ascertain the correctness of this account, and whether the phenomenon yet existed, the present writer obtained the favour of a reference on the subject to a clergyman resident in the province, who, in reply, declared, that he had examined several old men of the village, all of whom

assured him, with very little discrepancy in their narratives, that, in a hollow between two mountains, about three leagues from Chiantla, there is a rivulet which begins to flow on Michaelmas-day, and continues for three years, at the end of which it stops on the same day, and remains dry for three years; and on this account the place is called San Miguel." Who can resist the conviction, that the Saint himself is the worker of this triennial miracle? Fuentes mentions another rivulet, in a meadow to the northward of Chiantla, called *Higuero*, the waters of which begin to flow twenty days before the periodical rains cease, and become completely dry twenty days before the rains begin. He states also, that during the period that he was corregidor of Totonicapan, as he was travelling from Aguacatlan to San Juan Ixcoy, "the channel of a little stream was pointed out to him, which the Mam Indians called *Xubanha*, implying *water that is whistled for;* because, by whistling at the openings of some clefts in a solid rock, water will immediately gush forth, of which there is no appearance unless that method be used to exhibit it." He speaks also of a subterranean river, that shews itself through a large aperture at the foot of a hill about two miles from the village of Chialchitan. At this spot, a large quantity of water "boils up," and forms at once a stream of considerable magnitude. Another river of moderate size falls into a deep pool, and disappears, near a place called *Rancho de las Minas;* it rises again on the opposite side of a ridge of mountains near the river Socoleo. From all these accounts, making due allowance for whatever inaccuracy or romance may have mingled itself with the facts, it is evident, that, in the heart of the mountains, there must exist a series of caverns and natural galleries, tra-

versed by subterranean rivers,—such as M. Humboldt conjectures to exist in the limestone formation in the neighbourhood of Tehuilotepec and Platanillo.* For the periodical circulation of the waters, it is not easy to account; but the whole region is full of wonders, and might seem the theatre chosen by the genii of the watery element to display their fantastic feats. The water volcano, the fathomless lake of Atitlan, the triennial rivers, the dripping rocks, and the numerous hot springs, all seem to form connected parts of the stupendous hydraulic machinery.

The agency of fire is doubtless at the same time concerned in some of these phenomena. Besides the volcano of Tajamulco already mentioned, in the neighbourhood of which is found so much sulphur, Juarros mentions another in the same province, called *Excanul*: this, however, may be the same under another name. A spring of tepid water highly sulphureous is found at *San Bartolome Aguas Calientes*, and several warm springs are found on the banks of the river Siguila near Suñil. The whole region abounds with salt and sulphur in different combinations, and may be compared to one vast laboratory, of which it might be said, that the volcanoes are so many colossal furnaces.

In the province of Quezaltenango, there still exist vestiges and foundations of many large Indian fortresses; among others, the celebrated one of Parraxquin (green mountain), on the confines of Totonicapan and Quezaltenango, and the citadel of Olintepec, "formed with all the intricacy of a labyrinth," which was the chief defence of the important city of Xelahuh.

* Vol. i. p. 357.

Fortresses existed at Socoleo, Uspantlan, Chalcitan, (Chialchitan ?) and other places.

An interesting specimen of ancient art is incidentally referred to by Juarros, in the description of the city of Patinamit in the kingdom of Kachiquel, situated eleven leagues from the modern village of Tecpanguatemala.* In a deep ravine near that city was "a place of worship," wherein was placed "a black transparent stone," which, in some unexplained way, was consulted as an oracle, the priests affecting to discover on its surface a representation of the fate awarded to the criminal by the gods. This oracle was also consulted in the affairs of war. "The bishop, Francisco Marroquin, having obtained intelligence of this slab, ordered it to be cut square, and consecrated it for the top of the grand altar in the church of Tecpanguatemala. It is a piece of singular beauty, about half a yard each way." We may hope to receive before long, some more distinct account of this oracular stone. The description of the city of Patinamit, given by Fuentes, makes it appear to have been a stronger and more remarkable place than Utatlan itself. Though a little out of its place, we shall insert it here. Patinamit was seated on an eminence, the plane of which extends about three miles from north to south, and about two from east to west. The soil is covered with a stiff clay about three quarters of a yard deep. On one side of this area may be seen the remains of a magnificent building, perfectly square, each side measuring 100 paces. This fabric was constructed of hewn stone, extremely well put together. In front of the building is a large square, on one side of which stand the ruins of a

* See page 246.

sumptuous palace, and near to it there are the foundations of several houses. A trench, three yards deep, runs from north to south through the city, having a breast-work of masonry, rising about a yard high. On the eastern side of this trench stood the houses of the nobles, and on the opposite, the residences of the *maseguales*, or commoners. The streets were, as may still be seen, straight and spacious, crossing each other at right angles. To the westward of the city is a little mount, that commands it, on which stands a small, round building, about six feet in height, in the middle of which is a pedestal formed of a shining substance resembling glass; but the precise quality of it has not been ascertained. Seated around this building, the judges heard and decided causes; and here also their sentences were executed, after the oracular stone in the ravine below, had been consulted. A deep defile, or natural fosse, surrounded Patinamit, the perpendicular depth of which from the level of the city, was more than 100 fathoms. The only entrance to the city was by a narrow causeway, terminating at two gates, one beyond the other, constructed of the *chay* stone. The dimensions of these works are not given, but the gigantic nature of the fortress bears some analogy to that of Xochicalco in Mexico.* The

* See vol. i. p. 339. The hill of Xochicalco, which Humboldt describes as a mass of rocks to which the hand of man has given a regular conical form, is surrounded, in like manner, by a deep and very broad ditch: the whole entrenchment is above 12,000 feet in circumference. "The magnitude of these dimensions," adds the learned Traveller, "ought not to surprise us: on the ridge of the Cordilleras of Peru, and on heights almost equal to that of the Peak of Teneriffe, M. Bonpland and myself have seen monuments still more considerable. Lines of defence and entrenchments of extraordinary length, are found in the plains of Canada. The

city of Mixco in Xilotepec was, in like manner, built on the summit of a steep rock, accessible only by a narrow path that would not admit two persons abreast, and intersected by deep ravines. It is said to have been founded by the Pocomam Indians, and is about nine leagues from the modern town of Mixco. The Vale of Tenochtitlan is not richer in ancient monuments, than that of Guatimala and the adjacent provinces. Yet, Pompeii itself was not more effectually shrowded from observation, previously to its disinterment, than these regions have hitherto been from the eye of science or of taste, through the incurious spirit and jealous policy of the Spanish Americans.

The most remarkable object which this district presents to the naturalist, is "the bat-winged squirrel," found on the mountains and in the woods of Quezaltenango, Totonicapan, and Solola. Its figure and size, Juarros says, are those of the common squirrel, but it has two small wings resembling those of the bat, without hair or other covering: it can fly, however, but a short distance. In point of fact, we apprehend, it cannot be said to fly at all, but only to leap. Such at least is the account generally given by naturalists of the American flying squirrel. The supposed wing is only a loose skin attached to the bending of the hinder feet, and connected by a bony

whole of these American works resemble those which are daily discovered in the eastern part of Asia. Nations of the Mongol race, those especially that are most advanced in civilisation, have built walls that separate whole provinces·····Among the hieroglyphical ornaments of the pyramid of Xochicalco, we distinguish heads of crocodiles spouting water, and figures of men sitting cross-legged, according to the custom of several nations of Asia."—HUMBOLDT'S *Researches*, vol. i. pp. 109—11.

articulation with the fore feet, which the animal has the power of extending like a sail; and it then holds so much air as to buoy him up, and enable him to jump from tree to tree at a prodigious distance.

We must now proceed to give some account of the

PROVINCES ON THE ATLANTIC COAST.

To the south of the peninsula of Yucatan, between Chiapa and Totonicapan on the east, and the Bay of Honduras on the west, and bounded by Solola on the south, lies the province (*alcaldia-mayor*) of Vera Paz, called by the Indians Tuzulutlan. The Spaniards at first gave it the name of *Tierra de Guerra* (land of war), from the warlike spirit of the natives, by whom they were three several times repulsed in their attempts to conquer it. Charles the Fifth bestowed on it the name of Vera Paz, because the Indians embraced Christianity merely from the preaching of the missionaries. The account which Juarros gives of this prodigious phenomenon (for such it appeared to the armed apostles and crusading religionists of those times) is as follows: "In the year 1536, Bartolome Las Casas, Pedro de Angulo, Luis de Cancer, and Rodrigo de Ladrada, of the Dominican order, settled in the city of Guatimala. Las Casas, who was vicar of the convent, had, some years before, written a treatise, which he called 'De unico vocationis modo;' in which he attempted to prove, and with great erudition, that Divine Providence had instituted the preaching of the gospel as the only means of conversion to the Christian faith; for by those means alone can the understanding be persuaded, and the inclination be led, to embrace its tenets; consequently,

harassing by wars those whose conversion is sought for, is the means of preventing, rather than accomplishing, the desired object. Hence it results, that, to obtain this end, war cannot, in justice, be made upon those who have never been subject to a Christian authority, or have never committed any act of aggression against Christians. This reasoning was generally believed fallacious; and when the author promulgated and endeavoured to prove it from the pulpit, as well as in private assemblies, instead of producing conviction among his auditors, he was laughed at, treated with ridicule, and advised to put in practice what he had preached in theory; as he would then be with certainty undeceived by the bad success of his rash enterprise.

"Firm in his opinion, and possessing too much courage to be intimidated by taunts, Las Casas unhesitatingly accepted the proposal. The province of *Tuzulutlán*, which the Spaniards called *Tierra de Guerra* (the land of war), as they had been three several times driven back in their attempts to conquer it, but which the Emperor Charles the Fifth afterward called *Verapaz*, because the natives were brought within the pale of Christianity by the exertion of the missionaries only, was pitched upon by him as the scene of his first endeavours; and this region, that the Spaniards were unable to subdue by their arms, yielded to the mild persuasion of a few zealous ecclesiastics. The Dominicans, previously to commencing their undertaking, entered into an agreement with the governor, Alonzo de Maldonado, that such provinces as might be reduced to the obedience of the crown of Spain by their efforts, were not to be put under the charge of any individual; and that no

Spaniards should be permitted to reside in them during a period of five years. The governor assented to these terms, and signed an agreement of that purport on the 2d of May, 1537; which was confirmed by the king on the 17th of October, 1540, and again on the 1st of May, 1543.

"This arrangement being concluded, the Dominicans composed some hymns in the Quiché language; in which they described the creation of the world, the fall of Adam, the redemption of mankind, and the principal mysteries of the life, passion, and death of the Saviour. These were learned by some of the converted Indians, who traded with those of Sacapulas and Quiché, where the chief cacique of that country, who was afterwards called Don Juan, having heard them sung, asked those who had repeated them to explain more in detail the meaning of things so new to him. The Indians excused themselves from so doing, on account of their inability to perform it correctly, saying, they could be explained only by the fathers who had taught them; and these were so kind that, if he would send for them, they would gladly come and instruct him in every thing. The cacique was pleased with the information, and sent one of his brothers, with many presents, to entreat that they would come to make him acquainted with every thing contained in the songs of the Indian merchants. The fathers received this ambassador with great kindness, and much satisfaction to themselves, and determined that one of their number, Luis Cancer, should return with him to the cacique. The chief went to the entrance of the village to meet the missionary, treated him with great veneration, and after having been made to comprehend the mysteries of the new faith,

he fervently adopted it, burnt his idols, and became a preacher of the gospel to his own subjects.

"Cancer returned to Guatimala, and the favourable reports he made, so much rejoiced Las Casas and Angulo, that, in December 1537, they set out for the residence of the cacique Don Juan. They visited the whole district of *Tuzulutlán*, where they were well received; and having reconnoitred a part of it, they returned to the cacique Juan. At this time the fathers endeavoured to assemble the Indians in villages; for, as they were then living dispersed, there was greater labour in civilising and instructing them. With this object in view, they undertook to form villages; and, by the assistance of the chief, they soon succeeded, but not without much labour, and some opposition, in establishing the village of *Rabinal*. This object having been satisfactorily accomplished, they penetrated further into the province, and reached *Coban*, being every where well received by the natives.* Las Casas affirms, in his "Apologetical History," that in no part of the Indies did he find governments better ordered, or ruled by better laws, than those he met with in this district. Thus, the Indians of *Verapaz*, brought to live in societies under

* "It may at first sight appear inconsistent and contradictory to say that the missionaries arrived at *Coban* and other places, and afterward, that they persuaded the natives to live in villages; but it must be observed, that, in the time of their paganism, these Indians had villages similar to some still existing, that are called *Pajujues*, in which the houses are so far distant from each other, that a place containing 500 inhabitants, will extend a league or more. These fathers, and some of the first conquerors, placed them in villages formed after the Spanish manner, with the church in the centre, before it the square, with the *cabildo* or town-house, prison, and other offices, the houses connected in squares, the streets straight and crossing each other at right angles."

a rational legislation, and instructed in the dogmas of true religion, embraced Christianity with ardour, and cheerfully submitted to the empire of the Spanish monarch. Such was the case, not only in *Rabinal* and *Coban*, but in places more remote, as *Cahabon*, and others.

"After the conquest of *Verapaz*, thus fortunately and mildly achieved, the Dominicans next undertook that of *Alcalá*. In the year 1552, Thomas de la Torre, vicar-general of the order, arrived at *Coban*, in his visit to the different convents. At this period, Domingo Vico had made himself master of the language of *Alcalá*, and accompanying the vicar-general, they made their first entry into that province; where they preached with so much zeal and fervour, that they induced many natives to embrace Christianity, and give up a great number of their idols, which were publicly burnt. They pursued their apostolical labours with diligence, converting and baptizing many; but, being repeatedly warned that some of the infidels meditated their destruction, they withdrew privately. Some time after this, Vico renewed his visit to *Alcalá*, and succeeded in making many proselytes. Being appointed prior of *Coban*, he sent Alonzo Vayllo, and some others, into *Alcalá*; and not long after, the conventuals of *Coban* went thither on a similar mission. The three years of Vico's priorate having expired, he made another excursion into that province, and exerted himself with unwearied zeal to persuade the inhabitants to form societies, and build villages; labouring incessantly to promote their welfare, until he fell a martyr to his kindness. He was killed by them on the 29th of November, 1555. Remesal makes no mention of *Alcalá* after Vico's death; and it is

supposed that further attempts to reclaim them were abandoned.

" Adjoining the province of *Verapaz* is that of *Manché*, the reduction of which was occasioned by the following circumstances.* About the year 1570, some of the principal Indians came to *Coban*, where they were well received, and much caressed by Thomas de Cardenas, Bishop of Verapaz, and other residents in the convent. This pleased them so highly, that afterward they frequently came to *Cahabon*, the nearest village to their own territories. On these visits, the fathers always instructed them on religious subjects, and exhorted them to embrace Christianity; the answer uniformly given was, that they would consider about it, but they remained undecided with respect to giving up their native mode of worship until 1603. In this year, a chapter of the Dominican order was held in the convent at *Sacapulas;* and Alonzo Criado de Castilla wrote to the members, recommending them most earnestly to undertake the conversion of *Manché*. The means by which this service was to be effected, were discussed in the assembly, with great attention, several times; and the result of these conferences was, to order Juan de Esguerra to prepare for undertaking the mission as speedily and effectually as possible. On the 25th of April, Esguerra, accompanied by Salvador Cipriano, left *Cahabon* for *Manché*, and reached the first village of that province on the 1st of May, which being St. Philip's day, they called it after the saint. The cacique advanced to meet them, and regaled them according to the manner of his country, with all the distinction he could shew; the principal

* This district, as well as Alcala, is now included in Vera Paz.

chiefs of the other villages that they visited, followed the cacique's example. The fathers preached to the Indians in all the places they visited; and having explored as much of the territory as they then could, returned to *Cahabon*. At the desire of the president, Esguerra persuaded some of the caciques to accompany him to Guatimala, where they were received by the governor, and treated with every mark of attention and kindness; he presented them with dresses of silk, and gave them others for their wives. This good treatment operated strongly in making the Indians lay aside the fear they entertained of the Spaniards, and led them to consider the offer of Christianity as liable to fewer objections than they had entertained against it. In February of the following year, 1604, the same missionaries undertook another journey into *Manché*; in May, they were followed by some more, and, in addition to these, care was taken to send some of the baptized Indians from *Cahabon* into the villages of *Manché*, that they might use their influence in exhorting the inhabitants to attend to the instructions of the fathers. These means were so successfully plied, that in 1606, eight villages had entirely abandoned the pagan rites, to kneel before the altars of Christianity, and submit to the government of Spain."

In 1764 and the following two years, the Dominican fathers made repeated attempts to convert the Indians of the Chol nation, whose country lies to the north-east of Vera Paz. Some of the Chols, it seems, had arrived at Guatimala, to request that missionaries might be sent to them, and the *audiencia* ordered Francisco Gallegos, the provincial of the order, to depute proper persons to undertake the mission. The provincial determined to go in person, attended by Father José Delgado. On arriving at Cahabon, the

last village in Vera Paz, they procured Indian guides, and, after a journey of twenty-three leagues, arrived at the dwellings of the Indians who had visited the capital. "At this place they assembled as many of the Chols as they could collect, and built a village which they named *San Lucas*, and soon afterward two others not far distant from the first. They subsequently penetrated into the *sierras* further to the north, and ascended a very lofty mountain, which was designated by the natives, the God of the Hills. On the other side of this mountain were great numbers of inhabitants, who immediately came to visit the fathers; and these having made them comprehend, that they had been sent by the Almighty for their instruction, were treated with great kindness and respect; the natives saying, that they appeared among them like the sun, moon, and stars, to dispel the darkness of their ignorance. The Indians then cleared a road for them to advance further into the country, and, as they arrived at any difficult or rough part, carefully carried them over it. In this manner they continued their route, and in the space of eight leagues, three more villages were marked out. The rainy season was now approaching, and the fathers returned to Guatimala.

"In 1676, the same zealous missionaries again visited the Chols and the Manchés, and encountered much less difficulty or fatigue than in either of their former journeys, as a more direct path had been opened for them. They found the Indians still persevering in their designs, and that they had not forgotten such instruction as had been already afforded to them: many more settlements were formed, in which 234 persons were admitted to the rite of Christian baptism, besides many others at the different dwellings and small settlements dispersed among the mountains.

In 1678, for what reason cannot now be discovered, the Chols returned to their native worship, abandoned the villages, blocked up the roads, dispersed among the mountains, and thus destroyed the expectations that had been raised at the expense of so much labour and fatigue."

No further attempts were made till the year 1685, when Augustin Cano, then provincial of San Domingo, penetrated once more into the mountains, and succeeded in persuading some of the Chols to return and settle again in the village of San Lucas; but, three years afterwards, these untoward neophytes again set fire to the village, and the missionaries resident there narrowly escaped with their lives. This want of success in the use of fair means, determined the Spanish Government to revert to the shorter method of conversion by means of the sword. In 1688, the *alcalde-mayor* of Vera Paz undertook an expedition into the country in search of the apostates, and brought back as many of the natives as he could induce to follow him, whom he settled in the valley of Urran, where their posterity still remain. The Spanish monarch now growing impatient, fresh commands were issued for the conversion of this nation; and in Nov. 1692, the Council of the Indies transmitted a despatch, ordering the conquest of the Chols and the Lacandons to be undertaken simultaneously from the provinces of Vera Paz, Chiapa, and Gueguetenango. The good work was not, however, set about till the beginning of 1695, when three detachments of Spaniards and Indians, under the command of the president of the audiencia, with a proper staff of ecclesiastics, entered the mountains. One of these detachments under Mazariegos, having advanced with great difficulty through swamps and thickets and over broken ground,

at length, on their sixth day's journey, discovered a village of the Lacandons, containing about 100 houses. It was quite deserted, but they determined to make a settlement here, and a wooden fort was hastily constructed, while the fathers who accompanied the troops, took possession of what had served for a temple, and, having burned all the idols they could find, converted it into a chapel. The track to the village having been discovered on Good Friday, the place was named, *Nuestra Señora de los Dolores*. Soldiers were now sent out in all directions in search of the fugitives, and about a hundred, with their cacique, were induced to return to their village; their houses were given up to them, and the soldiers were lodged in huts without the village. More Indians continued to arrive, until the number amounted to four hundred, most of whom were baptised. The rainy season being at hand, it was deemed expedient to return with the troops to the capital, leaving only a garrison in the fort, and some missionaries, to prosecute the work so favourably commenced.

A second detachment, commanded by a Captain Velasco, which left Cahabon about the same time that the former set out from San Mateo Iztapan, had in the mean time succeeded in collecting upwards of 500 Chol Indians, among whom were some of the fugitives who had run away from the villages established by Gallegos in 1675. "The domiciliated Chols soon gave information of the Mopans, a fierce and warlike tribe, spread over about thirty leagues of country, among whom neither Spaniards nor missionaries had ever yet ventured. The description given of this people, instead of discouraging the soldiers, excited their emulation, and they prepared to go in search of them. The commander having made the necessary

dispositions, they departed, and, with much labour, cleared their way over precipices, rocks, and ravines, until they came in sight of the hovels of the people they were in search of. The number of families in this nation, it is confidently stated, amounted to between 10 and 12,000, dwelling in a country of exquisite beauty and great fertility, in a climate the most agreeable of any that had yet been discovered. On the first sight of the Spaniards, the natives were alarmed, and gave unequivocal demonstrations of making a stout resistance; but the judicious measures of the missionaries, and the prudence of the commander, so much disarmed their resentment, and calmed their apprehensions, that they soon opened a friendly intercourse: the result of which was, that the caciques were brought together, and persuaded to exchange their present mode of life for a domestic one, and to accept the offer of being admitted to the benefits of Christianity. Intelligence of what had been effected, was sent to the governor at the village of Dolores, and also to the royal audiencia; submitting to their consideration, that advantages would accrue from building a town in Mopan, to be inhabited by Spaniards, as the land was of the excellent quality already mentioned, and the situation eligible for facilitating the reduction of the whole to settled habits of life; being in the centre of the unreclaimed nations, having Chol on the south, the Itza on the east and north, and the Lacandon on the west. The troops continued their march until they reached the extremity of Mopan, and pitched their camp about forty leagues from the lake of Itza, having traversed eighty-two leagues of very mountainous country. On quitting this situation, the detachment pursued a route to the river Chaxal, ten leagues distant from

Itza. Velasco thought of passing the river, and attempting the conquest of Peten; but the missionaries represented to him, that, as the numbers of the Itzaes were reported to be very great, their present force was inadequate to undertake so important an enterprise, more particularly as the soldiers began to be unhealthy, provisions to grow scarce, and the wet season was fast approaching. The commander acknowledged the force of these arguments, and determined to retreat; but, before leaving the territory of Mopan, a fort was constructed, and garrisoned by thirty soldiers, with some Indians, under the command of Pedro Ramirez de Orosco."

In 1696, another expedition was sent out under the direction of Bartolomé de Amezquita, *oidor* of the *audiencia*, accompanied by this same Velasco. They safely reached Mopan. Velasco then requested and obtained permission to push on with part of the troops at a quicker rate, but he was strictly enjoined not to penetrate more than six leagues beyond the river Chaxal. This command was not obeyed with the punctuality that became a soldier; he advanced as far as the lake Itza, where he was attacked by the Indians, and himself and all his men, about a hundred in number, were killed. Amezquita followed, and not meeting with Velasco, halted on the banks of the Chaxal, where he was proceeding to construct a fort, when, in consequence of a change of administration, and the new orders to which it led, the expedition was recalled, Mopan was abandoned, and all further attempts at conversion were suspended. The Itzaes were subsequently reduced by forces sent from Yucatan; but the Alcalas, the Mopans, the Chols, and the Lacandons remain, Juarros says, for the most part unsubdued to the present day. The province of Vera Paz

is, indeed, throughout inhabited almost entirely by Indians, there being neither Spaniards nor *Ladinos*, except a very few in one or two villages for the purpose of maintaining the sovereignty of the Spaniards over the territory.

San Domingo Coban, the residence of the *alcalde-mayor*, and formerly of the bishop of Vera Paz, is imposingly styled the imperial city of San Domingo. In point of population, it is a place of some importance, containing upwards of 12,000 inhabitants, but apparently in no other respect. It stands in lat. 15° 15′ N., long. 91° 16′ W., and is fifty leagues from Guatimala. The names of the other most populous villages are, *San Pablo*, *Rabinal*, *San Matteo*, *Salama*, and *Santa Maria Cahabon*. In the village of *San Augustin Lanquin*, there is a cavern wherein are very beautiful stalactites. The total population is about 80,000 souls.

The province of Vera Paz is partly mountainous and rugged, but contains extensive tracts of marshy land, subject to inundation from the innumerable rivers which intersect it. Some of these afford great facilities for inland navigation. By the river *Polochic*, produce imported from Europe might be transported to the capital. This river rises in the mountain of Xucaneb; after passing the village of *San Pablo Tamajun*, it takes a north-easterly direction, and at about four leagues from Tamajun, flows by another village, called *San Miguel Tucuru*. In its way to the Amatique gulf, it is joined by the Cahabon river. From the bar to this confluence, the river is ascended by large launches, vessels not being able to pass the bar at the mouth of the lagoon: beyond that point, large flat-bottomed canoes are employed. About eight leagues below Tucuru, there was formerly a

village called *Santa Catarina*, and, further down, another named *San Andres*, both of which were burnt, and the settlements destroyed, Juarros states, by the English. In former times, he says, the merchandise imported from Spain to Guatimala, and that which this country exported to Europe, were conveyed by this river; and even so lately as 1793, the organ sent from Europe for the church of San Domingo, was transported by this route to the capital. The advantages of the navigation are stated to be, first, that the Polochic has always sufficient water, even for vessels, if they could pass the bar; secondly, that the route from *Las Bodegas* (in Honduras) to the capital, is much shorter than that by Zacapa;* thirdly, that the former route is more healthy than the latter, and free from the excessive heats which prove so frequently fatal; and fourthly, that the lands of Vera Paz being fertile in the extreme, there is an abundant supply of provisions.

Another river of importance for inland traffic, is the *Rio de la Passion*, which rises in the mountains of Chama. Where it passes to the north of Coban, in front of the mountains of Chicec, it is twenty-five toises in breadth, and not less than ten in depth. In the rainy season, it swells to half a league in breadth, and its depth is proportionably augmented. From Vera Paz, it flows in a north-westerly direction, passes through the district of Peten, enters that of Tabasco, and, uniting with the large river Utsuma-

* From Guatimala to Ave Maria, the place of embarkation, about eleven leagues above Tucuru, the distance is fifty-five leagues, which may be travelled with ease in six days; from Ave Maria to the mouth of the Lagoon, two days; thence to the Castillo, at most two days more; so that the whole distance may be performed in ten days.

zinta, discharges itself into the Bay of Campeche, where it forms the bar of St. Peter and St. Paul.* A very profitable commerce, Juarros says, might be opened by means of this river, with Peten, Tabasco, Campeche, and even Vera Cruz.

. The large lake Itza, or Peten, lies between Vera Paz, Chiapa, and Yucatan. It is of an oblong figure, and about twenty-six leagues in circumference. In some parts there are thirty fathoms of depth; in others, still more. The waters are good, and produce excellent fish. The Peten, or Great Island, is about two leagues from the shore. It was the chief place of the Itza Indians. It is steep and lofty, and on the summit is a plain nearly a quarter of a league in diameter. Four smaller islands lie at short distances from the principal one, all of which, together with the whole eastern side of the lake and the neighbouring range of mountains, were formerly peopled by different Indian nations. In the five islands alone, according to the computation of the missionaries, there were, prior to the conquest, from 24 to 25,000 inhabitants, while the Indians who inhabited the borders of the lake and the mountains, were almost innumerable. The gods were numerous in proportion. When Peten was taken by Martin de Ursua in 1697, "so great was the number of idols found in twenty-one places of worship that were in the island, as well as in the private houses, that the general, officers, and soldiers were unremittingly employed from nine

* In this account, our only guide is Juarros, and the map prefixed to the Translation by no means aids us to verify or throw light on the text. The Utsumazinta is apparently the same river that he elsewhere writes Zumacinta and Sumasinta. The river *San Pedro y Pablo* enters Tabasco from Chiapa. Neither the *Rio de la Passion*, nor the *Polochic*, is noticed by name in the map.

o'clock in the morning till five in the afternoon, in destroying them." * At the close of the last century, there remained but seven villages in the whole territory, with a population of only 2,555 individuals! The principal place in the district is the fortress of Peten, called *Nuestra Señora de los Remedios*, which is the residence of the warden (*castellano*) of Peten, and the ecclesiastical vicar appointed by the bishop of Merida. The climate, Juarros says, is temperate and salubrious; the country abounds with game; the soil yields two harvests of maize in the year; it produces also Chiapa pepper, Brazil wood, balsam, vanilla, cotton, cocoa, pine-apples and other fruits, indigo, achiote, and cochineal.

At the distance of ten leagues from the lake, the ridge of the Alabaster mountains begins, on which is found green, brown, and red jasper. These mountains afford shelter to great numbers of wild beasts. Among the animals peculiar to this province, Juarros mentions the *xachin*, a quadruped resembling a rat, about a span long, with a tail of six inches. Though so diminutive, it preys upon snakes, rats, birds, poultry, overtakes the mountain cat and deer, and even attacks the lord of the creation with great boldness; it emits so fetid a smell, that dogs will not encounter it unless they are much enraged, and its bite is venomous. Among the numerous varieties of the feathered race which enliven the forests of this province, the *quetzal* holds the first rank for its plumage, which is of an exquisite emerald green: the tail feathers, which are very long, are favourite orna-

* Among these idols were some bones, which were ascertained to be part of the skeleton of a horse left here by Cortes, on his way to Honduras, on account of its being diseased: the said bones were held by the Indians in high veneration.

ments with the natives, and were formerly sent, as a valuable present, to the sultans of Tenochtitlan. Great care was taken not to kill the birds, and they were released after being despoiled of these feathers. "The birds themselves," says Juarros, "as if they knew the high estimation their feathers are held in, build their nests with two openings, that, by entering at one, and quitting them by the other, their plumes may not be deranged." This most beautiful bird, which is peculiar to this kingdom, is found also in Quezaltenango. Three other birds found in this province are described by Juarros. "The *chion* is a small bird, about the size of a canary, and of various colours: some are of a fine shining black; others have the head and upper part black, the breast and inferior parts white, and the wings spotted; there are some yellow, like canaries, which they also resemble in song. This little creature cannot be domesticated, for they never survive two days of captivity. The *chulpilchoc* is a native bird of the cold and humid mountains of Verapaz; the plumage is black, except on the breast, which is scarlet; it is about the size of a canary, but has no song, at least only a sort of short whistle. The *raxon* is one of the most beautiful birds known; it is an inhabitant only of the mild climate of Verapaz, for great heat and excessive cold are alike destructive to it. Nature has denied it song, but, by fluttering its wings, it makes a noise like that of a hawk's bell; it is, therefore, only estimable for the plumage. Its height is about nine inches, the bill short, and eyes black; the feet are provided with three toes before and one behind; the feathers below the bill, and on all the front part, are purple; a ring round the neck, and the upper part of the body are of a lustrous emerald green, exquisitely beautiful; the

wings and tail are black. The female is larger than the male, but differs from him so much, as to seem a creature of a distinct species; the feathers are gray, with streaks of white, but in the sun's rays they have a tinge of green."

Excellent timber of various kinds,—the *guayacan*, the *drago*, which yields the gum called dragon's blood, the *liquidambar*, mastic-tree, and other balsamic and aromatic trees, abound in the forests.

To the south-east of the province of Vera Paz, lies the corregidorship of Chiquimula, bounded by Honduras on the east; Escuintla, Sacatepec, and Zonzonate on the south; and the Atlantic on the north. It is divided into two districts, which were formerly separate *corregimientos:* the one, called Acasaguastlan, or Zacapa, comprises the western part, and contains only eight villages; that of Chiquimula, the eastern division, includes twenty-two villages. The total population is about the same as that of Vera Paz, being rather above 80,000. The vernacular language is the Chorti. The climate is almost every where extremely hot. The productions of the soil are, maize, rice, cocoa, melons, water-melons, cotton, and above all, the sugar-cane; there are also said to be mines of gold, silver, talc, and other minerals. There are excellent pasture-lands, in which are bred cattle, hogs, horses, and mules.

The chief places in the western division are, *San Augustin de la Real Corona*, or *Acasaguastlan;* and *San Pedro Zacapa.* At the latter place, there are a few Spanish families, many of mulattoes, but more of Indians. In this district is the large fresh-water lake, called the *Golfo Dulce;* it is six leagues across in almost every direction, and communicates with the

ocean by a channel called the Gulf River, the mouth of which is about fourteen leagues from the lake, in the centre of the Bay of Honduras.* Numerous rivers fall into this lake, rendering it navigable by large vessels. For more than a century, this was the only port where the ships of Spain trading with this kingdom, discharged their freights. On its shore is a fort called the castle of San Felipé, built in 1655. In the event of our establishing a commercial intercourse direct with Guatimala, the river Dulce will become of considerable importance.

Chiquimula de la Sierra, the chief place in the eastern district, is the residence of the corregidor, and contains upwards of 3,000 inhabitants, of whom about 300 are Spaniards. It is in lat. 14° 20′ N., and long. 90° 16′ W.; distance from Guatimala, fifty leagues. But the best-built town in the district, though situated in a humid and unhealthy climate, is said to be *San Jago Esquipulas*. It stands in a plain surrounded by hills, and is famous on two accounts; first, as having one of the most capacious and handsomest churches in the kingdom; it has three aisles, and is surmounted by four lofty towers, but what forms its chief glory is, a large crucifix, carved by a native of Guatimala, which is adored throughout the country for the miracles it has wrought: the other remarkable thing is, *an inn*, — the only one, possibly, that Guatimala can yet boast of.

The province of Chiquimula was conquered by the officers of Alvarado. In the year 1530, the Indians revolted, but were again subdued by Hernando de Chaves. Part of this province and of Vera Paz, was

* According to Juarros, it is 120 leagues from Cape Catoche, and 68 leagues from the Point of Castile, and is in lat. 15° 25′ N.; long. 90° 16′ W.

formerly comprehended in the *alcaldia-mayor* of Amatique, which comprised a district thirty-five leagues in length by thirty in breadth, southward of the river Dulce. It contained one town and three villages; but the town, called New Seville, situated on the southern bank of the river Polochic, was dismantled in pursuance of a royal decree, in 1549, in consequence of representations made by the monks of Vera Paz. The three villages, Amatique, situated near the Gulf of Guanaxos, Jocolo, which stood where the castle of San Felipé has since been erected, and San Tomas, were abandoned in consequence of the pestilential epidemics by which they were repeatedly desolated; and the *alcaldia* was abolished.

Among the remarkable objects in this province, Juarros mentions the lake of Atescatempa, near a village of the same name, in the curacy of Jutiapa, which receives two large rivers, the Contipec and the Yupitepec, and, like the lake of Atitlan, has no apparent outlet for its waters; but, at a short distance from its borders, at a place called *La Doncella*, a large volume of water issues from the earth, and forms a broad and deep river. "As the discharge is always regular, this opening," Juarros reasonably infers, "can be no other than the channel by which the waters of the lake are drawn off." A still more extraordinary natural curiosity is, the cave of Peñol, which, according to the tradition of the country, extends through the mountains, from Peñol, towards the village of Mataquescuinte, as far as the *Rio de los Esclavos*, a distance of about eleven leagues. We know not on what grounds this tradition rests. The subterranean passage does not appear to have been penetrated beyond the distance of three quarters of a league. At this distance, the only individual who is known to

have attempted it, found his lights always extinguished by the mephitic vapour. Gigantic skeletons are said to have been found in the neighbourhood of this cave, some of the leg bones of which measured five feet six inches!! Among the rivers of this region, the next in importance to the river *Dulce*, is the *Rio Grande*, which rises in the province of Chimaltenango, and afterwards takes the name of *Motagua:* it is noted for a delicate species of fish, from two to three feet long, called the *bobo*, which is caught only in this river and in that which flows by the city of Comayagua. It falls into the Atlantic eight leagues to the eastward of the Gulf river, forming the boundary between Chiquimula and the intendancy of Comayagua, or Honduras.

The Bay of Honduras, along the coast of which the latter province extends, was so named by the Spaniards, because, when they first came to subjugate the country, they were unable to find anchorage, owing to the great depth (*hondura*) of water. They called the country *Hibueras*, or *Calabazas*, from the great number of pumpions they found on shore, and Guaimura, from a native village on the coast. The name of the bay is now generally given to the province, although it is officially named, as an intendancy, from Comayagua, the chief city. This province was the first part of the New Continent on which the Spaniards landed. Herrera says, that Columbus arrived off the coast of Honduras in the year 1502, and landed at Point Casinas on the 17th of August. Formal possession was taken of the country in the name of the King of Castile; Columbus, however, did not advance into the interior, but continued his progress along the coast till he reached Veraguas, and the province of

Honduras was not explored till twenty years after, when Gil Gonsalez Davila, taking shelter in the Gulf Dulce, built a little village near Cape Three Points, to which he gave the name of *San Gil de Buena Vista*. This site was subsequently abandoned as unhealthy, a character which attaches, unfortunately, to the whole province. We need not pursue the history of its settlement, which is in nowise interesting. The soil is for the most part extremely fertile, producing maize, pulse, cocoa, sugar, and cotton; it abounds also in cattle; but the climate is hot and humid, and, consequently, extremely insalubrious, on which account many of the towns of which it could boast at one time, have been successively abandoned. The population which, in 1778, was 87,730, and in 1791, 93,500, is still under 127,000. Yet it contains, Juarros says, more gold and silver mines than all the rest of the kingdom besides.* It is divided into two districts: Comayagua, formerly a government, which comprehends the western part; and Tegucigalpa, at one time an *alcaldia-mayor*, which extends over the eastern part.

The district of Comayagua contains ninety-four villages and settlements. The chief places are *Truxillo*, *Gracias a Dios*, and *Comayagua*. Truxillo, situated close to the port of that name, was formerly the capital of the province, and the residence of the bishop. It stands about thirty yards above the level of the sea, between the rivers Negro and Christales; distance from Comayagua 95 leagues, and 239 from Guatimala; in lat. 15° 20′ N.; long. 86° 6′ W. The harbour is

* The valley of Olancho, in particular, is celebrated for the "immense riches that have been collected from the river Guayape that flows through it; and even now," adds Juarros, "the purest gold in the kingdom is found in its sands."

commodious and well-fortified. The Dutch landed here in 1643, and pillaged and destroyed the town; from which time it remained in a ruined state till 1789, when the Government directed it to be again put in a state of defence. It was attacked, in 1797, by two English ships of war and a brig, but they were repulsed. The population, however, is now very inconsiderable. Gracias a Dios is in a state of great decay; yet, it was formerly one of the most flourishing places in the kingdom, and important as being for some time the seat of the royal *audiencia*. It is situated in a pleasant valley, at the base of a lofty mountain, from the summit of which descends a rivulet that flows close by, and supplies it with water. It is thirty-eight leagues from Comayagua and 166 from Guatimala; lat. 14° N.; long. 89° 16′ W. This city was founded by Juan de Chaves in 1536. He had spent a long time in searching for a convenient situation for a town about mid-way between Honduras and Guatimala, that should facilitate the commerce with the capital, when, at length, on arriving at the level tract in which the town was afterwards built, the soldiers exclaimed, *Gracias a Dios*,—'Thank God, we have found a proper place!' and from this circumstance it received its name.* The town was indebted for the rapid increase of its prosperity, to the

* A similar circumstance gave rise to the name of Cape Gracias a Dios. "Columbus having arrived at Point Casinas in August 1502, kept a westerly course, contending with great difficulty against the wind and a strong current, until he weathered a headland stretching far into the sea, and from which the land trends away to the southward; he then kept his intended course with ease. The sailors thanked God for having doubled the cape, and it then received its appellation." There are many similar instances of places owing their names to an exclamation, as Olinda, Maranham, and Buenos Ayres.—See Mod. Trav. *Brazil*, vol. I. p. 306.

discovery of some gold mines in its vicinity, in 1544. The richest of these was that of *San Andres de Nueva Zaragoza*, situated in a mountain of the valley of Sensenti, to the west of the city, and east of the valley of Copan. Fuentes asserts that, with no other instrument than a wooden stake, poor people went to this mountain, and, by merely scratching up the sand, found grains of the precious metal. He says, also, that in a mine belonging to Bartolomé Marin de Sanabria, more than a pound of gold a day was collected by the labour of himself and one slave. "The strongest proof that can be adduced of the riches of this mountain," remarks Juarros, "was the appointment of an *alcalde-mayor*, for the purpose of superintending the working of the mines and receiving the king's fifths. This officer was invested with plenary jurisdiction, both in civil and criminal matters, within the boundaries of the mines, and had the power of compelling a fourth part of the Indians within a circuit of twelve leagues, to labour in them. These sources of wealth, that were so famous for more than a hundred years, are now entirely exhausted, and the alcaldia is extinguished. *Santa Maria de Comayagua* was founded in 1540, with a view to maintain an easier communication between the two oceans, its situation being about half-way between Puerto Caballos and the Bay of Fonseca. In 1544, a royal order directed, that the new *audiencia* of the confines of Guatimala and Nicaragua should reside in Comayagua, which was thenceforth to be called New Valladolid; but this decree was not carried into effect. In 1557, it was created a city; and in 1561, the see of Truxillo was transferred to it, at the solicitation of the bishop. It is now the residence of the intendant. It is situated in a beautiful plain contiguous to a large

river (the Ulua), which abounds with excellent fish; lat. 13° 59′ N., and long. 88° 46′ W.: the distance from Guatimala is 144 leagues. *San Pedro Zula*, founded by Alvarado in 1536, *San Jorge Olanchito*, founded by Diego de Alvarado in 1530, and *Sonaguera*, were formerly called cities, and had corporations, but are now entirely decayed. Of *San Gil de Buena Vista*, and *El Triunfo de la Cruz*, founded in 1523, as well as of the town of *San Juan*, near Puerto Caballos, settled in 1536, nothing remains but the name. *Yoro* is still a considerable town. The village of *Tencoa* is celebrated for a peculiar species of pepper cultivated in its vicinity; the valley of *Morolica* for its cheese; and that of *Copan* for its tobacco.

The district of Tegucigalpa contains two towns; the one from which it takes its name, and *Xeres de la Frontera*. The former is the most populous and flourishing place in the whole province, and is the residence of a deputy-intendant. It stands in a healthy climate, 25 leagues from Comayagua, and 148 from Guatimala. It contains a spacious church, two oratories, and two convents, Franciscan and Mercedarian. Xeres is situated in the valley of Choluteca, the most southerly and the hottest place of all the district, in lat. 12° 50′ N., and long. 87° 46′ W. Within its jurisdiction is *El Corpus*, which has produced more gold than any other place in the kingdom. This canton is in fact esteemed the richest in the precious metals of any in Guatimala.

On the coast of this province there are six different ports. The first is *Omoa*, a bay with good anchorage, forming a clean, safe, and well-sheltered harbour, sufficiently capacious to moor twenty or five and twenty vessels. It is 17 leagues east of the Fresh

Gulf, in lat. 15° 23′ N. and long. 83° 56′ W. Fort San Fernando Omoa was built in 1775, to protect the harbour. In 1780, however, the place was taken by the English, but they soon abandoned it on account of the unhealthiness of the climate. At a short distance from the fort is a village inhabited by negroes, who are the only persons able to endure the climate. Three leagues further eastward is *Puerto Caballos*, formed by two bays: as its entrance has little more than two feet water, it is not much frequented. *Puerto de Sal*, 37 leagues from the gulf, is very small, and without good anchorage. *Trionfo de la Cruz* is a large bay trending to the south-east, where vessels of any size may anchor under shelter of three small islands, called the Friars. The fifth port is that of *Truxillo*, 68 leagues from the Fresh Gulf, formed by Point Castilla on the N.E., and Point Quemara on the S.W., which are six leagues distant from each other: in the middle of the bay lies the *Isla Blanca*. The last is *Puerto Cartago*, 132 leagues from the Gulf River, in the territories of the uncivilised Indians.

The principal rivers that fall into the Atlantic, are the *Camalecon*, navigable by *piraguas*, or large canoes, for more than fifty leagues, which falls into the sea twenty-four leagues below the Gulf River; the *Ulua*, 31 leagues from the same point; the *Lean*, or *Leones*, 46 leagues from the Gulf; the *Aguan*, 84 leagues E. of the Gulf River, and about 60 miles W. of Cape Camaron,—it is navigable by canoes about 40 leagues from its mouth. This is the boundary of Honduras and the territory of Taguzgalpa. Six leagues further is the *Limones*, which descends from the mountains of *Olancho el Viejo*. Twelve leagues further is the bar of the *Rio Tinto*, or Black River. Half a league to the eastward is the *Payas*, and

the last is the *Platanos*, which falls into the Atlantic about 106 leagues from the Gulf River.* The *Nacaome* and the *Choluteca* fall into the Bay of Conchagua on the south-western coast.

Eighteen leagues N.E. of Port Truxillo, the Island of Roatan lies off the coast, extending from forty-five to fifty miles in length, by from six to ten in breadth. The approach to it is dangerous, owing to the reefs and rocks by which it is surrounded; but the principal harbour affords good anchorage, though rather open to S.W. winds. In the year 1642, this island was taken by the English, but was abandoned eight years after. From that time to 1742, it remained uninhabited; the English then again occupied and fortified it, but were dislodged about 1780. They resumed possession of it in 1796; but, in the following year, the Spaniards once more recovered it.

The only object of interest known to exist in this large province, is the Great Circus of Copan, in the valley of that name, which, at the time that Fuentes wrote (about A.D. 1700), existed entire. It is described as "a circular space, surrounded by stone pyramids about six yards high, at the bases of which are figures, both male and female, *habited in the Castilian costume*, of very excellent sculpture, and coloured." In the middle of the area, a flight of steps led to the place of sacrifice. At a short distance is a stone gateway, on the pillars of which are sculptured figures, likewise in Spanish habits; and on entering

* We give these details on the authority of Juarros, as points to be verified, rather than as actually ascertained. In the map prefixed to the English translation, neither the *Limones*, the *Rio Tinto*, the *Payas*, nor the *Platanos*, appears under those names: the only three rivers eastward of the Aguan, and westward of Cape Gracias a Dios, are named the *Yangue*, or *Guayape*, the *Bayano*, and the *Barbo*.

this gateway, two fine stone pyramids present themselves, "from which is suspended a hammock containing two human figures, clothed in the Indian style. Astonishment is forcibly excited on viewing this structure, because, large as it is, there is no appearance of the component parts being joined together; and, although entirely of stone, and of an enormous weight, *it may be put in motion by the slightest impulse of the hand.* Not far from this hammock is the cave of Tibulca, which appears like a large temple hollowed out of the base of a hill, and adorned with columns having bases, pedestals, and capitals: at the sides are numerous windows faced with stone, exquisitely wrought." All this reads assuredly very much like romance, but, as it is part of our object, while recording the discoveries of former travellers, to point out what it remains for future travellers to investigate, we should have been guilty of a great omission had we failed to direct their attention to this valley of wonders, where the genii who attended on King Solomon have evidently been the artists.*

We now proceed to the description of a province which seems likely to become, in some respects, the most important in the kingdom, as affording

* The valley of Copan is situated on the boundary line between the provinces of Chiquimula and Comayagua. The Indian city of Copan was one of the largest and most populous in the kingdom. When the Spaniards arrived before it, it was so well prepared for defence, as to be able to hold out against a large and powerful army. On one side it was defended by the mountains of Chiquimula and Gravias a Dios; on the opposite side, by a deep fosse and an intrenchment, formed of strong beams of timber, having the interstices filled with earth, in which were made embrasures and loop-holes, through which the besieged discharged their arrows under cover from the enemy's fire. It was taken with difficulty by De Chaves. Its site is now entirely deserted.

the long-sought-for communication between the two oceans, —

THE INTENDANCY OF NICARAGUA.

THIS was the first province subdued by the Spaniards, having been discovered and partially settled by Gil Gonzales Davilá and his companions in 1522. It takes its name from a powerful cacique (or perhaps from his territory), who was one of the first to enter into amicable relations with the Spaniards, and submit to baptism. It is bounded, on the north and north-east, by Honduras and Tologalpa; on the north-west, by Tegucigalpa; on the south-west and south, by the Pacific and Costa Rica; on the east, by the territory ceded to Colombia, which skirts the shores of the Atlantic. The intendancy includes five districts; that of Leon, formerly a distinct government, and the ancient corregidorships of Realejo, Subtiava, Matagalpa, and Nicoya. The latter are all very much reduced in importance: Realejo, Subtiava, and Nicoya, more especially, which lie along the shores of the Pacific, are, from the insalubrity of the climate, which is both hot and humid, almost depopulated. The first of these districts contains but three villages besides the town from which it takes its name, and (in 1778) a little more than 6,000 inhabitants: the last has only one settlement, and a scattered population scarcely amounting to half that number. The total population of the intendancy was, in 1778, 107,000: in 1823, it is computed to have reached 164,400. As the temperature of the whole province is very hot, it does not produce wheat, but yields excellent grapes and other fruits, cocoa, indigo, cotton, the gum called *carana*, and various medicinal drugs.

Immense herds of cattle are pastured in the large grazing-farms, for the consumption not merely of the province, but of the city of Guatimala also: the soil, however, is not favourable for breeding sheep.

But the most remarkable feature of this province is, its numerous rivers and immense lakes. The Lake of Nicaragua is the largest in the kingdom, and one of the most extensive in the world, being more than 150 leagues long from east to west, and nearly 60 miles from north to south; it has almost every where a depth of 10 fathoms, with a muddy bottom, except along the shore, where there is clear sand. A great number of rivers fall into this vast basin, but the River San Juan is, according to Juarros, the only visible outlet; notwithstanding which, he says, there is no observable indication at any time of any increase or decrease of its waters. On the north-west, it communicates with the Lake of Leon or Managua, which extends upwards of 50 miles in length by nearly 30 in breadth, by a navigable channel called the *Rio Tipitapa*, about 20 miles in length. This lake also is said to be throughout of sufficient depth to receive the largest ships. At twelve miles distance only from its northern extremity, runs the river Tosta, which, after a course of twenty miles, falls into the Pacific Ocean. To form, therefore, a communication between the two oceans, the only part actually to be opened, would be the twelve miles between the River Tosta and the Lake of Leon.

Humboldt says, there are in the archives of Madrid, several memoirs, both French and English, on the possibility of the junction of the Lake of Nicaragua with the Pacific; but in none which he had seen, was the height of the intervening ground sufficiently cleared up. Upon more recent information, however,

it has been ascertained that the difference of level in the highest part, is not more than fifty-one feet above the surface of the Lake of Leon, which is about three feet higher than that of the River Tosta. Not more than two locks, therefore, would be required to render this a perfectly practicable and secure communication.

This great achievement appears likely to be at length realised by the enterprise of British capitalists. Under the auspices of the local Government, an association has already been formed for the purpose of cutting a ship-canal in this direction, and a bill in relation to the subject is now in its progress through parliament. From the prospectus issued by the committee, we obtain the following additional details.

"That the line now spoken of was known to the Spanish Government, is put beyond doubt; but, as she would not, or could not, avail herself of this knowledge, she with cautious jealousy concealed it from other nations. It appears from documents discovered in the hydrographical cabinet of the Spanish minister of marine, that the most accurate surveys were made of the whole of central America, and were sent, accompanied with proper drawings, to Madrid. One of these, containing an exact description of the spot most favourable for opening the proposed channel, was obtained some time ago under particular circumstances, by a gentleman who resided at the court of Madrid, and it is now in possession of the company. From this it appears, that, in the Province of Nicaragua, in 10° 10′ N. lat., and 82° 15′ W. long., the River San Juan falls into the Atlantic Ocean, after running a south-east course of 120 miles from the lake Nicaragua, in which it has its source. This river, in the rainy season, is navigable from the sea to the lake for

ships of from 200 to 300 tons burthen; but it may be rendered navigable for the largest vessels, and sufficient depth of water be preserved for them the whole of the way up. The passage is at present partially obstructed by certain ships sunk by the Spaniards, to prevent the intrusion of foreign vessels."

Then, after describing the above-mentioned plan of communication by means of the River Tosta, the document proceeds: "Another line of communication with the Pacific, presents itself also from the Lake of Leon. On the southern shores of that lake, is situated the town of Tipitapa. From this town, a canal might be cut into another river, San Juan, which runs into the Pacific by the port of that name, in the Gulf of Papagayo. The distance between the lake and where the cut would enter the River San Juan, is about twelve miles, and the whole distance to the Pacific is not more than thirty. Of this distance, eighteen miles of the river are already navigable for large vessels.

"To point out all the advantages of such a junction of the two great oceans, would be impossible in the limits of a prospectus. They would be as various as the many branches of profitable trade which would be so greatly facilitated, or to which they would give rise. The intercourse of Europe and America with the States on the shores of the Pacific, would be enlarged to an incalculable extent; the South Sea Trade, the Whale Fisheries of England and America, the facilities for working the mines in the central Provinces, in Chili, and Peru, would be increased in an extraordinary degree; the India Trade would likewise be materially increased, and the voyage to China and the Philippine Islands shortened by some thousands of miles. THE WHOLE OF THESE TRADES WOULD

BE CARRIED ON THROUGH THE NEW CHANNEL. The advantages which would accrue to England, in a political point of view, cannot be overlooked: they would be of a most important nature, but it is unnecessary to mention them in detail.

"It may, perhaps, be objected, that some accounts of the River San Juan have represented it as not navigable for ships of any great size. It is admitted, that some maps and charts of South America have so described it; but nothing is more clearly demonstrated than the fallacy of such representations. It is a well-known fact that the Spaniards prohibited the navigation of the San Juan, under pain of death, sunk vessels in different parts of the river, and also raised a fort for its prevention. *It is also well known, that Spain has often wilfully misdescribed the nature of some of her South American colonies, to prevent the intrusion of other nations; and only since the establishment of the independence of those countries, could foreigners land on their shores.* An instance of this kind was experienced not very long ago by Lord Cochrane. While at the mouth of the river Guayaquil with part of his fleet, he was boarded by a pilot, who assured him that the river was not navigable for large vessels. His lordship, on referring to his maps and charts of this part of the coast, found this river described as full of difficulties and dangers, and absolutely unnavigable for large ships. It was similarly represented by more than one English, as well as Spanish geographer. His lordship inquired what water there was in the river, and was informed that the depth was four fathoms. He instantly ordered the pilot to conduct him up, on pain of immediate death. The terrified pilot obeyed, and in a short time his lordship cast anchor abreast of the town of Guayaquil, with his

squadron, to the astonishment of the inhabitants, who saw, for the first time, the guns of a fifty-gun frigate bearing upon their city. The question is, however, now set at rest for ever; the information derived from the survey spoken of, leaving no more doubt that the San Juan may be easily rendered navigable, (and for ships of all burdens,) than there exists of the navigation of the Thames.

"The gentleman by whose skill and address a copy of the survey was obtained, is one on whom the Company can place the most implicit reliance. They have availed themselves of his great abilities, and he is now on his way to central America, to take the preliminary steps for carrying this important undertaking into effect. From the estimates which have been made, it is calculated, that the profits accruing to the company from the tolls of ships passing and repassing, will be sufficient, *after defraying all expenses, to replace, in the course of ten years, the original capital, besides giving in the interim a considerable dividend.*

"Independently of the many other advantages which she must derive from it, England will have the glory of achieving a work, which has been eagerly desired ever since America was discovered, and even more so since its value to Europe has been correctly ascertained. In effecting this, she will leave to posterity an additional monument of her great commercial enterprise, her industry, and perseverance."

It would be altogether idle for us to offer any comment on this statement, as we cannot be expected to have access to more minute or recent information than the committee have been enabled to procure. Humboldt states, that the coast of Nicaragua is almost inaccessible in the months of August, September, and October, on account of the terrible storms and rains,

and, in January and February, on account of the furious north-east and east-north-east winds called *papagayos*. This circumstance, he remarks, is exceedingly inconvenient for navigation. But the same inconvenience attaches, more or less, to the whole of the western coast of central America. The port of Tehuantepec gives its name to the hurricanes which blow from the north-west, and which deter vessels from landing at the small ports of Sabinas and Ventosa. The Tehuantepec cut, moreover, if carried into execution, would not afford a passage to any but barges or canoes; and this would be the case also with the projected communication by means of the River Chagres, and a canal to be cut from the *venta de Cruces* to Panama. Merchandise could be transported across the isthmus of Darien only in flat-bottomed boats, unable to keep the sea, and there would require to be *entrepôts* at Panama and Porto Bello. There is, apparently, no room for doubt, that the line of communication by the great lakes is by far the most feasible and advantageous. And, if completely realised, the distances to India and China would be shortened more than 10,000 miles!*

The lake of Nicaragua is rendered extremely pic-

* The vulgar notion of a difference between the level of the two oceans so material as to effect the practicability of the measure, is shewn by Humboldt to be without foundation. In America, the South Sea is generally supposed to be higher at the isthmus of Panama, than the Atlantic. Yet, remarks the learned Traveller, "when we consider the effect of the current of rotation," or gulf-stream, "which carries the waters from east to west, and accumulates them towards the coast of Costa Rica and Veragua, we are tempted to suppose, contrary to the received opinion, that the Atlantic is a little higher than the Pacific." By barometrical measurements, however, he ascertained, that if there be any difference of level between the two seas, it cannot exceed twenty or twenty-two feet.—*Pol. Essay*, vol. i. p. 31.

turesque by the numerous small islands which stud its surface. These are all uncultivated and uninhabited, except that of Omotepetl, from which a lofty mountain shoots up its volcanic peak near the southern shore of the lake, frequently emitting both flames and smoke: this island is inhabited, as it is remarkable that the neighbourhood of a volcano never fails to be. The lake is subject to tempestuous agitations, from heavy gales. Lakes, rivers, and creeks, and both the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, furnish an inexhaustible supply of various kinds of fish. Extensive forests, affording valuable timber, and peopled with numerous tribes of monkeys, quadrupeds, and rare birds, skirt the shores of this little Mediterranean, and on its banks are found some of the most populous villages in the province. The principal place is the city of Granada, from which the lake takes the name more commonly applied to it in Guatimala, where it is called the lake of Granada. This city was founded in 1523. It stands on the north-western shore, in an advantageous position for commerce; lat. 11° 30′ N., long. 86° 21′ W.; distance from Leon 30 leagues, and 216 from Guatimala. It contains a handsome church and four convents: the Franciscan is one of the most ancient in the kingdom. The population, in 1778, consisted of 863 Spaniards and Creoles, 910 Mestizoes, 4,765 Ladinos, and, in an adjoining *barrio* or village, about 1,700 Indians.

The place which carries on the largest trade, however, in the whole intendancy, Juarros says, is Masaya, a large village containing a population of 6,000 souls, among whom are a few Spaniards. Yet, the situation, one would have imagined, is one of the last that would have been voluntarily selected. In the first place, the scarcity of water is severely felt,

and the inhabitants are forced to draw their only supply from a well of extraordinary depth. The descent into it is almost perpendicular, but the Indian women sling their pitchers behind them, and descend by placing their hands and feet in cavities scooped out in the rocky sides, with an incredible celerity. Then, at a short distance from the village, is the volcano of Masaya,—now, indeed, extinct, but, at the time of the conquest, known by the name of the *Infierno de Masaya:* the light of the lava constantly boiling up in the crater, might be perceived at sea twenty-five leagues off. Not far from this is another volcano, called *Nindiri*, from which an eruption took place in 1775, when "the torrent of lava that rolled into the lake of Masaya, destroyed the fish, and heated the lands which it traversed to so great a degree, that all the cattle feeding on them perished." *

The city of Leon, the capital of the intendancy, and the see of a bishop, is situated in a savanna, about eight leagues from the western shore of the lake to which it gives name, and four leagues from the shores of the Pacific; lat. 12° 20′ N., long. 86° 16′ W., and 183 leagues from Guatimala. It was originally founded in 1523, on the spot now called Old Leon, but was rebuilt on its present site a few years after. It contains four churches, three convents, Franciscan, Mercedarian, and of San Juan de Dios, a Tridentine college with eight professorships, a custom-house, tobacco-factory, post-office, royal treasury, &c., and a population of between 7 and 8,000 persons, including upwards of 1,000 Spaniards. The Cortes (of Cadiz), by a decree of Jan. 1812, granted permission

* Near the city of Nicaragua is said to be another volcano, which Humboldt calls *Momantobo*, but Juarros does not mention it.

to the city of Leon to erect a university, with the same privileges as those enjoyed by the other universities of Spanish America. By another decree emanating from the same authority, in the same year, the province of Nicaragua was privileged to hold a provincial assembly composed of deputies from the districts of Leon, Granada, Segovia, Nicaragua, Matagalpa, Nicoya, and Costa Rica, which assembly was installed in Oct. 1813.*

Four leagues to the north-west of Leon, on the shores of the Pacific, is the town of Realejo, inhabited entirely by Ladinos, who are employed in ship-building. The town was built in 1534, by the companions of Alvarado in his expedition to Peru, who, observing the advantageous situation of the harbour, determined to establish themselves on a spot so convenient and promising. Its original name was *Jaguei*, or *Cardon*, and it is said to have received the diminutive appellation of Realejo from the small number of settlers. The harbour is formed, like that of Guayaquil, by a large and beautiful river. "There is, perhaps," says Juarros, "not a better harbour in the Spanish monarchy, and there are very few in the known world superior to it. In the first place, it is capable of containing 1,000 vessels commodiously, affording clean and good anchorage in every part; and ships may lie close to the shore without the smallest risk or danger; there is not the most trifling impediment to the passage in or out, and new vessels may be launched at all seasons without the least obstruction. The conveniences for ship-building cannot be surpassed, as timber, cordage, sail-cloth, pitch, and tar, may be procured in great abundance; the supply of masts

* Juarros, p. 338.

is inexhaustible. This branch of commerce might be most advantageously carried on: in fact, a great number of vessels of all sizes were formerly constructed here, and were held in such high estimation, that Fuentes mentions, that a galleon built in Realejo was sold at Callao for 100,000 dollars. The harbour could be placed in a respectable state of defence with the greatest ease, as a few pieces of cannon mounted in battery on the islet of Cardon would, from its eminence, completely command the entrance, and effectually protect the port. There was formerly a different channel into the harbour from the one now used. Originally, the passage was between the point of the Isle of Cardon and the peninsula of Castañon, and ships proceeded up the river to the landing-place at a village called Nuestra Señora del Viejo; but the fall of immense quantities of rock, both from the Isle of Cardon and the point of Castañon, during a violent earthquake, has made this passage impracticable. The present channel lies between the north point of Cardon and the isle of Icacos, whence vessels have a clear course, and may run up with their bowsprits almost into the town." At a short distance is the village of the *Viejo*, where the corregidors have resided, on account of its more healthy situation: it contains upwards of 3,000 inhabitants, and is, moreover, resorted to on certain holydays by devout pilgrims from all parts, on account of an inestimable *bijou*, — an image of *Nuestra Señora*, which was once the property of the immaculate virgin Santa Theresa!

The whole of this tract of coast is low. That of Nicoya, in the south-eastern extremity of the province, is covered at full tide. The road from Realejo to Leon, passes for twenty miles across a flat country,

covered with mangle-trees.* The only other places of any consideration in the intendancy are, *Segovia Nueva*, situated on the River Yare, near the confines of Tegucigalpa, 30 leagues north of Granada; *Nicaragua*, 12 leagues S.E. of Granada, inhabited chiefly by Spaniards, who carry on a traffic in cocoa, with an Indian village adjoining; *Esteli*; *Acoyapa*; *Villa Nueva*; (all these are in the district of Leon;) *Subiava*, a very populous Indian village, contiguous to the city of Leon; and *Nicoya*.

Of the numerous rivers which water this province, Juarros enumerates, as the most important, the Creek *del Viejo* (or Realejo River), the River of Nicaragua,† the Alvarado, and the Nicoya, among those which fall into the Pacific; and the Pontasma,‡ the Mosquito, the Gold River, the Iron River, and the great River San Juan, which discharge their waters into the Atlantic. The Nicoya separates this province from that of

COSTA RICA.

"A NAME," remarks Juarros, "which at present seems continued to it only in irony, as it is more poor

* Dampier cited by Humboldt.

† This is called, in the map, the *Rio de Partido*, and it is represented as communicating, by one of its branches, with the lake, while the other falls into the Gulf of Papagayo. If so, there would already be a water communication between the two oceans. But this branch has disappeared in more recent maps, and is supposed to be an error. In fact, it is in contradiction to Juarros's own statement, that the lake of Nicaragua has no outlet but the San Juan.

‡ This is called, in the map, the River Yare, or Segovia. It rises in the jurisdiction of that city, and being joined by several tributaries, becomes a stream of considerable magnitude by the time it reaches the Atlantic, where it forms a small harbour near the false Cape Gracias a Dios.

and destitute than any other." The name of *rich coast* was given to it, however, on account of the rich mines which it contains, of gold, silver, and copper. "From the mine called *Tisingal*," Alcedo says, "not less riches have been extracted than from that of Potosi in Peru." At the period, too, that Porto Bello was the rendezvous of the galleons, the commerce of the province was in a most flourishing state. The whole of it was well-peopled, the arable lands were in a good state of cultivation, and the pastures were covered with cattle, horses, and mules, in which a considerable trade was carried on with Carthagena and Porto Bello from the harbour of Matina, and with Panama and other ports of the Pacific from La Caldera. Its prosperity and riches soon excited the cupidity of adventurers. In 1666, a descent was made on the coast by some pirates, whose numbers amounted to 1,200 men; but they were defeated and driven back by the Spaniards and their celestial allies, headed by the Virgin in person, whose image continued to be honoured by an annual procession in acknowledgement of the victory, up to the beginning of the present century. A few years afterwards, the pirates of the Pacific, on two several occasions, attacked the city of Esparza, plundered it, and set it on fire. So completely was it ruined, that the inhabitants abandoned it. On the coasts of the Atlantic, many attempts were made with various success by the Buccaneers; and the Mosco Indians made frequent incursions by the harbour of Matina, carrying off cocoa, slaves, or whatever else they could lay their hands on. These incessant and harassing hostilities appear to have led, in connexion with other circumstances, to the present depopulated and neglected state of the province.

"Whatever might once have been its importance," says Juarros, "it is very certain that, at the present time, its condition is very deplorable: the population is reduced almost to nothing, commerce is annihilated, and the mines are no longer worked. In fact, a province that, in many respects, merits particular attention, is now so much neglected, that none of the writers of this kingdom, or foreigners, take any notice of it. It extends from the *Rio del Salto*,* which separates it from Nicaragua, to the district of Chiriqui, in the jurisdiction of Veraguas, a distance of 160 leagues from west to east; and from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, from north to south, about 60 leagues. Its limit, on the Atlantic, is from the mouth of the River San Juan to the little island called the Escudo de Veraguas; and on the Pacific, from the River Alvarado, the boundary of the province of Nicaragua, to the River Boruca, which terminates the kingdom of Terra Firma to the westward. The climate is for the most part warm, but in some places it is very temperate; the soil yields cocoa, tobacco, and other productions of warm climates; wheat, and such other articles as are peculiar to colder regions, are raised in the mountainous parts; but all in scanty proportions from the want of hands for agricultural employments. There are mines of gold, silver, and copper, but they are scarcely more productive than the surface of the soil is. On the Pacific there is a harbour, that of Caldera, or Esparza; and another on the Atlantic, Matina, or the bar of Carpintero, formed by the rivers Barbilla and Chirripo, which unite four leagues above the sea.

* We presume that this is the same river as the Nicoya, which is just before stated to be the boundary.

The rivers Ximenes, Rebentazon, and Moin, discharge themselves into the Atlantic; they have sufficient depth of water to admit the piraguas eight or ten leagues inland. The Alvarado, the Rio Grande, and the Boruca, with several others of less note, descend into the Pacific. Within the government of Costa Rica there are 1 city, 3 towns, and 10 villages, containing together about 30,000 inhabitants,—a small proportion, compared with the territorial extent of it, and a great diminution of its ancient numbers. In the early periods of the Spanish occupancy, there were a governor and four corregidors, who had their residences in Quipo, Chirripo, Ujarraz, and the four villages contiguous to Cartago: the jurisdiction of the first extended to the coast of the South Sea, that of the second to the Atlantic, and the two others were intermediate. These corregimientos were abolished more than a century ago, and of many of the villages belonging to them, there are no vestiges remaining."

Since the time that this was written, some improvement has probably taken place in the state of things, as the present amount of the population of Costa Rica is computed to be nearly 38,000, although we know not whether the calculation rests on any certain data. The chief city, said to be the most ancient in the kingdom, is *Cartago*, situated in the heart of the province, 80 leagues from the boundary of Nicaragua, the same distance from Terra Firma, 30 leagues from Esparza, about as many from Matina, and 400 leagues E.S.E. from Guatimala; it is in lat. 9° 10′, and long. 82° 46′ W. It stands in a healthy situation, and enjoys a benignant climate; contains a church, a Franciscan convent, a sanctuary, and two oratories; and has a population of upwards of 8,000 persons, viz. 600 Spaniards, 6,000 Mestizoes, and

1,700 Ladinos. Next to the capital, the most populous town is *Villa Nueva de San José*, situated in a valley at a short distance from Cartago: it contains a population very nearly equal in numbers, with three times as large a proportion of Spaniards. *Villa Vieja* has 6,660 inhabitants, of whom 1,800 are Spaniards, and 4,000 Mestizoes: *Villa Hermosa*, included in the same curacy, has a population of 4,000 persons. *Ujarraz* is now a place of very trifling consequence. *Esperaza*, and the neighbouring town of *Bagases*, are entirely abandoned.

Should the "Atlantic and Pacific Company" succeed in completing their undertaking, this important province will no doubt reap essential advantages from the impulse which will be communicated to commerce and every internal improvement. It is one object which the Company have in view, to enter into contracts for working the valuable mines with which these regions are ascertained to abound. Yet, till now, who had ever heard of the mines of Guatimala? In Humboldt's general table of the annual produce of the mines, &c. of Spanish America, against Guatimala is written, "Nothing."* The total value of goods imported from the Old Continent into this kingdom, is stated at only two millions of piasters, while the imports of New Spain are estimated at twenty millions, and those of Cuba and Porto Rico at eleven millions! In the captaincy-general of Guatimala, as well as those of Caraccas, Chile, and Cuba, the whole receipts of the treasury were consumed by the expenses of administration, so that the mother country actually derived no net revenue from those colonies.*

But the system which so long condemned these

* Pol. Essay, vol. iv. p. 322.

fine countries to remain stationary in civilisation, and morally as well as politically unproductive, exists no longer: the sovereignty of Spain in that hemisphere has received its last blow from the hands of Bolivar. In the recent message of the Vice-President of Colombia to the Congress of 1825, assembled at Bogota, it is noticed, that "the provinces of Guatimala continue to preserve unmolested the sovereignty into which they spontaneously elected themselves. An accredited minister from that Government to the Republic is now," it is added, "residing in our capital." The message proceeds to advert to the necessity of adjusting and establishing the still undetermined limits between Colombia and Guatimala, "inasmuch as certain foreigners have pretended to a right to the coast of Mosquito, and as the interior boundary line between the two countries is not ascertained." "The Executive, (it is added,) in strict compliance with the law of the 12th of July, 1821, has declared that that part of the Atlantic coast which extends from Cape Gracias a Dios to the River Chagres, belongs to the Republic, and that all colonisation made therein without the sanction of the government and laws of Colombia, is null and void." Should this line of coast, however, be definitely annexed to Colombia, it will of course place under the control of that republic the navigation of the River San Juan, and consequently of the lakes and the intended ship-canal. It will amount, in fact, to little short of a cession of the whole of Costa Rica, and the greater part of Nicaragua.

* Pol. Essay, vol. iv. p. 204.

To revert to the subject of mines. The produce of those of Mexico, when Humboldt wrote his Political Essay, had tripled in fifty-two years, and sextupled in a hundred years; * and it will admit, he remarks, of greater increase as the country shall become more populous, and industry and information become more diffused. Sir William Adams, in a recent pamphlet on the Actual State of the Mexican Mines, maintains that the Anglo-Mexican Associations may reasonably expect to raise *treble* the quantity of ore formerly obtained, by working them scientifically, and by the aid of machinery. The expenses of working them, no doubt, admit of being reduced to a great degree. By the very imperfect process of amalgamation hitherto adopted, the loss in mercury alone is stated to have amounted to an eighth or even a sixth of the produce. At Freiberg, Humboldt says, they employ from 60 to 150 times less time in extracting the *silver*, than in the Spanish colonies, and consume in amalgamation

* The quantity of gold and silver imported into Europe from America between the years 1492 and 1803, is calculated to amount to 1,166,775,382*l.* sterling. Till 1525, Europe had received from the New World little else than gold. From that period till the discovery of the mines of Brazil, towards the end of the seventeenth century, the silver imported exceeded the importation of gold in the proportion of 60 or 65 to 1. In the first half of the eighteenth century, the mines of Brazil, Chili, Choco, &c., furnished so considerable a quantity of gold, that the proportion was scarcely 30 to 1. During the latter half of the last century, the silver again increased in the market; the annual produce of the mines of Mexico rose from 600,000 marcs to 2,500,000; and, as the produce of gold did not increase in the same proportion, the quantity imported of the two precious metals was as 1 to 40. The mines of Mexico have counterbalanced the effects which the abundance of the gold of Brazil would have produced. The East Indies and China are the countries which have absorbed the greater part of the gold and silver extracted from the mines of America.

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